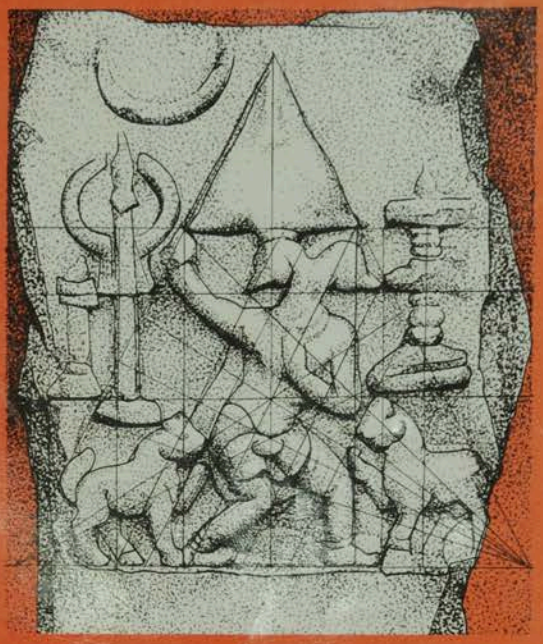
TIRUVANNAMALAI

a Śaiva sacred complex of South India



INSCRIPTIONS

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edition, translation
indexes, topography

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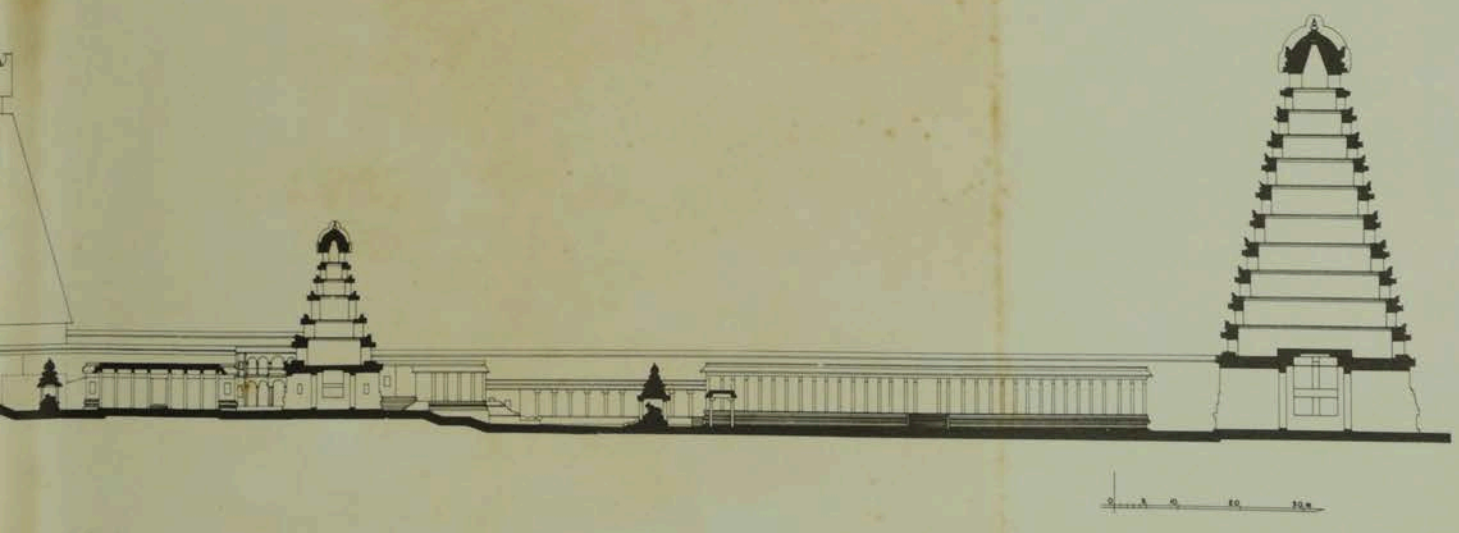

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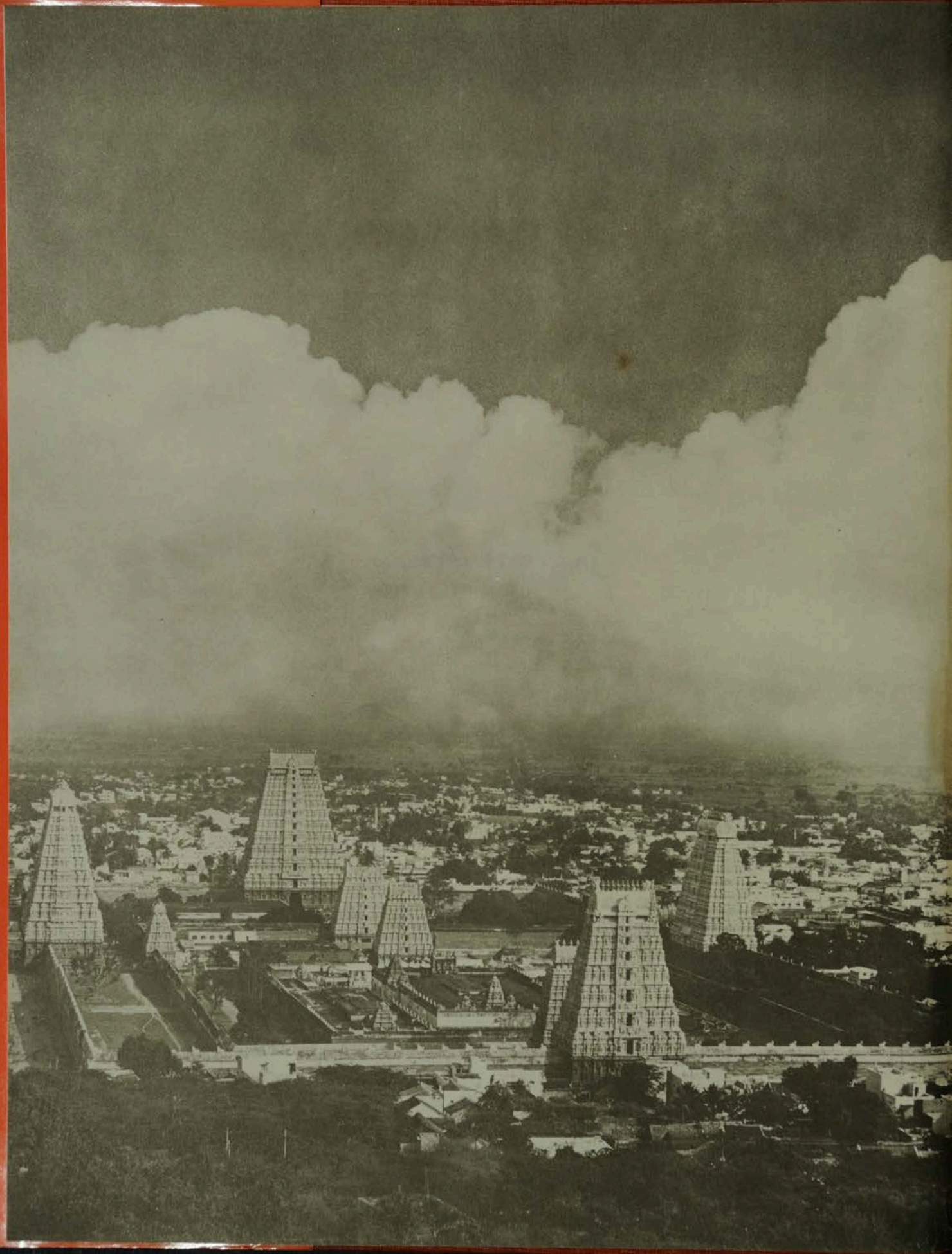

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a Śaiva sacred complex of South India

1.1

INSCRIPTIONS

introduction, edition, translation
P.R. Srinivasan

indexes, topography
Marie-Louise Reiniche

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Tiruvannamalai hill on a stone-slab found on the site

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TIRUVANNAMALAI

A Saiva sacred complex of South India

This is a collective programme of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (Pondicherry) in which have been involved an Indian epigraphist (French Institute of Pondicherry), three members of the E.F.E.O. (covering geography, archaeology, architecture, iconography and related studies), an E.H.E.S.S. researcher (in ethnology) and a doctoral student in demography holding a scholarship for a period of study in India. In addition there was assistance from Indian associates (in Pondicherry) primarily in epigraphy (rubbings, card-indexing, etc.)

The project

These studies of Tiruvannamalai originated with an historical enquiry : the antiquity of this sacred complex is attested by an epigraphical corpus which showed itself to be more significant than previously supposed when the epigraphist found that only a part of the inscriptions on the temple walls were recorded by the Epigraphy Department.

To undertake an overall survey of the temple and its surrounding area was the logical consequence of this first discovery. And since the object of this study was a sacred complex within a fully active town, a temple that had been constantly renovated over several centuries, it could not be limited to archaeology in the usual sense of the term. Other perspectives had to be considered which would take into account not only the past, but also a more sociological dimension as well as modern developments.

Field work

The rubbings, begun in 1980 but completed only in 1984, included rediscovered inscriptions from various places within the temple, the town and the surrounding villages, as well as several recently discovered copper-plates. Archaeological and iconographical analyses and other investigations started gradually in 1981 and were carried out mainly between 1982 and 1984 ; several other complementary studies were undertaken in 1986. None of the participants were able to devote themselves to this research full-time over an extended period. Furthermore, the nature of certain of the studies (observation of festivals, the search for and collection of documents, and of information that was difficult to obtain) required that the research be extended over a longer period of time. Each participant, although having his own field of research, contributed assistance and information to the work of each of the others.

Publications .

Five volumes are planned :

1 . *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Tiruvannamalai* (from the end of the 9th century to the end of the 16th), probably in two volumes, consisting of the edited texts of the inscriptions and English translation, and an introduction by P.R. Srinivasan. The indexes - of proper names (by segments), vernacular terms, and toponyms (with their locations shown on three maps) - have been compiled by M.L. Reiniche with the assistance of E.F.E.O. researchers and Indian collaborators. (Published by the French Institute, Pondicherry).

2 . *Archéologie du site*, by J. Deloche, F. L'Hernault and P. Pichard. A geographico-historic introduction situates Tiruvannamalai and its region in the overall Tamil context, and accentuates the importance from earliest times of the location of the sacred complex at the junction of two main axes of communication,

linking North to South and the East Coast to the Mysore Plateau. The architecture of the temple and its iconography are examined in detail, emphasising, with supporting inscriptions whenever possible, the evolution of the structure, its renovations and extensions. The study includes the circuit of the sacred mountain at the foot of which the temple stands, its monuments, its system of tanks - *tirtha* - as well as the oldest shrines of the town itself . . . all of them milestones of a more or less distant past, testimonies to royal and private enterprise, as well as reference points in the conceptual order underlying the festival rites. (Published by Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient).

3 . *Rites et fêtes*, by F. L'Hernault and M.L. Reiniche. This volume complements the preceding one with regard to Hindu concepts of time and space. It includes descriptions of the daily rituals and the festivals of the great temple, an evaluation of the manner in which the scholarly Āgama tradition and custom interpenetrate each other, and an "archaeology" of ritual. The sacred processions - certain of which take place some twenty kilometres to the north and south of the town - underline the royal aspect of the divinity and the virtual extent of his realm. This sovereignty is also 'demonstrated' by the main festival of Karttikai, which is linked with the myth of the deity and the place, and is the focus of a pilgrimage that attracts several hundred thousand people each year. The study takes into account the participation of devotees, and the part played in the festivals (sometimes with mythological references) by local caste groupings, whose local or lineage gods, while having their own festivals, are subordinate to the principal divinity of the complex. (E.F.E.O.)

4 . *Configuration sociologique du temple hindou*, by M.L. Reiniche. The organisation of the temple is analysed analysed in the light of the epigraphic data and the modifications introduced both by British colonisation and modern legislation. This volume includes a study of the property belonging to the god and the economic functioning of the temple, based upon the accounts of recent years, as well as an investigation of the ritual services, and the management and patronage of the temple. The status of the divinity and the question of devotion are re-considered. In relation to the hierarchy of the caste system, the religious path of devotion has certain sociological implications : lessened prestige of the temple priests, relative valorisation of political figures, etc. The hypothesis might be maintained that in Hinduism the democratisation of India encountered certain conditions that were favourable to its realisation. The introduction to this volume places in perspective the positions occupied at different levels of Hindu society, by the different places of worship, including the temple under study. (Published by the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient).

5 . *La ville*, by G. Guilmoto, P. Pichard and M.L. Reiniche. This volume is made up of two main sections. The first is concerned with the study of demographic growth, composition of the population, spatial organisation (morphology, caste implantation, plot survey, changes since the beginning of the century), and the economic development of the present town in relation to the surrounding region. The second gives an analysis, based upon the 'monasteries' and choultries for pilgrims (foundation, origin if known, social and religious ends), of the relationship between the religious institutions and social structure, the influence of the sacred complex, and its zone of extension. This section is completed with the results of a statistical investigation, made in 1983 by means of questionnaires at the time of the great Karttikai festival, into pilgrimage migration. From several points of view it is clear that the urban ensemble around the sacred complex can only be understood in relation to a wider regional context. (Published by the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient).

In addition to their monographic interest, these analyses underline the fact that the sacred complex, despite its location in a poor and relatively marginal region, has never been in any respect a closed system. During the historic period the temple was a focal point for socio-political as well as religious relations amongst the various kingdoms and local figures ; in return it acquired (through grants of land and rights over villages) a control over the surrounding regions which was more or less extensive at different time. The location of Tiruvannamalai at the junction of commercial (and military) routes is not without relevance to its permanence and present vitality, even though the main communication lines have shifted in the modern epoch. For, if one

compares the past and present positions of Tiruvannamalai, a relative correlation can be traced between the region which historically was more or less closely linked with the temple (as indicated by the topography of the inscriptions), and the present extent of the religious influence of the sacred complex, and the economic and demographic attraction of the town. Today, the temple has almost completely lost all secular importance, and economic and political developments depend on the town itself, and beyond that on the modern State. Nevertheless, a complementarity - which does not reflect any strict separation of religious and secular concerns - remains between the temple and the town, permitting diverse networks of relationship to interset at different levels. Tiruvannamalai is known above all as one of the principal sacred complexes of Tamil Nadu ; for in the actuality of its myth, and the annually renewed atemporality of its rites and festivals, the past of this place still moves towards a future.

Marie-Louise Reiniche

FIRST PART : INTRODUCTION

P.R. Srinivasan

INTRODUCTION

Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, in the North Arcot district in Tamiḻnāṭu, has been known to be an important place from the 7th century A.D. Although nothing definite is known about its earlier history, the area around it was known to the poets of the Tamiḻ Caṅkam literature (*circa* 100 B.C. to 200 A.D.). For instance, the ruler of this region has been described as the Cevvarai-nāṭaṉ in the *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai*. Here Cevvarai, i.e., the Red Mountain is said to refer to the hill range, anciently called Coral hill, but now going by the name of Javādi hills. The well-known river the Ceyyāṟu in this district is stated to have been so called owing to the fact that it traverses the region which is marked not only by the Red Mountain but also by a red soil. This river is also mentioned by the name Cēyāṟu in the *Malaipaṭukaṭām*, another Caṅkam work. Further, in the same work, there is a reference to a hill called Naviram which is identified with the hill, on the northern bank of the Ceyyāṟu, at a distance of about 15 km. to the north west of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. This hill and the region around the modern town of Ceṅkam, situated to the west of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai is said to have been ruled over by Naṉṉaṉ in some works of the Caṅkam age where the hill is given the name of "Naṉṉaṉ veṟpu" i.e., the Naṉṉaṉ's hill. The pass in this hill range was the one used by the people of the Toṇṭai-nāṭu to go to the Takaṭūr-nāṭu of which the ruler was Atiyamāṉ Neṭumāṉ Añci during the period of the Caṅkam literature mentioned above.

The hill at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, forming part of the Javādi hill range belongs to the gneiss variety also called igneous rock in Indian tradition through the ages. According to the Śaiva text *Vidyāsārakōṭirudra-saṁhitā, Adhyāya*, 30, this hill "was of fire in the Kṛta-yuga, was of gem in the Trētā-yuga, was of gold in the Dvāpara-yuga and of emerald in the Kali-yuga"[1]. It is further stated that this hill "having been of fire extending to many *yōjanas* in the Kṛta-yuga, the great saints prayed to the lord (who took this form) to become cool. Accordingly the hill became cold, in order to protect the world"[2]. This description seems to denote the various stages through which the hill had passed and its present colour being of the blue-metal variety seems to be in accord with this description. It is, however, noteworthy that the memory that the rocks of this area were, in remote geological ages, in a molten form and that they caused havock, lingered on in the minds of the people of ancient India. This matter was given a religious garb and texts were composed, at a later time, which glorified the importance of the god Śiva of the Hindu pantheon, who has been conceived from at least the time of the Vēdas as identical with Agni or Fire whose colour is red or cupric (*Asau yas = tāmbrō aruṇa uta babrus = sumaṅgalaḥ*, Yajurvēda, 4th Kāṇḍa, Śatarudrīya section), who is also described as the Skambha or Sthāṇu by the Vēdic people, who is known for saving the universe from destruction on several occasions, and who is considered

1 Kṛtē tv = agnimayaś = śailas = trētāyām maṇiparvataḥ /
Dvāparē hāṭaka-giriḥ Kalau Marakat-ācalaḥ //

2 Bahu-yōjana-paryantam Kṛtē vahnimaya-sthitē
bahiḥ pradakṣiṇam cakruḥ praśāmy = ēti maha-ṛṣayaḥ /
śanaiś = śāntō- 'ruṇādrīśa śrīmān = abhyarthitas = suraiḥ
lōka-gupty-artham = atyantam = upaśāntō ='ruṇācalaḥ //

as the personification of supreme knowledge and wisdom.

When exactly the above-mentioned concepts came to be associated with Tiruvaṇṇāmalai is difficult to know. For, though the places and hills and rivers nearby this place were known to some of the Caṅkam poets, they had not made any mention of this place, nor about the legends absence of reference to the place is surprising especially bearing upon it. Recently a number of epigraphs of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. belonging to the Pallava rulers of the period were discovered at several places in the Caṅkam taluk which is adjacent to the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai area, but they have also no reference to this place. This absence of reference to the place is surprising especially area, but they have also no reference to this place. This because it was and continues to be on an important road connecting Toṇṭai-nāṭu with Cōḷa-nāṭu and Takaṭūr-nāṭu, connecting Kāñcīpuram with Takaṭūr on the one side and with Cidamparam on the other side.

The traditions and legends having a bearing upon this place seem to have grown up only in the 6th or the 7th century A.D., at the earliest, as attested by the Tēvāram hymns of the Śaiva saints Appar and Ñānacampantar. The hymns are based entirely upon the hill at the place. The sudden shooting up into the sky (*aṇṭattōṅkum Aṇṇāmalai*, Appar) to an eminence of about 800 metres and with a circumference of 13 km. at bottom, together with its geological gneissic character, this hill had provided an ideal setting which seems to have inspired the imagination of the ancient Indian Paurāṇikas to superimpose on the hill the god Śiva's fire and pillar aspects and weave a story around it to tell that it was here that his superiority over the other two gods of the Hindu Trinity, *viz*, Viṣṇu and Brahmā was established by his appearing in the form of an immeasurable and terror-striking Fire-Pillar (Tamiḻ *Taḻar-pirampu*), whose bottom and crown could not be seen (Tamiḻ *aṭiyum muṭiyum kāṇāta*) or in other words who is without a beginning and an end (Tamiḻ *ātiyum antamum illāta*). As a sequel to this main story, several subsidiary stories had grown up, of which the stories like the goddess Pārvatī obtaining, after a severe penance, half of the body of Śiva at this place, the goddess Durgā destroying the Mahiṣāsura, the Fire element which is, according to the Indian cosmology, one of the five elements *viz*., Earth, Water, Fire, Wind and Ether that form the basis for the creation of the Universe being identified with the place, and the place possessing the capacity to confer salvation on one just when he merely thinks of it wherever he stays (*niṉaikka mutti tarum talam*), are some.

The concept that the highest principle is nothing but an all-pervasive effulgence was an established one already in the period of the Upaniṣads (*circa* 6th century B.C.), the *Kēnōpaniṣad* being the foremost amongst the texts to demonstrate it in a beautiful manner. This was known to the Tamiḻ people in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. It is proved by the references to it met in the hymns of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, Appar and Ñāṉacampantar. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār (*circa* 6th century A.D.) in her *Arputat Tiruvantāti*, refers to it as *kāṇpārkkuc-cōtiyāy* (verse 17) and *miṉṉuñcuṭaruruvāy* (verse 24). In his *Tirunēricai*, Appar makes mention of it twice : *Umaiyaval paṅkā mikka cōtiyē* (verse 1), *urakamār pavaṇam eṭṭun ticaiyoḷi uruvamāṉāy* (verse 7) ; and in his *Patikam* in the Naṭṭapāṭai paṇ, Ñāṉacampantar mentions it as *aḻavāvaṇam aḻalākiya Aṇṇāmalaiy-Aṇṇal* (verse 9). All these saints have referred to the goddess Umā being a part of Śiva in their hymns. For instance, *peṇ-puṇarum avvuruvō* (Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, *ibid*., verse 59), *ōti māmalarkaḷ tūvi Umaiyaval paṅkā* (Appar, *Tirunēricai*, verse 1), and *Uṇṇāmalai yumaiyāḷoṭum uṭanākiya voruvaṉ*, (Ñaṉacampantar, *Tēvāram*, verse 1). The story relating to the curbing of the pride and arrogance of Viṣṇu and Brahmā who could not find the foot and the crown respectively of Śiva finds a place in the hymns of these saints. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār says, *Mālukkum Nāṉmukaṟkum aṉṟum aḻappariyaṉ āṉāṉai*. Appar also says similarly that these gods could not see Śiva (*Maṟaiyiṉaṉoṭu Mālavaṉ kāṇkilā, Tirukkuṟuntokai*, verse 20), (*Mālu Nāṉmukaṉuṅkūṭik kāṇkilā, Tirunēricai*, verse 9). But Ñāṉacampantar refers to the Fire form of Śiva which could not be seen by these gods (*viḻavārkaṇi paṭa nūṟīya Kaṭalvaṇṇaṉum Vētak kiḻār tāmarai malar mēlūrdi kēṭil pukalōṉum aḻavāvaṇam aḻalākiya Aṇṇamalai yaṇṇal, Tēvāram*, verse 9). Like Appar, Cuntaramūrti nāyaṉār (8th century A.D.) also refers in his hymns only to the inability of the two gods to see the lord Śiva's full form (*Māvāy piḷnatānum Malarmicaiyāṉum āvā avar tēṭit tirintu alamantār paṇṭai Māl-Piramaṉ paṟantum iṭantum ayarntum kaṇṭillarāy*

avarkaḷ kaḻal kāṇpataritāya pirāṉ). In this connection it may be noted that while Ñāṉacampantar and Cuntarar refer to Aṇṇāmalai (the Mountain) and Aṇṇāmalai yaṇṇal (the lord of the Mountain) as objects of reverence, Appar pays obeisance to Aṇṇāmalai and Aṇṇāmalaiyaṉ in his *Tirukkuṟuntokai* and to Aṇṇāmalaiyuḷaṉ (the lord immanent in the Aṇṇāmalai hill) in his *Tirunēṟicai*.

As regards Māṇikkavācakar (*circa* 9th century A.D.), he is stated to have stayed at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai where he composed his poems like *Tiruvempāvai* and *Tiruvammāṉai*, which form part of his *magnum opus Tiruvācakam* one of the greatest and holiest poems in Tamiḻ literature.

In the subsequent centuries, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai became much celebrated for its sanctity. Naturally during this period texts in Sanskrit describing its importance were composed entitled *Aruṇācalamāhātmya* and these were incorporated into some well known *Purāṇas* Such texts are found in the *Śivamahāpurāṇa Vidyāsārakōṭirudra-saṁhitā, Aruṇācalamāhatmya, Adhyāyas* 1-31, in the *Mahā-Śivapurāṇa, Vidyēśvara-saṁhitā, Adhyāya* 9, verse 21 for Aruṇācala and for stories *Adhyāyas* 6-12; and *Skāndapurāṇam, Saṁbhava-kāṇḍam, Adhyāya* 48 and *Dakṣa-kāṇḍam, Adhyāya* 37. The *Vidyāsārakōṭirudra-saṁhitā* of the *Śivamahāpurāṇa* referred to above seems to belong to the 16th or the 17th century. For, it refers to the Śivagaṅgā tank in the temple, and this we know was dug up in or about A.D. 1517 on the orders of the Vijayanagara emperor, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. So, the stories, including herein must have been those which were current during this period in Tamiḻnāṭu. One of them pertains to a Pāṇṭiya king named Vajrāṅgada. No such king is known to have existed in the various historically important Paṇḍiyan families that ruled over the Madurai or Tirunelvēli regions which were their home territories. Probably he was a legendary ruler or was a chief of little consequence who existed in the southern Pāṇṭi-nāṭu in the 17th century, and who happened somehow to be associated with Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. It is interesting to note that a *prākāra* wall at the place bore his name in A.D. 1806-18, when the temple inscriptions were copied by the assistants of Col. Mackenzie[3]. But the description of the wall makes it clear that it was the one put up during the time of Rājēndra-cōḻa I (A.D. 1012-1044), and the new name was given to it some years prior to A.D. 1800, which also proves that this Pāṇṭiya was a fictitious person.

As a consequence of this popularity, many saints and men of letters went and stayed there to enjoy the spiritual bliss afforded by it. Some of the enlightened and envolved immigrants to the place and also some divinely inspired local residents composed poems and hymns extolling its grandeur and beauty, its importance as a centre of Śaivism and its greatness in matters spiritual. A list of books of this kind in Tamiḻ and Sanskrit numbering over 55 is given on pages 192-93 in the *Aruḷmiku Aṇṇāmalaiyār Tirukkōyil Kumbhābhiṣēka Malar*, April 4, 1976, Madras. Short notes on some of the works are given in it on pages 142-91. This souvenir also contains vignettes about some of the most celebrated saints including Aruṇākirināṭar, Kukai Namaccivāyar, Guru-Namaccivāyar, Ammaṇi Ammāḷ, Śēṣādri-svāmikaḷ, and Ramaṇa-maharṣi who lived, moved and had their being at this place. The legends pertaining to the place have also been recorded in some copper-plate inscriptions discovered here and dealt with below. Although their genuineness is open to doubt, they are valuable for having preserved this information.

Inscriptions copied from the temple :

The temple at the place which has been celebrated for its holiness through the centuries, was patronised by the rulers of almost all the royal families of Tamiḻnāṭu including the Hoysaḷas and the Vijayanagara kings. During their rule, the kings themselves had made a variety of donations to the temple. Besides, some private individuals too had contributed their mite for its upkeep and maintenance. Such transactions had invariably been put into writing and engraved on the various parts of the temple. In the course of the centuries the temple received additions, alternations and modifications. During these times, some inscribed slabs were broken of which some fragments were reused in the new constructions but some others were probably lost. Between A.D. 1806 and

3 *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, I, p. 114.

1818[4], when Col. Colin Mackenzie was engaged in copying the inscriptions in the temples of the Madras Presidency, he had arranged for copying the epigraphs in the temple in question. Curiously, of about 500 items of epigraphs found here, his assistants had copied only ten (*South Indian Temple Ins.*, I, Nos. 105-114, pp. 114-24). Of these, *S.I.T.I.*, Nos. 105, 107, 109, 110, 111 have been subsequently copied and the rest are not traceable. Besides, one-line notices of nineteen items prepared by two assistants are also found in the Mackenzie Mss. (D. 2869 and 2760 of *S.I.T.I.*, pp. 124-25). The Office of the Government Epigraphist visited the place in 1902 and copied 106 epigraphs which were reported in that year's Annual Report as Nos. B 469-574. Subsequently their texts alone were published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VIII (Madras 1937), as Nos. 57 to 165 totalling to 109 because of the fact that *A.R.E.* Nos. 476, 488, and 539 were each split into two. That office visited the place again 1928-29 and copied ten more inscriptions which are reported as *A.R.E.*, 1928-29, Nos. B 419-28. In 1945-46, they visited the place once more and copied sixteen new inscriptions and reported them in the *A.R.I.E.*, 1945-46, as Nos. B 66-81. Lastly they paid a visit to the place in 1952-53. In this trip they copied only two stone inscriptions (*A.R.I.E.*, Nos. B 212-13 of 1952-53) and four copper-plate epigraphs (*ibid.*, A 8-11) which were in the custody of the Executive Officer of the temple there. The epigraphy office had been able to bring 134 inscriptions and four copper-plate records from 1902 to 1952-53 of this place to the notice of the scholars. In our comprehensive and sustained survey of the temple for inscriptions conducted intermittently from 1979 to 1984, we have been able to copy about 360 new inscriptions, many of them in their full form containing important pieces of information, and the rest fragmentary. Besides, four new copper-plate inscriptions have also been copied in this survey. A list of all the inscriptions arranged in a chronological order is appended at the end. They range in date from the last decade of the 9th century to about A.D. 1800.

4 *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, I, Tamil Intro., p. XX.

The Cōḻa Period

There are 180 inscriptions belonging to the Cōḻa period in our collection. That Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and the Śiva temple there received good attention from the early Cōḻa kings and their subordinates from about A.D. 885 to about A.D. 1065 is known from twenty-nine epigraphs (1-12, 15-18, 30-42), from 13-14 of Kaṉṉaratēvaṉ of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty and another eleven fragmentary epigraphs (19-29). No records of the later Cōḻa kings like Kulōttuṅka I, Vikramacōḻa, Kulōttuṅka II and Rājarāja II spanning a period of about a century are found. This is a strange phenomenon[5]. However this period is represented by thirty-eight fragmentary records (43-80). But there are a hundred epigraphs (81-180) to show the attention that the kings like Rājādhirāja II, Kulōttuṅka III, Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III bestowed on the place and the temple, the patronage of Kulōttuṅka III to the temple being outstanding as revealed by forty-nine records of his time, the largest number to be met with here for any Cōḻa monarch. In fact this period may be said to be the golden period in the history of the temple.

Āditya I (circa A.D. 870-907)

The earliest of them, which is indeed the earliest so far to be discovered by us from the central shrine of the temple is 1. It is a fragmentary epigraph containing parts of two separate inscriptions. Palaeographically this inscription may be assigned to the end of the 9th century A.D. While the purport of one of the fragments cannot be made out, that of the other relates to a certain action performed by a Vāṇakōvaraiyar (details lost) in the 14th year of the reign of the king Irācakēcaripaṉmar, and it mentions the god Tiruvaṇṇāttu Mahātēvar. On these two grounds the record may be assigned to the time of the king Rācakēcari Āditya I, and its date would then be A.D. 885. The second reason, *viz.*, the name of the god Tiruvaṇṇāttu Mahātēvar in a record of a Rācakēcari seems to play a decisive role in the attribution of the epigraph to this king. For, in an inscription (5) belonging to Parakēcari Parāntaka I's 15th year also (A.D. 922), the god is called in the same manner, although in a few other inscriptions of his time (2,3,4). the god gets the name Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahādēvar, suggesting thereby that, according to the available epigraphical evidence, the god who was called Tiruvaṇṇāttu Mahātēvar during the time of Āditya I came to be called also as Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahādēvar[6], after his time.

The god's name was changed to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Āḻvār in about A.D. 961 and it is known from the inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kaṉṉaratēvaṉ (14) assignable to that date. This shows that the practice of calling the god as Mahātēvar was given up from about

5 Somewhat a similar phenomenon seems to have occurred in the case of the temples of the Tirupati area where after Vikrama-cōḻa's inscription dated A.D. 1116, no Cōḻa epigraphs are found until the time of Rājarāja III's epigraph dated A.D. 1220-21. (*Vide, Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions*, Vol.I (1931), pp. 46-47).

6 In records attributed to Āditya I's time in *S.I.I.*, XIII (Madras 1952), Nos. 11, 13, 88, 109, etc, the god of the respective places is called as Mahādēvar only. Similarly many early inscriptions definitely attributable to the period of Parāntaka I, the god of the respective places bears the name Mahādēvar (*S.I.I.*, XIX, Madras, no date, Nos. 25, 104, 112, 115, etc.).

the middle of the 10th century[7]. That the god came to be called as Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Āṇṭār[8] in about A.D. 968-69, is known from two records of Āditya II's period (15, 16). Still later in a record (17) assignable to the period of Uttamacōḻa, the god is called Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Āḻvār[9]. In later inscriptions the god is invariably called as Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār[10] (30, 31).

The foregoing discussion will show that the central shrine built of stone was in existence before the 14th year of Āditya I, and it is not easy to know whether it was erected during his period or in an earlier period. If this is accepted -there does not seem to exist any reason to reject it- then, the inscription in question would be the earliest epigraph to be discovered from this region[11]. Since no epigraph earlier then Āditya I's time mentioned above has been met with in the temple, or at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai itself, it may not be unreasonable to think that the stone structure was constructed during Āditya I's reign, replacing probably the original structure built of brick, mortar and other perishable materials. For, as a staunch devotee of Śiva[12], he is credited with having built "on both banks of the river Kāvērī rows of tall temples to Śiva which stood, the monuments of his success from the Sahyādri to the wide ocean"[13], according to the Anbil copper-plate record of the time of Sundara-cōḻa[14]. It is, however, known from the hymns of the Śaiva Nāyaṉmārs Tiruñānacampantar and Appar or Tirunāvukkaracu of the 7th century A.D. that there existed at the place a shrine to the god even then. The inscription of Āditya I under discussion (1) is interesting as it makes mention of a Vāṇakōvaraiyar which shows that even as early as the 14th year of the reign of this Cōḻa king, a member of the Bāṇas, an ancient family of rulers having sway over the region around Chittoor, was a subordinate under Āditya[15].

Parāntaka I (circa A.D. 907-955)

As many as eleven inscriptions, mostly fragmentary, but in 10th century characters, have been discovered from the central shrine of the temple, four in 1902 by the Epigraphy department (2, 3, 5, 10) and the rest by us recently (4, 6 to 9, 11, 12). All belong to a king called Parakēcari-varman. Since five of them mention the title *Matiraikoṇṭa* which is specific to Parāntaka I, the son and successor of Āditya I, there is no difficulty in assigning them to him. The others, though without this title, may be attributed to the same king on palaeographical grounds. The purport of the fragmentary inscriptions cannot be made out. However, in (6) the name Śrī-Kaṇṭarātittar occurs which certainly refers to a son of the same name of Parāntaka I. 8 makes mention of Paṅkaja-nāṭu and Vāṇkappāṭi two of the territories which, as we shall see, occur in many records of the subsequent periods. A complete record of the king copied in 1902, (5), is dated in the 15th year (i.e., A.D. 922) of his reign. This epigraph furnishes us with some interesting points *viz.*, that the god is called here as Tiruvaṇṇāttu Mahādēvar, that the gift was of a *nuntā* (perpetual) lamp to the god, that the donor was Āṟkkuṉṟaṉ Aṉparukkaṭi who belonged to Viccūr in Kāntaḷūr-nāṭu on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai in Vāṇakappāṭi.

The two epigraphs, (2) and (3), belong to the 3rd (i.e., A.D. 910) and 4th (i.e., A.D. 911) regnal years of king Parakēcaripanmar whose identification with Parāntaka I is supported by their contents also, besides palaeography, in spite of the fact that the title *Matiraikoṇṭa* which is known to have been born by him from the 3rd year[16] is not given in them. The former registers a gift of a lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahātēvar by the lady Kiḻāṇaṭika], the queen of Cēramāṉār. One of

7 That the practice of calling the god by the name Āḻvār was prevalent in Tamiḻnāṭu during this time is known from inscriptions from several places (see *S.I.I.*, XIII, Nos. 42, 60, 258).

8 This name is given to the presiding deities of some places during this period (see *S.I.I.*, XIII, No. 89).

9 In some epigraphs of the period from other places also the name Āḻvār is applied to the god of those places (see *S.I.I.*, XIII, No. 51).

10 The name of the god of the Viṣṇu temple at Śrī-Raṅgam in Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district, similarly changed during the centuries from Tiru Araṅkattu Perumāṇaṭika] (10th century), Tiruvaraṅkattāḷvār (11th century), Tiruvaraṅkattu Anantanārayaṇasvāmi (12th to 13th centuries) and finally into Raṅkanātha (15th century). See *S.I.I.*, XXIV, Inscriptions from Śrīraṅgam (Madras, 1983).

11 *Contra*, K.A.Nilakanta. Sastri, *The Cōḷas* (Madras, 1955), p. 113.

12 K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, I (Madras, 1935), p. 140.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 135-36.

14 *E.I.*, XV, pp. 49 ff, verse 18.

15 See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas* (1955), p. 126. He appears to suggest that the Bāṇas were brought under subordination by Parāntaka I.

16 *A.R.E.*, 1928, No. B 157 ; *ibid.*, 1931, No. B 11.

the queens of Parāntaka I was a Kēraḷa princess[17]. Kiḻāṇaṭikaḷ figuring in the present record may be related to this princess. In the latter epigraph (3) the donor is one Teṉṉavaṉ Brahmādhirājaṉ the son of some one (name lost) of Vaṅkipuram in Neṉmali-nāṭu in Ćōḻa-nāṭu. A person of the same name of Rājamalla-caturvēdimaṅgalam figures as the donor in an inscription from Uṭaiyārkuṭi[18] dated in the 2nd regnal year of king Parakēcarivarman. It is suggested that Rājamalla after whom the village was named to which the donor belonged may have been a title of either Āditya I or Parāntaka I. In this case, the donor of this record may be the same as the donor of our Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record. It registers a gift of a *nontā* lamp by the donor to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahādēvar, and the burning of the lamp was entrusted to Kauśikaṉ Vayiri Ćēmāṉaṉ who had the right of worship in the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāttu, and his progenies. In both these records (Nos. 2 and 3) the shepherds of Tiruvaṇṇāttu were given the charge of the sheep for the daily supply (of ghee) for burning the lamp. These two records furnish for the first time some distinction between Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Tiruvaṇṇāttu. It has been seen above that in the records of Āditya I the god of the place was called Tiruvaṇṇāttu Mahādēvar while in the two records under discussion the same god is called Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahātēvar although the temple and the shepherds are called Tiruvaṇṇāttu tirukkōyil and Tiruvaṇṇāttu maṉṟāṭikaḷ respectively.

At this juncture the fragmentary record (4) requires examination. Its palaeography is of the early 10th century, and it refers to a gift of a *nontā* lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahādēvar during the 14th year of the reign of king (. . . .) ripanmar. This has been assigned to Parāntaka I's time not only on the basis of palaeography but also on the basis of the name of the god as has been discussed above.

(Rāṣṭrakūṭa) Kaṉṉaratēvan

The inscription (14), which is also damaged, records a gift of 20 cows to provide for the offering of curds to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Āḻvār during the time of Kaṉṉaratēvan. Interestingly he is neither called a king nor is he given any attribute which would enable us to be certain of his identification with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣna III. Since, however, he is known to have been having a sway over this region during the middle of the 10th century[19] this record may be one of his and its date may be about A.D. 961. The change of the god's name from Mahātēvar to Āḻvār in this record is noteworthy. Another record of this king (13), was discovered recently. It is very fragmentary but the year of his reign *viz.*, twenty-second (*circa.* A.D. 961) is preserved in it.

Āditya II (circa A.D. 956-969)

The two inscriptions (15, 16) belonging to the king Parakēcaripanmar described as Vīrapāṇṭiyaṉṟalai-koṇṭa and dated in the 3rd and 4th year of the king's reign are attributed to Āditya II on the basis of the title. He was the son of Rājakēcari Sundara-cōḻa and became the heir-apparent, but died during his father's life-time itself. On the basis of the regnal years given in these two records their dates are 959-60[20]. They record each the gift of a lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Āṇṭār. That the name Āṇṭār was given to the god Śiva during this period is known from an inscription[21] from Tirukka-rukāvūr in the Shiyāḻi taluk of the Tanjavur district. Here the god is called Tiruveḷḷaṭai Āṇṭār and the epigraph is considered to be one of the time of Sundara-cōḻa, the father of Āditya II.

Uttama-cōḻa (circa A.D. 969-985)

One inscription copied in 1902 (17) also belongs to a king named Parakēcari. Though it might also be one of Parakēcari Āditya II's time, it is considered by us to be one of the time of Uttama-cōḻa from the name of the god given here. The epigraph registers a gift of a lamp by Peruntēviyār, the senior queen of Perumāṇṭikaḷ, evidently referring to the king, to the god here called as Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Āḻvār. It appears that during this period

17 *S.I.I.*, II, p. 383, verse 8.
18 *Ibid.*, XIX, No. 20.
19 See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Ćōḻas* (1955 edition), pp. 132 ff.
20 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 149 ff.
21 *S.I.I.*, XIII, No. 89.

the god Śiva of several places was called by this name as known from an inscription from Vēdāraṇyam[22] where the god is called Tirumaṟaikkāṭṭāḷvār and another from Tiruveṟumbūr[23] where the god is called Tiruveṟumbiyūrāḷvār.

Rājarāja I (circa A.D. 985-1014)

An epigraph in the 10th century characters (18) is another fragmentary one. Its characters are more developed than those of the epigraphs detailed above. On this basis, we have assigned it to the end of the 10th century[24]. It belongs to the 13th year of a king called Rājakēcari who must be Rājarāja I, and the date of the record must therefore be A.D. 998. It registers a grant of 20 *kaḻañcu* of *tuḷaipoṉ* (specific gold) from the annual interest of 5 *kaḻañcu* on it, the tank of the village of Puliyūrnāṭicaturarvētimaṅkalam should be kept in good repairs. The village was a *tēvatāṉap-piramatēyam* in Tiruvaṇṇā-nāṭu. The donor was Cirraṇpuliyūr-nāṭaṉ (one belonging to the place called Cirraṇpuliyūr-nāṭu), the son of Vāṇkōvaraiyar (i.e., a Bāṇa chief) named Kuṇamantaṉ Kuṟumpakōlāḷaṉ Vayiramēkaṇār[25]. The details like the name of Tiruvaṇṇā-nāṭu and the name of the *caturvētimaṅkalam*, and the term *tēvatānap-piramatēyam* occur for the first time in this epigraph and they appear to support our assigning the record to Rājarāja I's time. For, this *caturvētimaṅkalam* seems to have been established during this king's time and it continued to exist for a long time during the subsequent periods, and the *nāṭu* called Aṇṇā-nāṭu seems to have come into vogue only from now on.

Other 10th century fragmentary epigraphs.

Eleven more badly damaged and fragmentary inscriptions (19 to 29) in 10th century characters have been found in the temple, nine of them from the central shrine, one (28) from the floor of the portico of the Dēvasthānam office and one from the II *prākāra* wall (29). Even in their mutilated condition they are seen to furnish some interesting pieces of information. For instance, 19, which registered a gift of a lamp refers to the Tiruvaṇṇāttu maṉṟāṭkaḷ, the name Tiruvaṇṇāttu being a characteristic appellation of the place in the 10th century. 20 is similar to the above, but here a certain person called Malaiyaṉ Vaḻā. . . . of Ceñci in Ćiṅkapurānāṭu and a shepherd named Pūtaṉ figure. It is interesting to note that in an inscription of about the 10th century from Toṇḍūr[26] in Gingee taluk, South Arcot district, a chief named Viṇṇkōvararyaṉ Vayiri Malaiyaṉ figures. It is not known if this Vayiri Malaiyaṉ had any relationship with Malaiyaṉ Vaḻā . . . of Ceñci of our inscription. 21 refers to Tiruvaṇṇāttu tēvakarmikaḷ i.e., god's servants of Tiruvaṇṇāttu. 22 probably has a reference to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (Mahā)tēvar and seems to register a gift of a couple of *nontā* lamps to the god. 23 also refers to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahātēvar, besides mentioning Mēṟkōvaḻūr-nāṭu in Vāṇakappāṭi and Vīracōḻaṉ apparently refers to Parāntaka I "who earned this name by his victory over the invincible Kṛṣṇarāja"[27]. The year 18 occurring in this epigraph probably refers to the regnal year of Parāntaka I although we are not certain about it. 24 is also of the 18th year of the reign of a king who cannot be identified and it refers to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahātēvar. 25 and 26 refer similarly to the god of the same name. 26 makes mention of Ćiṅkapu(ra-nāṭu). From the occurrence of the god's name Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahātēvar, all these fragmentary epigraphs may be said to have belonged to the first half of the 10th century.

At this point it must be stated that among the above-mentioned epigraphs, some are built upside down (26) and some are found paved on the floor in other

22 *Ibid.*, No. 81.
23 *Ibid.*, No. 51.
24 This epigraph has been assigned to Āditya I and the history of the temple based on it in *the Kumbhābhiṣēka souvenir* (1976), p. 377.
25 Vayiramēka-Vāṇakōvaraiyar figuring in No. 233 of 1934-35 in late 9th century characters from Maṇampūṇṭi in the Tirukkōyilūr taluk as well as in Nos. 158 and 161 of 1912 from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr near Madras was apparently an ancestor of this person. His epithet Kuṟumpakōlāḷaṉ suggests that he was in fact connected more with Vayiramēka-Vāṇakōvaraiyar's mistress Amatti *alias* Kurumpakōḷali of the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr epigraphs (*A.R.E.*, 1934-35, pp. 74-75).
26 *S.I.I.*, XIX, 80.
27 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 126, and note 23 on page 136 where it is stated that "the new title is borne by Parānataka in his 4th year (*A.R.E.*, 1943-44, No. B. 241)".

places (18, 28). Besides, the presence of such fragmentary epigraphs as (4), (34-36), (38), (42), (44-46), (53-63), (120), (125), (130), (232-234), (246-248), (260), (263), (320), (333), (364) which belong to various other periods but which may have formed part of the central shrine, are found on the floor at other places in the temple, suggest unmistakably that the shrine was dismantled and rebuilt at some time in the past, perhaps more than once. (See chapter on Building Works below). Fortunately, at the time of rebuilding, the slabs bearing the above-mentioned fragmentary epigraphs were also fitted into the body of the shrine.

Rājēndra I (circa A.D. 1012 1044)

Three complete records (30, 31, 32) engraved on the south wall of the 2nd *prākāra* and seven fragmentary epigraphs (33 to 39) found at different parts of the temple, belong to the king Rājēndra-cōḻa I, the son and successor of Rājarāja I. Of the three complete records, 30 is dated in the year 18 of the reign of the king and so its Christian equivalent is A.D. 1030. It records the sale of land by the people of four villages namely Āṭaiyūr in Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu in Maturāntaka-vaḷanāṭu, Cōri *alias* Rājēntracōḻanallūr in the same *nāṭu* and division, Maicārrūr in the same *nāṭu* and Māttūr alias Eṟipattikaṇṭanallūr in the same *nāṭu*. Besides, the people of Kuḷakkuṭi on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai, also of the same *nāṭu* sold to the same deity some land in their village for a sum of 80 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ*. While in the case of the villages of Āṭaiyūr and Cōri, the land sold by them is stated to be for the purpose of providing for the feeding in the hall called Śrī-Rājēntracōḻaṉ-cālai within the precincts of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār, in the case of the other three villages no mention is made of the purpose of the sale of land. In all the cases, the people of the respective villages have undertaken to defray the expenses relating to the payment of taxes etc. in respect of the lands sold to the temple, and so they belonged to the category of *iṟaiyili* (tax-free) lands. Among the boundaries of the lands sold in each village certain interesting particulars are mentioned. For instance, among the boundaries of the land sold in Āṭaiyūr, the land called Tāṉṟippaṭṭu belonging to Iravi Īśvaramuṭaiya Mahādēvar is mentioned ; similarly the land sold in Cōri alias Rājēntracōḻanallūr had as one of the landmarks on its eastern side, a temple called Rājēntracōḻa Īśvarmuṭaiya Mahātēvar, evidently built during the time of Rājēndra I. Cakkiliyaṉkuṇṭil is also mentioned as a boundary in this village. In the case of the land sold by the village of Maicārrūr, its boundaries are marked by lands owned by several individuals whose names are given, one of them being called Atirāmaṉ kūttāṭi i.e., Atirāmaṉ, the dramaactor.

The other epigraph (31) dated in the 19th year i.e., A.D. 1031, of the king registers five items of gift made by a *paṇimakaṉ* (servant) of the king named Pāṇṭi Utaiyativākaraṉ of Rājarājanallūr in Ārvalakkūrram in Arumoḻitēva-vaḷanāṭu in Śri-Cōḻa-maṇṭalam. This person set up an image of Piccatēvar (i.e., Bhikṣāṭana) at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai i.e., in the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and provided for food offerings to this deity. The second item of gift by the person related to the provision of *caṭṭicōṟu* to the devotees attending the procession of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār during the Tirukkārttikai festival. The third item of the gift was that he arranged for the daily *pañca-gavya* bath of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār. The fourth item related to the gift of the *nuntā* lamps to the deity Piccatēvar set up by him for the burning of which he endowed 192 sheep. The fifth and the last item of gift made by the same person was the provision made for burning 14 *aṇukka* lamps around the Śrī-Vimāna (i.e., central shrine) during nights by endowing 336 sheep.

The third inscription (32) belongs to the 27th year (i.e., A.D. 1039) of the king and it has three sections each registering a grant in kind or cash for a specific service to be done in the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai in the Maturāntaka-vaḷanāṭu. According to the first section a number of merchants (names given) of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai had undertaken to pay annually, for ever, 32 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* to the treasury of the god in lieu of some land, using which the *tēvakaṉmikaḷ* of the god should perform the bathing of the god with 1000 pots of water each during the Uttaramayaṇa-caṅkiramam and the Dekṣaṇamayaṇa-caṅkiramam as well as offering *peruntiruvamutu* (*mahānaivēdya*) on these occasions. This service is stated to have been instituted by the officer Nīlaṉ Veṇkāṭaṉār *alias* Rājarājamūvēntavēḷār of Arintavanallūr in Tiruvaḻuntūr in Tiruvaḻuntūr-nāṭu in Uyyakkoṇṭāṉ-vaḷanāṭu in Cōḻa-maṇṭalam. This was

engraved on the 128th day of the 27th year. According to the second section, the *poṉ* and paddy received as god's share from the village of Amarttikaṇṭappērēri brought under cultivation by Kōvaṉāccan *alias* Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōḻa Aṇimurināṭāḻvaṉ of Ātippuliyūr, after exempting 4 *vēli* of land from the village meant for some temple servants, was to be used, from the 129th day of the 27th year, for feeding the devotees including the Civacōkikaḷ and others attending the festivals in the months of Kāttikai and Paṅkuṉi. This was also arranged by the officer Rājarājamūvēntavēḷār. The third section of the inscription records the endowment of 26 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* for ghee and camphor for burning lamps in the temple. This service was also instituted by the same officer *Nīlaṉ* Veṇkāṭaṉ mentioned above.

The three long inscriptions dealt with above record interesting transactions relating to the temple that had taken place during the later half of the reign of Rājēndra I. They contain a variety of information on matters not known from other inscriptions noticed earlier. Their position on the southern wall and its beautiful round *kumuda* part of the 2nd *prākāra* is proof for the existence of this *prākāra* in A.D. 1030. The neat way of engraving of the characters and the blemishless language of the texts are noteworthy. The statement contained in 32, that the record was engraved on the 128th day of the 27th year (of the king's reign) reveals the meticulous manner of transacting the business in those times. That the temple business came to be done in the name of the deity Caṇṭēśvarar is known from these records. The inscription, 30, refers for the first time to the god of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai as Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār deviating from the practice of calling the god as Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahādēvar, -Āṇṭār, -Āḻvār or -Āḻvār. From the time of Rājēndra I onwards the name of the god came to be called as Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār only.

Besides the names of individuals and those of the villages and divisions, we, for the first time, come across, from this inscription, the name of taxes like *ūrkaṭamai, ūrkkaḻañcu, kumarakkaccāṇam, taṟi-iṟai* and *taṭṭārpāṭṭam*, and about a revenue official called *puravu-vari-tiṇaikkaḻattuk kaṇakku* belonging to the *cirutanam* establishment.

Seven other fragmentary epigraphs (33-39) of our collection copied by us recently belong to Rājēndra I's period. Of these, 33, 36, 37 and 39 preserve a part of the king's *meykkīrtti* (Skt. *praśasti*) and 35 and 38 relate to some gifts. The most interesting fragment is 34 which refers to a hitherto unknown queen of Rājēndra I named Kalliyāṇa-mātēviyār who is known for the first time from this epigraph.

Rājādhirāja I (circa A.D. 1018-1054)

Two inscriptions (40, 41) of Rājādhirāja I, the son and successor of Rājēndra I have been found engraved on the north wall of the 2nd *prākāra*. Of these 40 is much damaged while the other, 41, copied in 1902 is preserved better. Both contain the *meykkīrtti Tiṅkaḷār piṟavaḻara* and are dated in the 32nd year (i.e., A.D. 1050) of the reign of the king. While 40, registers a grant of paddy to provide for food offering to a deity (details lost) during the deity's car procession and when the deity was taken in procession to the sea (?), 41, records the acceptance of a couple of *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* by the members of the *tiruvuṇṇāḻikai sabhai* (executive committee of the temple), from the royal servant (*paṇimakaṉ*) Araṅkaṉaravaṇaiyān *alias* Vaḻavativākara mūvēntavēḷāṉ of Eṭṭi Ciṟuveḷūr in Tiruna-ṟaiyūr-nāṭu in Kṣattriyaśikāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭu and their agreement to perform from the interest thereof every year, for ever, the service of providing sandal paste to the god Āṭavalār (i.e., Naṭarāja) of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār during Kāttikai festival every year as well as providing sandal paste for spraying during the deity's procession. The particulars noted above about the deity Āṭavalār's procession etc., and about the designation of Vaḻavativākaramūvēntavēḷaṉ as a *paṇimakaṉ* are noteworthy. While this person is stated to be a *mūvēntavēḷāṉ*, Pāṇṭi Utaiyativākaraṉ figuring in 31, belonging to the 19th year of Rājēndra I is called merely as a *paṇimakaṉ* only, suggesting that he did not hold any office under the king.

Vīrarājēndra (circa 1063-1069)

Of this king who was a younger brother of Rājādhirāja I there is a single fragmentary epigraph (42) containing some passages of his *meykkīrtti* and it may be dated to about A.D. 1065. The stone containing this inscription is now found paved on the floor on the south side to the north of the *Alaṅkāra-maṇḍapa* in the 3rd *prākāra*.

At this juncture a word about the inscription 87 from the wall of the Kiḷi-gōpura has to be said. It is engraved in an insignificant place, its palaeography is of the late 12th century and it starts abruptly with the name of the king Vīrarācēntiracōḻatēvar. Above all, the persons Nārpatteṇṇāyirap-pillai and Maṅkaiyarkkaraci figuring in this record also figure in another inscription copied from the same place (110) belonging to the 24th year of Kulōttuṅka III. So, the epigraph in question doubtlessly belongs also to the latter king's time and not to Vīrarājēndra of the 11th century as has been wrongly held so far[28].

Fragmentary epigraphs in 11th century characters.

Ten fragmentary epigraphs (43 to 52) in characters of about the 11th century have been discovered by us recently. Of these, 46, refers to a member of the *tiruvaṇṇāḻikai sabhai* of the temple named Aṇ . iva] Kuṇamantaḷaṭika] belonging to the Kauśika-gōtra whose wife had given a lamp to be burnt in the temple for which 96 sheep were endowed and entrusted to the care of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai manṟāṭika]. No. 47, engraved on the *kumuda* part of the west wall of the 2nd *prākāra*, is a fragment of a big record, registering gifts of paddy made to meet the expenses connected with the festival of Tirukkārttikai of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār. The items of expenses included the payment in paddy made to a person bringing water for the holy bath of the god, for providing clothes, pasting, flower-garlands, *peruntiruvamutu* including various side-dishes, for providing *caṭṭi-cōṟu* to the *Pan Māēśvarar*, for a fuel-supplier, etc. It is stated that paddy should be regularly measured out every year to meet these expenses. It appears that this arrangement was made under the supervision of a certain Kaṇṭiyūr . . . . . Āṭavalān *alias* Ara . . . Ārkāṭṭu-nāṭṭumūvēntavēḷaṉ, evidently an official of the government.

The other fragments are much damaged and so nothing could be made out of any of them although they may be useful for a study of palaeography and of the language.

It is curious that no inscriptions which can be attributed to the kings like Kulōttuṅka I, Vikrama-cōḻa, Kulōttuṅka II and Rājarāja II are found in our collection. One may go through the pages 300 following in Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's *the Ćōḻas* (2nd edition, 1955) to know that these kings owing to the fact of their being preoccupied with political activity in the south and the north as well as with Ćeylon, had little time to devote to the affairs of the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai which lay at some distance to the west of the north-south trunk route. Further this region was under the safe management of their loyal feudatories like the Bāṇas who seem to have been looking after the temple well during this period as testified to by inscriptions in our collection belonging tc some members of this family. (See the Bāṇas below). Hence the absence of epigraphs of the Ćōḻa kings mentioned above at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

Rājādhirāja II (circa A.D. 1166-1178)

After a gap of about a century -Vīrarājēndra's record (42) being dated to ca. A.D. 1065- we come across 5 inscriptions of the time of Rājādhirāja II, earliest of which is dated in his 4th regnal year (i.e., A.D. 1170). As regards his relationship with his predecessor Rājarāja II and successor Kulōttuṅka III, certain amount of ambiguity exists, the only source for its proper solution, the Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai inscription, being damaged at a few crucial places. This inscription has been subjected to a detailed and close examination by some scholars earlier[29] whose findings have been disputed vigorously by a writer recently[30]. According to Professor K.A.N. Sastri "in the absence of an heir in the direct male line Rājādhirāja II, a grandson of Vikrama-cōḻa by a daughter, was chosen by Rājarāja II as heir-apparent towards the end of his reign, and Rājādhirāja

28 K.A.N. Sastri., *The Ćōḻas*, Vol. I (1935), p. 600 ; F.H. Gravely, *The Gōpuras of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai*.
29 See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Ćōḻas* (2nd edition, 1955), p. 354, Note C.
30 *Aruḷuṭaic-Cōḻa-maṇṭalam* (in Tamil) by N. Sethuraman (Kumbakonam) ; and *The Cholas, Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology* (Kumbakonam, 1977) by the same writer.

reigned as co-regent with Rājarāja for some years"[31].

The recent study[32] while confirming this, gives the details that Rājādhirāja II was the son of Rājarāja II's sister Neriyuṭaipperumā and that his precoronation name was Etirili.

Of the five inscriptions of this king, four were copied by the Epigraphy department, three in 1902 (81, 82, 84) and one in 1945-46 (83), and the fifth (85) by us recently. Three inscriptions are dated in the 4th year of the reign of the king. One of them (83) engraved on the walls of the Jambukēśvara shrine in the 2nd *prākāra* to the north of the Kiḻi-gōpura, while confirming the existence of this shrine in A.D. 1170, registers a gift of a *nantā* lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār by Eccilāṉ Amutavallavakkōṉ, the son of Tāmōtiraṉ of Vākūr in Vēcālippāṭi-nāṭu. He made an endowment of 32 cows and a stud bull for the purpose of burning this lamp and they were left in charge of a *maṉṟāṭi* named Viruntaṉ. Another epigraph (82) of the same year engraved on the wall of the Ćitamparēśvara shrine near the above-mentioned shrine, while confirming the existence of the shrine in A.D. 1170, records another gift of a *nuntā* lamp to the same god by the above-mentioned donor who is here stated to be the son of Malartāḻi (evidently his mother) together with the endowment of 32 cows and one stud bull which were left with the same Viruntaṉ.

The third record (81) of A.D. 1170, on the wall of the same shrine supplies us with an interesting information. It records the gift of one-and-a-half *nuntā* lamps to the same god here called Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār by Kuḻattuṭaiyān Nākaṉ Kayilāyan residing at Kaḻa . . yam on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai in Vāṇakōppāṭi, in order to expiate the sin of killing one Cōḻaṉ tēvaṉ. It is stated that this act of killing was inadvertant because, while ahunting, the former aimed an arrow at a wild animal which, missing its target, pierced the latter. For burning the 1 1/2 lamps he endowed 52 cows and a stud bull. The inscription of the 7th year (84) i.e., A.D. 1173 registers a gift of two *nuntā* lamps for which 64 cows and two bulls were endowed by Marutan *alias* Āyarkulanāyakakkōṉ, to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉar, the endowed animals being left in charge of Malaiyaṉ Pūmaṉ *alias* Aruṇakirikkōṉ who is described as "this god's *tiruviḻakku-maṉṟāṭi*". The donor, the son of *maṉṟāṭi* Vātāvikkoṉ is stated to have belonged to Palanakar in Paḻkuṉṟak-kōṭṭam in Jeyaṅkoṇṭacōḻa-maṇṭalam. The recently discovered fragmentary epigraph (85) also of the 7th year, i.e., A.D. 1173, is interesting in that it registers an undertaking given by three persons (names lost) not to do anything against Appakayaṉ Kūttāṭuntēvar *alias* Piritivi Kaṅkaṉ who was probably a feudatory of the king. The record is said to have been engraved in the temple of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyaṉār. In our collection of epigraphs, 85, is the first to register an oath of fealty given by three men to a feudatory chief of the king, indicating the surfacing of unrest amongst locally important personages.

Fragments of epigraphs in 12th century characters.

Over twenty stone pieces containing fragments of epigraphs in characters of the 12th century (53 to 80) are found fixed in several places of the temple like the floor on the south side of the 2nd *prākāra*, on the platform in the same place where the *sthala-vṛkṣas* are standing, on the Ṛṣi-gōpuram, on the edge of the barricade-like part around the central shrine, the *antarāḻa* -like part in front of the *ardha-maṇṭapa* of the central shrine, on the Kiḻi-gōpura, on the south wall of the 1st *prākāra*, and on the north wall of the 3rd *prākāra* (inside), in the godown to the north of the Ammaṉ shrine. Evidently these fragments formed part of long records which went into an original building which was at some time in the past remodelled. It is unlikely that the original blocks of stone that contained the complete records formed part of the central shrine proper as well as its original first enclosure wall. While the latter does not exist any longer, the extant central shrine shows distinct marks of reconstruction. (See chapter on Building works).

These fragmentary epigraphs are noticed here to show the vast quantity of writing that existed in the temple before the remodelling work was undertaken. Besides, they are given here just to enable a study of the manner of writing of those ages as well as to show how

31 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 365.
32 N. Sethuraman, *The Cholas* . . . . . (1977), pp. 122 ff. particularly p. 127.

certain words and phrases were used then. A few particulars of interest culled from some of these fragments are as follows : 55 refers to a gift of a lamp for which 32 cows were endowed by Kāṅkēyarāyan ; 56 makes mention of Periyamutaliyār-piḷḷaikaḷ, probably referring to the disciples of a head of an institution ; 63 refers to Viṇṇavatīrapputtēri, *cittiramēḷi* and Kaṇṇāramutapperumāḷ ; 68 mentions (Jayaṅkoṇ)-ṭacōḻa-maṇṭalam ; 73 refers to a capacity measure called Ālālacuntaraṇkāl, to Perumāḷṇācci, Tiruñānacampant(an) and Kaliṅkāṇṭai ; and 75 refers to the god as Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya ṇāya(ṇār).

The inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II and of his time discussed above do not give us any inkling about the fierce political activity between the Cōḻas and the Pāṇḍyas that marked the last years of the rule of Rājarāja II and throughout the period of Rājādhirāja II. Neither do they contain information about his fight with the chiefs of the regions in the west or the north. "That under Rājādhirāja, the Cōḻa empire continued to retain the same proportions as under Rājarāja II may be inferred from the provenance of his inscriptions which are found in Nellore and Kāḷahasti and Nandalūr"[33]. No information about any of the feudatories like the Ćeṅkēṇis and the Kāṭavarāyas of his period is also revealed by these epigraphs. So, we cannot either confirm or dispute the statement made by Professor K.A.N. Sastri about the growth of feudal conditions[34] during this king's time in this place and their bad effect on the central goverment from the inscriptions of this king in our collection. However, one of the inscriptions (85) referred to above, is a solitary instance noticed uptil the 7th year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II from this place, on the development of a new situation in which "the local chieftains began to enter into political compacts calculated to regulate their conduct towards the emperor. These compacts seem to have had an important role in effecting the transition by which the class of official nobility, which had at first grown with the growth of the Ćōḻa empire, converted itself into a number of petty local chieftaincies of a hereditary character. It is remarkable that the binding power of these compacts is often sought to be secured by the most fearful imprecations some of which are too shocking to be reproduced here"[35].

Kulōttuṅka III (circa A.D. 1178-1218)

Inscriptions belonging to Kulōttuṅka III's time "are very numerous". This seems to get support from the fact that our collection of epigraphs from this single temple includes as many as forty-nine items attributable to the period of reign of Kulōttuṅka III, the successor of Rājādhirāja II. According to Prof. Sastri, "the former's relationship with the latter, if any, is not clear"[36]. The same author in another context categorically states that "it is quite impossible that Kulōttuṅka III was one of the children of Rājarāja, said to have been one and two years old at the time of his death ; for he came to the throne in A.D. 1178 within six years after Rājarāja's death, and took an active part in the war of Pāṇḍyan Succession which had begun while Rājarāja was still living. The evidence of *Kulōttuṅgaṉ Kōvai* and *Śaṅkaracōḻaṉ ulā* also points to the same conclusion"[37]. But while examining the "most important record" from Pallavarāyaṉ-pēṭṭai, the *A.R.E.*, 1923-24, pp. 103-04, confidently says that the two children of 1 and 2 years of age were the children of Rajarāja II and "being an infant Kulōttuṅka III, the son of Rājarāja II did not succeed his father immediatly". This was accepted in 1957 itself by T.V. Sadasiva Pandarattar who has also categorically stated that Kulōttuṅka III was the son of Rājarāja II[38]. He has also accepted and stated that Rājādhirāja II was the grandson of Vikrama-ćōḻa[39]. That the date of accession of Rājādhirāja II may be A.D. 1166 has already been suggested as the probable one by Prof. Sastri[40], although his ignoring of the other facts is difficult to understand. So, the recent re-study of the problem after an elaborate examination of the Pallavarāyaṉ-pēṭṭai

33 K.A.N. Sastri, *The Ćōḻas* (2nd edn. 1955), p. 372.
34 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 373-74.
35 *Ibid.*, pp. 374-75.
36 *Ibid.*, p. 372.
37 *Ibid.*, p. 360, quoting *Śen Tamiḻ*, III, pp. 164 ff ; *contra A.R.E.*, 1909, II, 48 ; 1928, II, 21 ; *E.I.*, XXI, p. 186.
38 See his *Piṟkālac-Cōḻar Carittiram*, (in Tamil, Annamalai University, 1957), part II, pp. 145-146.
39 *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 145. Also stated earlier by K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḻas* (2nd edn. 1955), p. 354.
40 K.A.N. Sastri, *The Ćōḻas* (2nd edn. 1955), p. 359.

epigraph is good in so far as it goes to confirm the earlier views and for stating that Rājādhirāja II was the son of Rājarāja II's sister named Neṟiyuṭaipperumā[41].

Kulōttuṅka III ruled for forty years and his records upto that year are known. But in our collection, records belonging to the regnal years 2 to 35 excepting those of the years 7 to 9, 12, 15, 16, 22, 23, 31 and 34 are available. One of the second year (87) commencing abruptly with the name of the king Vīrarācēntiracōḻatēvar which was attributed by others to Vīrarājēndra of A.D. 1067 is included here for the reasons stated above (see p. 20). Another epigraph of the 11th year (94) is included here just because the title of Tripuvanavīracōḻatēvar of the king occurs in it, although the king is stated to have borne the title only from his 24th year[42] and that the astronomical details preserved by this record were found by Keilhorn not to work out correctly for this reign[43]. Amongst the epigraphs under study only one genuine record (128) of the 35th year contains the title Tiripuvaṉavīratēvar. One epigraph (131) which does not preserve the date particulars but containing the name Vīrarācentiracōḻatēvar coupled with the title Tiripuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ is included on the basis of the title[44]. Two inscriptions (132, 133) engraved one on each wall of the Kiḷi-gōpura, which are in Sanskrit and in the Grantha script of the 12th century find a place here in spite of the fact that they do not contain the name of the king or any other particulars relating to him, on the assumption that *Mantrīśvara* Bhāskara who, according to the epigraphs, was responsible for the coming into existence of the *gōpura* (*gōpur-ōdaya kāraṇam*) and was an important *Mantri* of Kulōttuṅka III. As shown below (see chapter on Buildings Works), the *gōpura* along with the enclosure wall and other adjuncts associated with it might have come into existence by the 2nd year of the king's reign because of the existence on its wall of the 2nd year record (87) already referred to.

The *meykkīrttis* of the king are not seen in any of the inscriptions dealt with here. Neither do they contain descriptive titles mentioning about his campaigns and conquests of Karuvūr and Kāñcīpuram or about his performing anointments (*vīra-* or *vijayābhiṣēka*)[45]. However, in five records, three of the 27th year (114, 115, 118), one of the 28th year (120) and one in which the date is not preserved (129), the title *Maturaiyum Iḷamum Pāṇṭiyaṉ muṭittalaiyuṅ koṇṭaruliya* occurs. This means "who was pleased to take Maturai, Iḷam and the crowned head of the Pāṇṭiya". The occurence of this single title amongst his 49 inscriptions dealt with here gives room to infer that the king valued the achievements mentioned here as important and characteristic of his regime while the other ones were of an ephemeral nature[46].

Other noteworthy points furnished by these inscriptions :

a) Temples, gifts made to them, worship in them, etc.

The temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai has been, naturally, the object of veneration and so a majority of the inscriptions relate to the gifts made to it. The god is invariably called as Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār. A number of inscriptions register grants made for *nuntā* (perpetual) lamps (86, 97, 99, 104, 108, 110, 113, 123, 131). According to a recently discovered inscription a gift of 53 *canti* (twilight) lamps is referred to (126). Another epigraph (111) records the gift of 600 *kuḻi* of land as *tiruviḷakkuppuṟam* for burning an *aṇukkan* lamp in front of the god in the name of the donor's mother, Nīlammai. Except in the last case where land was endowed for the burning of the lamp, in other cases cows and bulls are said to have been endowed for the purpose. Generally 32 cows and a stud bull (*poli erutu* or its Sanskrit equivalent *iṣapam* in several epigraphs) were given for a *nuntā* lamp. In one epigraph (86), 32 cows alone are stated to have been endowed and they were left in charge of Kaṇṭan Maṭattan *alias* Ālālacuntarakkōn who was one of the *tiruviḷakku maṉṟāṭikaḷ* of the god. This term, which occurred in a record of an earlier period also, implies that there were certain families of shepherds or cowherds (*maṉṟāṭi*) whose main work was to

41 N. Sethuraman, *The Cholas* . . . . (1977), pp. 123 ff.
42 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 397.
43 *E.I.*, VII, pp. 7-8.
44 K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḻas*, Vol. II (Madras, 1937), p. 717.
45 K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḻas* (2nd edn. 1955), p. 377.
46 N. Sethuraman, *The Cholas* . . . . (1977), pp. 119 ff. T.V. Sadasiva Pandarattar, *Pirkālacōḻar Carittiram*, Part II, pp. 151 ff.

maintain the cows or sheep endowed by donors and to provide ghee for the burning of the lamps gifted by them to the temple. It is interesting to note that none of the gifts of lamps was accompanied by the endowment of sheep.

Gifts of lands as *tiruppaḷḷieḻuccippuṟam* (i.e., the service of waking up the god in the morning) are recorded in a couple of records (88 and 102). For another early morning service to the god (*ciṟu-kālac-canti*) lands were gifted as *tirumantirapōnakappuṟam* according to a couple of epigraphs (103, 116). Lands are said to have been given to provide for service to the god during the late night (*ardhayāma*) e.g., in 92 and 91. Some inscriptions register gifts of lands to provide for the kitchen (*tirumaṭaippaḷḷipuṟam*) as for instance in 93, 115, 118, 120 and 148. One inscription (98) records the gift of 51 *kaḻañcu* of gold for making ornaments to adorn the god, while another (95) refers to the gift of 110 *kaḻañcu* of gold for a necklace to be provided for the god. There is an inscription recording the gift of a plantain grove and associated land to provide for the sandal paste and civet and another granting the revenue from the *makamai* in gold and paddy to provide for the clothes, camphor and sandal paste to the god (119). Two epigraphs (109 and 128) register gifts of land together with their incomes for worship and works in the temple (*pūcaikkum tiruppaṇikkum*).

As regards festivals, two epigraphs (90 and 107) refer to three festivals, but they do not state anything about what they were and when they were held. In 90, a body of merchants called the Tanmavāṇiyar had undertaken to provide flag-cloth during the 3 festivals. The other epigraph is primarily intended to register the gift made by a body of merchants called the Cattiyavācaka Tanmavāṇiyar probably identical with the above-mentioned body of 500 *kuḻi* of land as *maṭappuṟam* to a *maṭam* named Ukkirar-cattiyavācaka-taṉmavāṇiyar-maṭam for the purpose of feeding the *Māhēśvaras* during the 3 festivals. The inscription, (*S.I.I.*, VIII, 147), however, mentions *Tirukkāttikai tirunāḷ*. It states that from this festival of the 32nd year (of the king's reign) twenty persons were employed as *tiruvīṭiyāṇṭār* to maintain whom some lands were gifted, probably by the king.

The inscription, (86) is interesting in that it records the setting up of an image of the goddess (*Nāccyār*) in the *Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam* (i.e., the goddess' shrine) and also gifting of gold for ornaments to the image and of lands to provide for food offering to the deity. Amongst the epigraphs of our collection this record dated A.D. 1180 is the earliest to refer to a *Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam*. Another epigraph, 110, dated A.D. 1202, refers to the setting up of an image of Ćuntarapperumāḷ and his consorts and to the provision in gold made for an eye ornament to the goddess (*Nāccyār*).

All the above-mentioned inscriptions refer to the deeds connected with the god and the goddess of the main temple. There is an epigraph (89), dated A.D. 1181, which, however, registers a gift of land in a village made by the temple anthorities to provide for worship and offering to a temple called Ćempiyanmātēvīśvaramuṭaiyār and to the deity . . . . piḷḷaiyār (probably Kṣētrapālap-piḷḷaiyār). From a couple of other records, this temple is said to have stood near the southern gateway. The name indicates that the temple should have been raised in honour of the queen Ćempiyanmātēvi, the wife of Gaṇḍarāditya-cōḻa, or by herself. At present no trace of any such shrine exists in any part on the southern side of the present temple precincts. But from the epigraph in question we know for certain that the shrine existed in A.D. 1181.

b) Donors.

The donors were generally the chiefs of the region who were evidently subordinate to the king, and we will be dealing with them later. There were also donors belonging to some other communities, organisations, and individuals. According to the epigraph 110, dated A.D. 1202, two individuals, named Nāṟpattennāyirappiḷḷai, the *kiḻaiyāṉ* (probably a mistake for *kiḻavaṉ* meaning 'headman') of Aruṅkuṉṟam and Maṅkaiyarkaraciyār did some charitable works in the temple including the setting up of the images of Ćuntarapperumāḷ and his consorts, mentioned already, and building a stone *maṇṭapa* named Maṅkaiyarkkaraci-*maṇṭapam* to house them. They seem to have been locally important personnages noted for their high sense of compassion and charitable disposition, which is acknowledged in this record. The inscription states that when during the 24th year of the reign of the king, there was famine in the place and rice was sold at *uḻakku* per *kācu*, they, utilising their wealth comprising of jewellery (*pūṇṭa poṉ*) and acquired money and paddy (*tēṭina arttamum nellum*) brought an area of

fallow land of the temple under cultivation for the benefit of the people. The village thus formed was called Tiruvaṇṇāmalaip-perumāḷ-nallūr. In recognition of their service, the temple *tāṉattār* gave them land in Aḷakiyacōḷanallūr *alias* Tirumēṉipiriyātanalllūr. That they were persons of distinction even in earlier days in proved by the epigraph 87, dated A.D. 1180, which, though a private record of theirs containing the information that they gave away the village of Cīmākēcuranallūr to a certain Toṇṭaimānācciyār, the daughter of Kāṅkaiyar, is engraved on the wall of the Kiḻi-gōpura. In 102, a certain Kalitēvan *alias* Immaṭi Cokkaperumāḷ *alias* Muraiyātarāyan, the son of Mātēvar, figures as a donor. He was probably a big landlord, as his gift consisted of a village.

A couple of records relate to the gifts made by a certain body of merchants. In 90, dated A.D. 1183, the body called *Tanmavāṇiyar* was the donor. The epigraph (107) stages that the body of Cattiyavācaka-taṉmavāṇiyar gifted lands as *maṭappuṟam*. As has been suggested above, these two may refer to one and the same organisation.

According to the epigraph, 89, dated A.D. 1181, the temple authorities including *Śrī-Māhēcurarakkaṇkāṇi ceyvārkāḷ* and *kōyir kaṇakkaṉ* themselves were the donors, just as in 110, the temple *tāṉattār* were the donors.

Rājarāja III (circa A.D. 1216-1260)

The epigraphs from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai include as many as 39 numbers belonging to the time of Rājarājacōḻa III. They range in date from the 3rd year of the reign of the king to the 32nd year. Though records of some years (i.e., 1-2, 4, 6, 8-10, 14, 22, 27-28) are not found in our collection, the range of date indicates that the king's sway over the region of which Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was the focus, extended from the earlier years to the 32nd year of his reign period.

It is not yet certainly known if Rājarāja III was Kulōttuṅka III's son or not[47]. It is known, however, that he was chosen heir-apparent by the latter in A.D. 1216 itself, i.e., two years before his death. Amongst the epigraphs under examination here, none contains any of his two known *meykkīrttis*[48]. Six out of the 39 numbers have particulars of date (147, 148, 151, 164, 168 and 169). Only two of them give correct equivalents in the Christian era, while the rest are either irregular or defective in one or two details[49]

1) 147 : Year 16, Iṣapa 28th, Saturday, Mirukacīrişam — A.D. 1232, May 22, Saturday.

2) 148 : Year 17, Mīṉa-śu. 8, Thursday, Rōcaṇi — A.D. 1234, March 9, Aṣṭamī ; but the *nakṣatra* was Ārdrā, not Rōcaṇi (Rōhiṇī).

3) 151 : Year 18, Kāttikai 17th, *daśamī* (*pakṣa* not given), Sunday, Rēvaṭi — If the year was 17, the equivalent is A.D. 1233, November 13, Sunday. The 10th *tithi* was for .12 of the day. For year 18, the data do not work out correctly. So, there is some mistake somewhere in giving the date particulars.

4) 164 : Year 30, Tanu-ba. 13, Aṉiḻam, Sunday — A.D. 1246, December 7, Friday, not Sunday, the *tithi* and *nakṣatra* agreeing.

5) 168 : Year 32, Kumpa-śu. 12, Friday, Puṇarpūcam — A.D. 1248, February 7, Friday.

47 K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḻas* (2nd edition, 1955), p. 417. T.V. Sadasiva Pandarattar on the other hand affirms his belief that Rājarāja III should have been the son of Kulōttuṅka III and that this would be proved by future discoveries ! (See his *Piṟkālac-Cōḻar-caritram* (Tamil), II, p. 181).

48 One begins with *Cīrmaṇṇi irunāṉku* etc. (*S.I.I.*, IV, Nos. 424, 540). It does not contain any historical information. The other one begins with *Cīrmaṇṇi malar makaḷum* etc. (*A.R.E.*, 1918, Nos. 392, 504). This contains a good account of the king's reign etc.

49 The equivalents given by us are obviously based on the remarkable ready reckoner series of *Indian Ephemeris*, by the learned L.D. Swamikkannu Pillai. Finding them out does not involve any jugglery or stunt but requires only a careful looking up, for proper equivalents, for the given data. Before the publication of the above-mentioned *Indian Ephemeris* scholars like Jacobi, Kielhorn, Sewell and S.B. Dixit had to work out the equivalents after making calculations based on the Brahma-siddhānta, Garga and equal space system. (See *E.I.*, VII, p. 9, note 5).

6) 169 : Year 32, Mēṣa-ba. 13, Wednesday, Irēvati

Not regular, but probably equal to A.D. 1248, April 3, Wednesday, although on this day, *ba.* 13, was current up to .35 of the day, while Rēvati-nakṣatra started after .54 of the day.

These equivalents afford us on opportunity to fix the approximate date of accession of Rājarāja III. On the first occasion Kielhorn fixed it between the 17th March and the 13th August, A.D. 1216 after calculating the dates of ten inscriptions[50]. Subsequently, he had calculated the accession date as lying between the 27th June and the 10th July, A.D. 1216[51]. Recently an attempt has been made with fanfare to re-examine the data of date in an inscription from Tiruttuṟaippūṇṭi (*A.R.E.*, No. 473 of 1912) for this purpose but the result being unfavourable, the solution to the problem of fixing the accession date of this king has been postponed to "until some more authentic records are obtained"[52]. But *A.R.E.* 1942-43, No. B 169 gives the 24th regnal year with Mēṣa (April-May) coupled with Śaka 1162 or A.D. 1240. This means that the 24th year was current before June-July of A.D. 1240. According to 168 given above, the regnal year 32 was current in February 7, A.D. 1248, meaning that the 1st year was current in February A.D. 1216. According to 148, the regnal year 17, was current in March 1234. This means that regnal year 16 ended before this date. Taking these two dates together, the 1st year of the king's reign may have begun some time after February 7 and before March 9 of A.D. 1216.

Political condition during the period.

Rājarāja III inherited a vast kingdom from Kulōttuṅka III. For the reason *viz.*, the lack of strong support from loyal blood relations[53], Rājarāja III also experienced a good deal of difficulties in managing his dominions, caused by his subordinate chiefs and by enemies from outside, and his strategies ended in failures[54]. Some families of subordinate chiefs like the Vāṇkōvaraiyas and the Kāṭavarāyas which showed signs of asserting their independence during the time of Kulōttuṅka III, became more vigorous in their efforts during the period under discussion. In fact, two Kāṭavarāya chiefs, named Kōp-Peruñciṅka I and II, father and son, are known to have declared their independence from their Cōḻa suzerain[55]. Similar was the case with the Gaṇḍagōpāla chiefs of Nellore. Apart from these chiefs, the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai under Māṟavarmaṉ Sundarapāṇḍya I (*accn. circa* A.D. 1216) began to wreak vengeance on Rājarāja III for the sufferings the latter's ancestors inflicted upon the former's ancestors. In order to contain these troubles Rājarāja III is said to have sought and obtained the help from the Hoysaḷa king Narasiṁha II (*circa* A.D. 1222-1234), who was related to Rājarāja. The Hoysaḷa king readily obliged him and intervened in Tamiḻnāṭu politics effectively to the advantage of his Cōḻa ally and at the same time gaining a strong foothold there which was held by his successors till A.D. 1342, the last year of Ballāḷa III. The Tiruvaṇṇāmalai epigraphs of Rājarāja III do not give us any idea of such matters. But inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysaḷas, the Kāṭavarāyas etc., unequivocally attest to the happenings of the period. The absence of Rājarāja's records of years 4, and 6-10, at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai seems to indicate that his reign was under strain during these early years.

Despite the difficulties that Rājarāja III experienced, he was recognised as the ruler over a considerable

50 *E.I.*, VII, p.9.
51 *E.I.*, VIII, p. 260, quoted by K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 438, note 1.
52 N. Sethuraman, *The Cholas*, pp. 184-87.
53 In Tamil there is a proverb, *āḷait-tēṭi āstiyaittēṭu*, meaning 'acquire supporters before acquiring wealth'. In the absence of loyal helpers, one's property will be certainly lost, because danger hovers over the head of a wealthy person even from his own sons if they are disloyal (*putrād-api dhanabhājām bhītih sarvatr = aiṣhā vihitā rītih, Bhaja-gōvinda-stuti of Śaṁkarācārya*).
54 This reason appears to be the main cause for Rājarāja III's unsuccessful efforts. So, the harsh and unfavourable observations made about this king by K.A.N. Sastri (*The Cōḻas*, 2nd edition. 1955, p. 421, "Rājarāja III was evidently not only weak but foolish" ; and p. 431, "even after the disasters brought on it by the incompetence and cowardice of Rājarāja III") and by T.V.S. Pandarattar (*Piṟkāḻac-Cōḻar Carittiram* (in Tamil), II, p. 182, "Rājarāja III lacked manliness and valour") do not seem to be justified.
55 K.A.N. Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* (1929), p. 144.

territory. This is proved by the existence of inscriptions in several places of his dominions which recorded endowments made by vassals and friends citing Rājarāja's regnal years. For instance, 164, of our collection, issued in the 30th regnal year of the king (i.e., A.D. 1246), records a gift of a *nuntā* lamp by Vēṇāuṭaiyāṉ Perumāḷ piḷḷai, the younger brother of Ćeṅkaṉivāyaṉ Ćōḻa-kōṉ, a *mutali* of Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅka, the enemy of the king. The donor named Nampirāṭṭiyār Nācciyār of the record 166, dated in the 31st regnal year was the daughter of this same chief herein named Kūṭaḷāḷappiṟantāṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Ćāṭum Perumāḷ. According to 162, dated in the 29th regnal year of the king (A.D. 1245), a certain Kollai Iruceyan, a servant (*aṭikaḷ*) of Nāyanār (king) Kaṇṭakōpālar of Nallūr (? Nellore), the same as the Gaṇḍagōpāla chief, donated a *nuntā* lamp to the god of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[56]. Thus Rājarāja III continued to be the sovereign ruler for 44 years i.e., till A.D. 1260, according to *A.R.E.*, 1939-40, No. 192, although our collection includes epigraphs, as stated above, dated upto his 32nd year only.

Donations of lamps and lands.

About 15 epigraphs record as usual gifts of *nuntā* lamps, except one (135) which refers to a gift of a *canti* lamp. Barring two of them which refer to the endowment of sheep, 100 in 151, and 24 in 162, the rest state that the endowment consisted of cows and bulls, generally 32 cows and 1 bull for a *nuntā* lamp, with some exceptions, one of which (139) mentioning the endowment of 30 cows and another (164) mentioning the endowment of 50 cows. The rationale for this deviation from the number of animals usually endowed is not known. Similarly the reason for the endowment of 100 sheep for a *nuntā* lamp in one case and 24 sheep for a similar lamp in another case is not known while normally 96 sheep used to be endowed for the gift of such a lamp. In the case of the gift of the *canti* lamp (135) the endowment consisted of 5 *kācu* which was given to a Śivabrāhmaṇa, from the interest accruing on this amount, the lamp was to be burnt. The cows and sheep were left usually with cowherds or shepherds. But in one instance where the endowment was of 100 sheep, (151) they are said to have been entrusted to a *tiruviḷakku maṉṟāṭi*. It may be mentioned that while the epigraphs of Kulōttuṅka III's time do not contain any record registering an endowment of sheep in respect of the gifts of *nuntā* lamps, two inscriptions of Rājarāja III's period examined above record endowment of sheep for the same purpose.

The donors of the *canti* and *nuntā* lamps, mentioned above included ordinary men and women, officials, and feudatory chiefs. Among the more common donors mention may be made of the woman named Kāmāṇai, the daughter of Maruntāṇṭāḷ who was the daughter of another woman (name lost) belonging to Nākattāmpūṇṭi (135, dated A.D. 1219) ; a certain person named Eṟanampi-ceṭṭi, of the Ćeṭṭi community hailing from Kuḷamukku in Malai-maṇṭalam or Kēraḷa (159, dated A.D. 1241) ; a person named Kollai Iruceyan stated to be *pēraṭikaḷ* (a servant ?) of the chief Kaṇṭakōpālar of Nallūr-nāṭu (162, dated A.D. 1245) ; one woman named Vaṭavāyilāṇṭai, wife of Kaṭṭi aracar (167, dated A.D. 1247) and one Talaikkāviri Āḷumpiḷḷai *alias* Nāyakkar Nārāyaṇan belonging to Tirumayilāppūr i.e., Mylapore in Madras (168, dated A.D. 1248). The group of officials included Uṭaiyāṉ Muṭiyan *alias* Nittavinōta Makatarāyaṉ who figures in one epigraph of our collection, dated A.D. 1229 (140) ; Kuḷattuḷāṉ Tirukkāḷattī uṭaiyāṉ Ammai Appaṉ *alias* Villavatarayan of Niṉṟai (141, dated A.D. 1231) who is stated to be a *mutali* of Ćeṉṉatikkānai *alias* Yātavarāyar in 151 dated A.D. 1234 and whose daughter Kōmaḷavalli was a donor of a lamp as per this epigraph ; Tirumalaiyaḻakiyāṉ *alias* Vīra-Vīrap Pallavaraiyaṉ, son of Aṟamuṭaiyāḷ and a *kaikkōḷa* of the temple of the god Āṭkoṇṭatēvar of Piramatēcam Tiruveṇṇai-nallūr (156, dated A.D.1237) ; and Perumāḷ-piḷḷai *alias* Vēṇāvuṭaiyān, the younger brother of Ćeṅkaṉivāyaṉ Ćōḻakōṉ, a *mutali* of Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ (164, dated A.D. 1246). Only a single feudatory chief is known from our epigraphs to have donated a *nuntā* lamp. He was Vīracōḻaṉ Attimallaṉ Campuvarāyaṉ *alias* Etirilicōḻac Campuvarāyaṉ (153, dated A.D. 1235). It is not unlikely that he is identical with Ćeṅkēṇi Attimallaṉ Campuvarāyaṉ *alias* Etirilicōḻac Campuvarāyaṉ figuring in an inscription

56 For more instances of this kind, see *A.R.E.*, 1918, No. 363 ; 1922, No. 104 ; 1904, No. 138 ; 1919, Nos. 444-445.

dated A.D. 1232 from Tiruveṇṇainallūr (*A.R.E.*, 1900, No. 89 ; *S.I.I.*, VII, 98).

Two epigraphs (138 of the 11th year and 169 of the 32nd year) relate to the gifts of lands to provide for flower garlands to the god. In the former, the donor was Umaiyāḷvāḷ, the daughter of a Ćēṭiyarāyar and wife of Ćittiyaracar. In the latter the donor was Umaiyāḷvār who is said to be the wife of Ilakkumatēvar. This woman was apparently different from her namesake of the earlier record. Three inscriptions (150 of the 17th year ; 158 of the 24th year ; 163 of the 30th year) record gifts of lands to provide for the requirements of the kitchen of the temple called as *tirumaṭaippaḷḷipuṟam*. The donor of the first record was Āṟakaḷūr Tempaiyāḷvāṉ Irārātēvaṉ Vāṇkōvaraiyaṉ who gave away the village of Kūvanūr, in a specified area, together with its incomes for the purpose as well as for the purposes of a *canti* and a festival. The donor of the second record was Kiḻiyūr Ākāracūraṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ *alias* Irācakempīrac Ćēṭiyarāyaṉ who gave away the village of Kōṭi *alias* Ćōḷaṉēṟkappiṟantāṉ-nallūr together with all its incomes as *tēvatāṉam* to the god for this purpose. The donor of the third record was Tiyākacamuttirappaṭṭai Ćittamaracar Tikkāṉaipperumāḷ *alias* Tirukkāḷattitēvaṉ. He gave away the village of Ćiṟṟāmūr situated in the specified area, together with its incomes (names given) to meet the expenses of the gift. The incomes from the village were also meant for the service called Ćalamikkakaṇṭan canti. One of the inscriptions (148) of the 17th year relates to the assignment of Paṟaiyaṉ ēntal and another place together with all its incomes as *maṭappuṟam* by the temple *tānattār* to Paṭaiv . . vanācciyār, the daughter of Villiyāḷvi for the welfare of her daughter Kaṭampāṇṭai and her younger brother Kēttanāyaṉ. The incomes from the gift lands were intended to feed the *Māhēśvaras* eternally.

Three inscriptions refer to the gift of lands to provide for the special services instituted in the temple by certain individuals. One of them (150), dated in the 17th regnal year, registers a gift of the village of Kūvaṉūr together with its incomes to provide for the service called Poṉparappiṉaperumāḷ canti, as well as for the kitchen of the temple and a festival called Eṭuttu tūrvalapperumāḷ[57] tirunāḷ. The donor was Āṟakaḷūr Tempaiyāḷvāṉ Irārātēvaṉ Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ. Another epigraph (160), dated in the 25th regnal year records the gift of the village of Kōṭṭappūṇṭi situated in the specified area, as *tēvatāṉam* together with all its incomes by Ćeṅkēṇi Kaṇṇuṭaip Perumāḷ Aḷakiya Pallavaṉ *alias* Vikkiramacōḷa Ćampuvarāyaṉ to provide for food offering during the service called the Aḷakiya Pallavaṉ canti, named after him, instituted by him. The third epigraph (163) dated in the 30th regnal year registers the gift of the village of Ćiṟṟāmūr, in the specified area, together with its incomes, by Tiyākacamuttirappaṭṭai Ćittamaracar Tikkāṉaipperumāḷ *alias* Tirukkāḷattitēvaṉ to provide for the service called Ćalamikkakaṇṭan canti, instituted by him, to the god. The gift, it is stated, was intended to provide for the kitchen also.

Among the inscriptions under study one (165) dated in the 30th regnal year refers to the gift of a standing lamp, evidently as *nuntā* lamp, by Umaiyāḷvār, the wife of Ilakkumatēvar, who is already referred to above. Another epigraph (166) belonging to the 31st regnal year records the gift of some amount of *poṉ* by Nampirāṭṭiyār Nācciyār, the daughter of Peṇṇaraci *alias* Ūṭaiyāḷvār, the wife of Kūṭalāḷappiṟantāṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Ćāṭumperumāḷ, for making some ornaments for the god. A third epigraph refers to the re-erection of the damaged *tiruveṭuttukkaṭṭi* of the temple by a certain Tirruppaṭic Ćeyapālan Toṇṭaṉ, son of Maṇañćēri Kuṭaicciyār Tēvāṉrāḷ.

The record (147) belonging to the 16th year of the king's reign has been considered important by some scholars[58]. The date particulars contained in this epigraph correspond to A.D. 1232, May 22, Saturday. This inscription records the order of the authorities of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉar, *viz.*, *Ćīmāhēśvarak kaṅkāṇi ceyvārkaḷ, tēvarkanmi*, and *kōyiṟkaṇkkaṉ*, stipulating the rates of *kaṭamai* etc. to be paid by Tiruveṇṇainallūr Meykaṇṭatēvaṉ Ūruṭaiyaperumāḷ *alias* Eṭuttatuvaliyavēḷār[59] in respect of the new hamlet called Meykaṇṭatēvapputtēri which he caused to be dug

57 Porbably a mistake for Eṭuttatuvaliyaperumāḷ (cf. Eṭuttatuvaliyavēḷār, the other name of Meykaṇṭatēvaṉ in *S.I.I.*, VIII, 74, dated in the 16th regnal year below).

58 T.V.S. Pandarattar, *op.cit.*, p. 200. The equlalent of date given under note 1 in the same place needs to be corrected as A.D. 1232, May 22.

59 K.A.N. Sastri has given this name as Eḍutuvaliyavēḷār in his *The Ćōḷas*, (1st edition, 1937), II, Pt. II, pp. 741 and 821.

up in the god's *tēvatāṉa* village of Māttūr *alias* Irārānallūr in Ceṅkuṉṟa-nāṭu. The order further specifies that one-third of the new village would become the *tēvatāṉam* to provide for worship and offering to the god Meykaṇṭicuramuṭaiya nāyanār which was caused to be set up there. It also stated that since the individual dug up the land and tank by using his own money, they were given to him as *kuṭi nīṅkā tēvatāṉam* to be his perpetual *kāṇi*. T.V.S. Pandarattar, while referring to this inscription has said that in view of its date, and of the main person Meykaṇṭatēvaṉ figuring in it, his native place, and his charitable deeds, he must be the learned man of the same name, who composed in Tamil the theological work called the *Śivañānapōtam* which forms the basic text for all the latter Śaiva Siddhānta works[60].

But other scholars like K.A.N. Sastri[61], has not said a word about the identification of Meykaṇṭatēvaṉ of our inscription with the author of the *Śivañānapōtam*, although the Tamil verse[62] quoted by him in praise of the author and his work contains two names Veṇṇai and Meykaṇṭāṉ which are respectively the same as Tiruveṇṇainallūr and Meykaṇṭatēvaṉ of our record. The inscription in question refers to the formation of a new hamlet by Meykaṇṭatēvaṉ and the record is not clear as to who caused the Śiva temple at Irārānallūr to be built, although the name of the god Meykaṇṭicuramuṭaiya nāyanār may suggest that the temple was the work of this person. These two deeds, may not be considered as very important ones ; and except for these works there is nothing in the inscription to indicate that this Meykaṇṭatēvaṉ *alias* Eṭuttatuvaliyavēḷār was, though a man of religion was also a man of letters to warrant his identification with the homonymous author of the great *Śivañānapōtam*.

Other miscellaneous transactions.

Two inscriptions of this group are of interest in that they are records of transactions done by the authorities of the temple of the god, pertaining to allotment by them of temple lands to private individuals. One of them (155) dated in the 20th regnal year registers the reassignment of lands in the village of Cīmāhēśvaranallūr, a *tēvatāṉam* of the god, by the temple *tāṉattār* consisting of *Śrīmāhēśvara kaṇkāṇiceyvār, tāṉattār, tēvakaṉmikaḷ*, and *kōyil kaṇakkar*, to eight persons (names given). This epigraph reveals the fact that the two persons, a brother and his sister, who were active in A.D. 1180 and who did some noteworthy charitable and philanthropic deeds during the period of Kulōttuṅka III were alive till the 19th year (i.e., A.D. 1235) of Rājarāja III. Further it shows that a number of new allottees who were probably settled in the village, hailed from different places like Arumuḷai, Viṭūr, Putuvūr, Tiruvāmpūr, and Vēṭci and they included a *tēvaraṭiyāḷ* named Tiruvampalampiriyāta-piḷḷaiyār. The manner of settlement of the rates of annual payment of rent is also interesting.

The other epigraph (161), dated in the 26th regnal year also deals with a similar assignment of the village of Tikkāṉaipperumāḷnallūr which was reclaimed on the opposite side of the tank of the village of Kalamuḷārpūṇṭi in Aṇṇā-nāṭu and the settlement of the rates of annual payment of rents, by the *Cīuruttira Cīmāhēcurar. Cīmāhēcurak-kaṇkāṇi ceyvār, tāṉapatimāhēcurar, tēvakaṉmikaḷ* and *kōyiṟ kaṇakkar*. But here, the allottee was a single individual named Tiyākacamuttirappaṭṭai Cittamaracar Tikkāṉaipperumāḷ and the village was made his *kāṇi*.

Rājēndra III (circa A.D. 1246-1279)

Five epigraphs, three of which are very much damaged and fragmentary, are considered to belong to the period of Rājēndra III. However, only one of them (176) of the 5th year contains the king's name Rājēntiracōlatēvar coupled with the title *Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ*. In two other inscriptions (175, dated in the 4th regnal year and 180, which does not preserve the date particulars),

60 T.V.S. Pandarattar, *op.cit.*
61 See his *The Cōḷas* (1955), p. 679.
62 *Ibid.*, p. 691. The verse and its translation as given by the Professor are as follows : *Vētam pacu, ataṉ pāl mey ākamam nālvar ōtum Tamiḻ ataṉiṉ uḷḷūrum ney pōta-miku Neyyiṉ urucuvaiyām nīḷ Veṇṇai Meykaṇṭāṉ ceyta Tamiḻ nūliṉ tiram.* ("The Veda is the cow ; its milk is the true Āgama ; the Tamiḻ sung by the Four is the ghee extracted from it ; and the virtue of the Tamiḻ work of Meykaṇṭāṉ of the celebrated (city of) Veṇṇai is the fine taste of the ghee").

the king's name is given as Vicaiyarācēntiracōḻatēvar[63]. But on the basis of the presence of the above-mentioned title and other internal details the king mentioned in these inscriptions is taken to be Rājēndra III. The other two fragmentary records are assumed to be of this king's time on grounds of palaeography although they can also go with the fragmentary inscriptions of the 13th century. No doubt the inscriptions under examination are few in number ; and the pieces of information they contain are fewer.

In spite of the fact that this king is stated to be abler than his predecessor Rājarāja III and that his inscriptions especially after A.D. 1250, "when Rajarāja III was continuing as the king and whose inscriptions of this period are restricted mostly to North and South Arcot districts, are relatively more numerous and some are from practically all parts of the Cōḻa kingdom"[64], our collection can boast of only a single genuine record of his time[65]. The king's *meykkīrtti* which is interestingly in Sanskrit and which is found in inscriptions of the 7th year of his reign[66] is not met with in the epigraphs under reference, since two well preserved items belong to the king's 4th and 5th regnal years and in the rest the portion containing the date particulars is badly damaged.

It has been stated above that the relationship between Kulōttuṅka III and Rājarāja III is not yet definitely known. The same uncertainty prevails in respect of the relationship between Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III also. While dealing with two epigraphs of the 7th and 8th regnal years of Rājēndra III in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam, at a time when Rājarāja III was continuing to be the ruler, V. Venkayya merely suggested that these two kings were ruling independently and that there was dissension between them[67]. He tried to support this view by stating that Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara and the Telugu-Cōḻa Tikka each claiming to have established the Cōḻa king on the throne were supporting one or the other of the two Cōḻa rulers[68]. This suggestion of Venkayya was without further examination accepted as fact and on it was based the opinion that Rājēndra III were brothers. It, together with the word *dhūrta* occurring in Rājēndra's *praśasti* formed the ground for Venkayya's successor H. Krishna Sastri's theory of Rājēndra killing Rājarāja[69], although the word *dṛpta* is used instead of *dhūrta* in the *praśasti* in certain other records of the king. According to T.A. Gopinatha Rao, however, the compound in which these words occur should be associated with Pāṇḍya which immediatly follows them[70].

According to K.A.N. Sastri, the increase in the activities of Rājēndra were due to an understanding between him and Rājarāja III, and that there is no evidence for the statements made by the above-mentioned scholars[71]. T.V.S. Pandarattar, while concurring with the opinion of K.A.N. Sastri has assuredly stated that Rājēndra was the son of Rājarāja III, at the same time pointing out the fact that till now no inscription has been discovered to support this view[72]. It should be mentioned here that as there is no clear evidence to tell us about his real relationship with his predecessor, so also vagueness shrouds his political deeds and military exploits. About one matter, however, there is some amount of certainty *viz.*, that he was

63 A king of this name and with the title also figures in *A.R.E.*, 1904, No. 162 from Tiruppāḷappandal (South Arcot district), bearing the 11th regnal year. In view of the figuring there of Aḷakiya Cōḷaṉ *alias* Piritikaṅkaṉ *alias* Vaḷamtarumperumāḷ, this record may be one of Rājēndra III for, chiefs bearing the name of Pirutikaṅka or Pirutivikaṅka frequently figure in epigraphs of this region of Rājarāja III's time probably as latter's agents. Indeed a Prithvīgaṅga is mentioned in *S.I.I.*, VIII, 88 of Rājēndra III's time in our collection. A king of this name and title figures in *A.R.E.*, 1906, No. 114, bearing the regnal year 4. According to *A.R.E.*, 1907, Pt. II, para. 41, this king is said to be one of the successors of Rājarāja III. This record is from Jambai (South Arcot district). Though it also may be one of Rājēndra III, a definite opinion in this regard can be given after examining the palaeography and other details of its text.

64 K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḻas* (1955), p. 431.

65 Of the 46 inscriptions of this king's period summarised by K.A.N. Sastri in his *The Cōḻas*, II, Pt. II (1937), on pp. 761-768, a majority are from places in Taṉjāvūr district and some are from Tiruchirappalli district. Only a couple of records from each of the North and South Arcot districts are included in this list, which requires, however, to be made upto-date to be sure of the statistics of this king's inscriptions.

66 *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 511.

67 *A.R.E.*, 1900, para. 30.

68 *Ibid.*, para. 48.

69 *Ibid.* 1912, Pt. II, para. 32.

70 T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *History of the Cōḻas* (in Tamil), p. 114. In spite of these defects the statemenents of Messrs Venkayya and Krisna Sastri have been accepted without demur by S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar (*vide* his *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 35-41). We have only restated what Prof. K.A.N. Sastri has given in his book *The Cōḻas* (1955), pp. 441-42, note 67.

71 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, 431.

72 See his book *Piṟkālac Cōḻar Carittiram*, II (1957), pp. 200-201.

friendly with the Telugu-Cōḍa chief Tikka or Gaṇḍagōpāla. Though Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha assisted Rājarāja III and helped him on more occasions than one against the Pāṇḍyas and the Kāṭavarāyas, Sōmēśvara, the son of Narasiṁha who was contemporary of both Rājarāja and Rājēndra and who was addressed as "*māmā*" by the latter helped the Pāṇḍya to whom also he was "*māmā*", against Rājēndra[73]. It is also known that the feudatory chiefs like the Ćampuvarāyas and the Kāṭavarāyas were like thorns on his body and in controlling them he got good support from Tikka, the Telugu-Cōḍa chief mentioned above. It is said that all his activities should have been done before A.D. 1253, the date of his *praśasti* containing a narration of them[74].

However, that a couple of years before this date, i.e., in A.D. 1251, Rājēndra was on friendly terms with the Hoysaḷa king Sōmēśvara is known from one of our inscriptions (176) which registers a gift of a village as *tirumaṭaippaḷḷipuṟam* to the god of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai by Ćiṅkaṇa-taṇṇāyakkaṉ, described as illustrious *Mahāpratāṉaṉ* and *Maṇṭalikar iyamarācaṉ*, who was the general of Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara, although in A.D. 1241, this self same general according to an inscription[75] is said to have created troubles in the Cōḻa kingdom and another *daṇḍanāyaka* of Sōmēśvara named Ravi-dēva, as per some other epigraphs[76], is said to have captured a part of the same kingdom in A.D. 1245, which were evidently adverse actions against the Cōḻas. It is, therefore, clear from the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record mentioned above and from similar records found in other places in which the Hoysaḷa officers figure as donors quoting the Cōḻa king's regnal years, that Rājēndra's policy towards the Hoysaḷa king, had borne fruit and that he was justified in possessing the titles "the restorer of the race of Maṉu" and "the ruler who avenged the humiliation of the Cōḻas"[77]. But there was also a political reason for the coming together of these two powers, for the Pāṇḍyas grew strong under the powerful Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya I (*accn.* A.D. 1251), and posed a threat to the other powers in the South. There was, therefore, an urgent necessity for the Cōḻas and the Hoysaḷas to combine and offer resistence jointly to the Pāṇḍyan forces. Their efforts, however, were apparently feeble compared to the might of the valiant Sundarapāṇḍya who whithin a short period after he ascended the Pāṇḍyan throne forced Rājēndra to become his subordinate and Sōmēśvara to return to Mysore region for safety, and the latter i.e., Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara, was slain in A.D. 1264 at Kaṇṇanūr near Tiruchirappalli, when he renewed a war with this Pāṇḍya ruler. Rājendra III, whose jurisdiction was limited to the Cōḻa-nāṭu after A.D. 1261, continued till 33rd regnal year i.e., A.D. 1279, as a subordinate of the Pāṇḍyan king and died leaving behind no successor to rule the Cōḻa kingdom which eventually got merged with the Pāṇḍyan empire.

Donations of lands and lamp.

Two of the epigraphs deal with the gift of lands as *tirumaṭaippaḷḷipuṟam* (i.e., to provide for the kitchen requirements) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār. In one (175) dated in the 4th regnal year (i.e., A.D. 1250), the donor is said to be Kāṅkaiyatēvan Kaṇṇuṭaipperumāḷ *alias* Irācātirācak Kaṟkaṭamārāyan of Ārappūr. He gave the village of Kattāri situated on the northern side of the Puṟamalai-nāṭu which is said to be the *nāṭu* of the donor. The gift included also the taxes accruing from the village. That Puṟamalai-nāṭu, which comprised part of the present Salem district, belonged to the donor named Kāṅkaiyatēvan bearing the title of Kaṟkaṭamārāyaṉ shows that the family of this chief belonged to this region and that it was an ancestor of this chief who is stated to have been defeated by a Kāṭavarāya during the last years of Kulōttuṅka III's reign. The other title of Kāṅkaiyan namely Rācātirāca reminds one of Rājādhirāja II. Probably the family of this chief benefitted much from this Cōḻa king or brought into prominence by him. That may be the reason for the chief of the inscription in question to continue to cherish the name of Rājādhirāja II by adding it to his own name.

The other record (176) dated in the 5th regnal year

73 Owing to this the Cōḻa king was unsuccessful in his attempts to check the Pāṇḍyas.
74 See K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 431 ff., and T.V.S. Pandarattar, *op.cit.*
75 *A.R.E.*, 1904, No. 501.
76 *Inscriptions (Texts)* of *Pudukkottai State*, Nos. 340-341.
77 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 435.

(i.e., A.D. 1251) which has been already mentioned above, registers the gift of the village of Makuḷampūṇṭi situated on the southern bank of the Ćeyyāṟu together with its incomes in taxes (names given), as *tirunaṭaippaḷḷipuṟam* to provide for food offering during the service instituted in the temple of the god by *Mahāpratāṉaṉ Maṇṭalikar iyamarācan* Cinkaṇa-taṇṇāyakkaṉ for the physical welfare of his maternal uncle Kampaya-taṇṇāyakkar. Ćiṅkaṇataṇṇāyakkaṉ who is described in the Sanskrit verse in line 7 of the text, as *gōṣṭhāpaharaṇa* meaning the capturer of a *gōṣṭha* (Tamil *kōṭṭam*, a territorial division), although the name of the same is not mentioned, was the general of Sōmēśvara and as stated above, ten years ealier i.e., in A.D. 1241, he, evidently, on the orders of this king, worked against Rājarāja III and caused destruction of temples etc. as known from an inscription from Vēdāraṇyam[78] in the Tañjāvūr district. But the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai inscription states that the occasion for his gift to the god was his conquest of Pṛthvīgaṅga and the village he donated served as the pillar of this victory. We have seen above that for a long time before, the family of chiefs bearing the name of Pirutivikaṅka was a prominent ally or agent of the Cōḷas in charge of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai area. Why and when he fell out of grace of the Cōḷas that provoked the Hoysaḷa general to intervene in the matter, perhaps in aid of Rājēndra, and defeat Pṛthvīgaṅga is not easy to know. The gift village is said to be also intended to meet the expenses of the festival called *Tiruvacantan alias Tiruvēkampamuṭaiyāṉ* in the month of Cittirai as well as for the construction of the enclosure wall (*tirumatil*) called *Tiruvēkampamuṭaiyāṉ*. His uncle Kampaya-taṇṇāyakkar for whose physical welfare the gift was primarily made was another Hoysaḷa general.

The damaged and fragmentary epigraph (178) in the 13th century characters, bearing the regnal year probably of Rājēndra III relates to a gift of a *nuntā* lamp. The fragmentary record (180) also in the 13th century characters contains the interesting information that the people of the *nāṭu* situated to the north of the Karuvilliyāṟu gave a certain undertaking (details lost) to two persons one of whom was Eṉakkunallaperumāḷ. The last epigraph (179) also damaged but containing the regnal year 27, perhaps of the same king, refers to the setting up of a deity Kamaladēvēśvara (?).

Conclusion.

There are eighteen records (1to 18), mostly fragmentary, representing the period from Āditya I's time (1, A.D. 885) to the time of Rājarāja I (18, A.D. 998) and a majority of them belong to the time of Parāntaka I indicating his interest in the temple. During this period the place was called either as Tiruvaṇṇāttu or Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. The god of the temple bore the name of Tiruvaṇṇāttu Mahādēvar (1, 5, etc.) Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahādēvar (2, 3, etc), Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Āṇṭār (13, 15, 16), or Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Āḻvār (14, 17). Several records of this period relate to the gift of one *nuntā* (perpetual lamp) to the temple. It is noteworthy that the donors of lamps included some distinguished persons like Kiḻāṇaṭikaḷ, the queen of Cēramānār (2), Peruntēviyār, the queen of Perumāṇaṭikaḷ (17), and Teṉṉavaṉ Brahamādhirājaṉ (3). Presumably these people visited the temple at the time when they gifted the lamps. No other information, on building works, on festivals, on special worship, etc., is, however, available from these records. References to *sabhai* in some epigraphs (1, 12) indicate that there were in and around Tiruvaṇṇāmalai *brāhmin* settlements in those places. Mention is made of Kāntaḷūr-nāṭu (5), Maruṅkūr-nāṭu (7), Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu (8), Iḷāṭaippāṭi (16), Cirṟaṇpuliyūr-nāṭu (18), Ciṅkapura-nāṭu (20), Mērkōvalūr-nāṭu (23). This indicates that the region around Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was a flourishing one. It seems that the people of this region have sustained the temple.

Then we come to the period of Rājēndra I to whose reign belong three complete records (30-32) and some fragmentary ones (33-39). Apparently the second *prākāra* was in existence in A.D. 1030 although there is no record showing when it was put up. In all probability it was built earlier in the reign of this king. Of the three epigraphs of Rājēndra I, the first one (30) registers the purchase of lands by the temple from some *ūrārs* which were intended to defray the expenses of feeding (perhaps the visiting devotees, free of charge) in the feeding

78 *A.R.E.*, 1904, No. 501.

house named Rājēntra-cōḻaṉ-cālai after the name of the king, established in the precincts of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār. The second epigraph (31) dated A.D. 1031, records certain gifts of land made by a servant (*paṇimakaṉ*) named Pāṇṭi Utayativākaran, (see p. 17 above). These records clearly indicate that there was increase in the population in the area around Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, increase in the activities of the temple, probably including the building of the second *prākāra*, and the flow of visitors to the place was also on the increase necessitating the establishment of a feeding house. The mention made of *nakarattārs* of the place and the cash transactions in gold referred to in (32) suggest that the area was flourishing economically also.

As in the previous period, so also now, very important persons visited the place. One of them was no less a person than Rājēntiracōḻa's queen Kalliyāṇa-mātēviyār (34) who is also known for the first time from this record. The other was an officer (*atikārikaḷ*) named Nīḻaṉ Veṇkāṭaṉ *alias* Rājarājamūvēntavēḷār of Arintavanallūr in Tiruvaḻuntūr-nāṭu, in Uyyakoṇṭār-vaḷanāṭu in Cōḻa-maṇṭalam.

Of the two epigraphs both dated A.D. 1050 of the time of Rājādhirāja I, 40, refers to the procession of the deity to the sea probably in the month of Vaikāci and 41 registers an endowment of *poṉ* to meet the expenses of the annual *Kārttikkai* festival of the god Āṭavalār (i.e., Naṭarāja), made by an officer of the king named Araṅkanaṟavaṇaiyāṉ *alias* Vaḷavativākara-mūvēntavēḷāṉ of Eṭṭiciṟuvēḷūr in Tirun-araiyūr-nāṭu in Kṣattriyaśi-kāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭu.

It may be noted that according to the records of the two Cōḻa kings mentioned above the god of the place was called Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār which was the one met with in the epigraphs of all the subsequent periods. Further there is no mention made of the goddess Uṇṇāmulai-nācciyār. Apparently there was no separate shrine for the goddess upto about A.D. 1050. The province in which Tiruvaṇṇāmalai of Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu (30) was situated was called Maturāntaka-vaḷanāṭu (30, 32).

At Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, the Cōḻa kings of the period after about A.D. 1065 (42) to A.D. 1170 seem to have performed some deeds also recorded in inscriptions. But no complete record of any of the kings of the period has survived, although a number of fragmentary inscriptions (43-80) assignable on palaeographical grounds to the 11th and 12th centuries, may be said to be fragments of full inscriptions of the rulers. Even in their present condition, they are seen to furnish some interesting particulars like references to donation of lamps (46, 55), provision made for *tirukkārttikai* festival (47), and refering to the god as Kaṇṇāramutapperumāḷ to whom land was given as *tēvatāṉam* (63).

The history of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai after about A.D. 1170 to about A.D. 1260 is filled with a variety of activities and transactions pertaining to the temple there and the places around it. Of the five records of Rājādhirāja II's time four relate to donations of *nantā* (note the change of spelling from *nontā* of the early Cōḻa period) lamps, one of them (81) referring to the donation by a person of 1 1/2 *nuntā* lamps to the god in expiation of his act of killing another person inadvertently and the fifth (85) relates to a compact given by three men to some one (name not preserved) which is the earliest of the kind of a record to be met with here.

A rich fare of information is available about the life of the people in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and on the temple there in the forty-nine epigraphs of Kulōttuṅka III which range in date from A.D. 1180 to A.D. 1213 and after. Above all, they show the extraordinary interest that the king evinced in the temple. Interestingly Tiruvaṇṇāmalai is stated to be situated in Aṇṇā-nāṭu in Irāja-vaḷanāṭu with no *maṇṭalam* being mentioned in a second year epigraph (86, A.D. 1180), of the king, but in a third year record of his (89, A.D. 1180-81), it is stated to be in the same *nāṭu* but in Irājēntiracōḻa-vaḷanāṭu in Jeyaṅkoṇṭacōḻa-maṇṭalam. This is a very first reference to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai being in this *maṇṭalam*. In all probability, the third *prākāra* with its *gōpura* now called Kiḻi-gōpura was constructed in this king's time. From the epigraph 86 dated A.D. 1180 we deduce that there was a shrine to the goddess, called Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam.

According to the epigraph 128, Irārātēvaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ dated A.D. 1213, gilded the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār. During Kulōttuṅka III's time feudatory families like the Campuvarāyas, the Kāṭavarāyas, the Pirutivikaṅkas, the Bāṇas, the Malaiyamāns etc. became prominent in this region. Our epigraphs show that certain members of these families gifted lands, lamps and jewelleries to the

temple (88, 92, 95, etc.). During this period, many compacts of understanding between groups of chiefs of this area took place as reflected in such epigraphs as 100, 105, 106. Reference to three festivals (names not given) occur in 90, and to the *tirukkāttikai* festival in 124.

The prominence gained by the local chiefs in this period coupled with the fact of their gifts of lands to the temple shows that the people's political consciousness was roused as never before. This was possible because of the generation of wealth in the form of agricultural production. Development of cattle wealth and tapping of the mineral resources of the region were also there to boost the economy of the period. This is evidenced by the endowment of cows and bulls only for lamps donated by the people of this period and by the gilding of the temple with gold by a chief and by gifts of jewellery to the deities made by a larger number of people now rather than before (95, 98). Thus Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and its surrounding areas were in a flourishing condition in this period, as a consequence of which the importance, wealth, size, and the rituals of the temple also increased.

Coming to Rājarāja III's time, there are thirty-nine epigraphs (135-173) of his time in the collection. The large number of records of this period, clearly show the great interest that the king and his feudatory chiefs evinced in the temple. Several records (142, 144, 145, 149, 170) also reveal the increase in the number of compacts of mutual help amongst the local chiefs. This greatly weakened the central rule. Tiruvaṇṇāmalai inscriptions show that upto his thirty-second year of reign (169) and probably for some time more, Rājarāja III's rule was recognised here. Notwithstanding the political troubles, the region around Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, according to the epigraphs of Rājarāja III's time here, was prosperous, and consequently the temple at the place was well cared for.

The reign of Rājēndra III experienced much political troubles, with the result his authority became restricted mostly to the Cōḻa-maṇṭalam. This is reflected in the small number of epigraphs (174-180) of this time of our collection. As usual they are seen to register gifts of lands to the temple by some chiefs (174, 175). The influence of the Hoysaḷa king of the time is revealed by 176 which records a gift of a village by a Hoysaḷa chief named Ciṅkaṇa-teṇṇāyakan who bore the titles *Srīmaṉumahāpratānaṉ* and *Maṇṭalikariyamarācaṉ*. This inscription is important as it states that the gift-village was also meant for the expenses of the building of the *prākāra* wall called *Tiruvēkampamuṭaiyāṉ tirumatil*. The latest of Rājēndra III's epigraphs is probably the very fragmentary epigraph mentioning his twenty-seventh regnal year (A.D. 1272-73), a short while after which the Cōḻa dynasty disappeared from the political scene of Tamiḻnāṭu. However, the interest of the Cōḻas in the region in which Tiruvaṇṇamalai is situated and the Śiva temple there was continuous from about A.D. 884 to A.D. 1272-73, with of course a break for a century between *circa* A.D. 1065 to A.D. 1170, although even this break may be attributed to the loss of epigraphs of the period due to some inexplicable destruction of structures that contained them rather than to the lack of interest of the kings that ruled during the period.

The Kāṭavarāyas

Thirty-one epigraphs (181-211) issued by one or two chiefs bearing the same name of Kōp-Peruñciṅka are found at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. An examination of them reveals that they fall into two distinct groups. The inscriptions from 181 to 196 are found issued by Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar with the titles *Sakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ*, *Kāṭavaṉ* or *Kāṭavarāyaṉ*, *Aḷakiyacīyaṉ* or *Kūṭal Aḷakiyacīyaṉ* (183), and *Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ*. Several of the rest (197-211) were issued by Kōp-Peruñciṅka who bore only the title *Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ*, with the additional title of *Cīpallavaṉ* in (197) and the title of *Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ* in (202). The absence of the titles *Kūṭal Aḷakiyacīyaṉ* and *Kāṭavaṉ* in the epigraphs of the second group shows that it belongs to a ruler different from the one possessing them. That these two individuals were father and son seems to be suggested by 208. It purports to be a record of Kāṭava-Kumāraṉ (the son of Kāṭava) with titles like *Vāḻvallaperumāḷ* (Skt. *Khaḍgamalla*) who was the son of *Cakalapuvanaccakkaravatti Kūṭal Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ* Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ. It appears that this Kāṭava-Kumāraṉ, when he succeeded his father, assumed his father's name Kōp-Peruñciṅka and issued inscriptions under this name. So, the chief who issued the first set of epigraphs may be Kōp-Peruñciṅka I and the one who issued the second set of epigraphs may be Kōp-Peruñciṅka II. A discussion has been going on for long amongst scholars regarding the existence of one or two Kōp-Peruñciṅkas[79]. But as stated above, according to epigraphical evidence, especially the evidence of the epigraphs of our collection, there were two chiefs of the same name. The large number of epigraphs of these chiefs found at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai clearly show their power and influence in this area and their extreme devotion to the god of the place. The Kāṭavas also called the latter Pallavas were known from epigraphs of the earlier Cōḻa period. But the chiefs of the family began to be prominent from the time of Kulōttuṅka III.

The chief Aḷakiya Ćīyar Kōp-Peruñciṅka is mentioned in an epigraph from Villiyanūr[80] (S.A. Dt.) belonging to the 6th year of the reign of another Kōp-Peruñciṅka. This record states that the temple accounts were audited for the period from the 37th year of Tribhuvanavīradēva (Kulōttuṅka III) to the 11th year of the reign of Kōp-Peruñciṅka. It may be noted that here there is no mention made of Rājarāja III ; neither is there any indication as to the date of commencement of Kōp-Peruñciṅka's rule, although the separate reference to this chief's 11th regnal year makes it certain that he ruled independently. Another from Chidambaram[81] (S.A.Dt.) belonging to the 19th year of Kōp-Peruñciṅka (II) refers to a flower garden called "Cokkac Cīyaṉ Kamukutirunamtavaṉam" and contains his order to the authorities of the temple there to inscribe this order near the inscription of the 15th regnal year of Periyadēvar evidently meaning his predecessor. The original inscription of the same year of Sakalapuvaṉa-cakravartin Kōp-Peruñciṅka referring to the same garden is found even now on the same wall where the epigraph in question is found corroborating the evidence of the latter. The term *Cokkac*

79 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḻas* (2nd edn., Madras 1955), and S.R. Balusubrahmanyam, *Kōp-Peruñciṅka* (in Tamil) and others favour the theory that there was only one Kōp-Peruñciṅka. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar, *S.I.I.*, XII, and T.V. Sasdasiva Pandarattar, *Piṟkālac Cōḻar Carittiram* (in Tamil), II (Annamalai University, 1957) and others say that there were two Kōp-Peruñciṅkas.

80 *A.R.E.*, 186 of 1936-37.

81 *Ibid.*, 1 of 1936-37.

Cīyaṉ is a variant of *Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ* and so apparently the garden was named after Kōp-Peruñciṅka I. According to the epigraphs discussed above an earlier Kōp-Peruñciṅka, who bore the epithet of Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ or Cokkac Cīyaṉ, was the predecessor of Kōp-Peruñciṅka II. That the former was the father of the latter is shown by two records, in Sanskrit written in the three scripts of Nāgarī, Telugu and Grantha from Tripurāntakam[82] in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, and another from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

The former inscription, which is undated, and which praises the greatness of Mahārājasiṁha, identified with Kōp-Peruñciṅka, states that he was the son of Jīya-mahīpati through his queen Śīlavatī. Jīya-mahīpati has been identified with Cīyaṉ whose full name was Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅka of the Tiruveṇṇainallūr inscription. The Tiruvaṇṇāmalai epigraph (208) also undated, purports to be a record of one Kāṭava Kumāraṉ, the lord of Mallai, Mayilai, Kāñci, Taṇṭaka-nāṭu etc., who is stated to be the son of (*īvan makaṉ*) of Pallavar-perumāṉ Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravartti Kūṭal Avaṇiyāḷap-piṟantāṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ described as *Mallaikāvalan, Niccaṅkamallaṉ* and *Paratamvallāṉ*. Though the latter's son, the hero of the record, is called merely as Kāṭava Kumāraṉ (the son of Kāṭava), from the many achievements of his detailed in the record, one may infer that he was in all probability the same as Mhārājasiṁha or Kōp-Peruñciṅka of the Tripurāntakam epigraph. It is, therefore, clear that these two epigraphs, together with the other ones discussed previously, furnish enough proof to show that there existed two Kōp-Peruñciṅkas, the first being the father of the second[83]. The astronomical details contained in the epigraphs of this family also point to the same conclusion because they are seen to correspond to dates of two reign-periods one beginning in A.D. 1231-32 and another in A.D. 1243. In the light of the above discussion the mother of Kōp-Peruñciṅka II was Śīlavatī who was the wife of Jīya-mahīpai or Kōp-Peruñciṅka I.[84]

Kōp-Peruñciṅka I who was a feudatory under Kulōttuṅka III, had gradually begun to assert his independence from the commencement of the reign of Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216-1260). Several inscriptions dated after about A.D. 1220 found in the South Arcot and Ćhingleput districts prove this. Establishing himself at Ćēntamaṅkalam identified with the village of the same name close to Tirunāmanallūr[85], Kōp-Peruñciṅka I seemed to have pursued vigourously his ambition to set up an independent principality by defying his Ćōḷa suzerain. The Tiruvēntipuram inscription[86] dated A.D. 1232 shows that the Ćōḷa king suffered setbacks more than once and was helped to regain his throne by the Hoysaḷa Vīra-Narasiṁha. The Ćōḷa king's difficulties were evidently brought about by Kōp-Peruñciṅka I. According to his own undated epigraph from Vailūr[87] (N.A.Dt), he is stated to have conquered the Ćōḷa at Teḷḷāṟu, seized all his parphernalia, put him along with his ministers in jail and conquered the Ćōṇāṭu. Here he is called Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅka. The fact of this chief's vanquishing of Rājarāja III at Teḷḷāṟu which is not known from any other source till now, but attested by three recently discovered fragmentary inscriptions (187, 189, 190) is considered to have taken place about A.D. 1231-32 from which year he is credited with the issuing of records independently using the title *Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ*[88]. Other interesting points mentioned in this record which consists of 5 Tamil verses in different metres, are that Kōp-Peruñciṅka possessed "the titles of Avaninārāyaṇa, patron of Tamiḻ, Kāṭava, Toṇṭai mannavaṉ, Nṛpatuṅka, Tribhuvanatti-rājākkaḷ-tampirāṉ, and ruler of Mallai", and the record speaks about his prowess, fame, victory over the Ćōḷas, the Pāṇṭiyas, and the Kannaṭas and his abiding devotion to the god at Ćhidambaram"[89]. The inscription from Ākkūr[90] (Tanj. Dt.), though undated, seems to have been issued immediately after the record from Vailūr. It states that Aḷakiya

82 *A.R.E.*, 198 of 1905 (Grantha) ; *ibid.*, 202 of 1905 (Nāgarī) and *ibid.*, 197 of 1905 (Telugu).
83 For further discussion on the subject, see *S.I.I.*, XII., Intro. pp. IX ff.
84 *Contra.* K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 402-403. According to him Śīlavatī was the queen of Aḷakiya Pallavaṉ Pallavaṉṭār and the mother of the only Kōp-Peruñciṅka, assumed by him.
85 *S.I.I.*, XII, Intro. p. X, note 4.
86 *E.I.*, VII, p. 168.
87 *E.I.*, XXII, pp. 174 ff.
88 *S.I.I.*, XII, Intro. p. IX.
89 *Ibid.*, No. 138.
90 *Ibid.*, No. 129.

Pallavar *alias* Vīrapratāpar *alias* Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar siezed the Pōcaḷar (i.e., the Hoysaḷas), levied tribute from the Pāṇḍyas and went towards the east along the southern bank of the Kāvēri visiting and worshipping in the sacred places. An important point to be noted is that the chief gets here the title of *Vīrapratāpar* which, though reminding one of his father Pallavāṇṭār's title Vīrarvīra and his grandfather's title *Vīracēkara*, was one of the titles borne by the Hoysaḷa kings. Another point to be noted here is that the king is called Aḷkiya Pallavar which reminds one of his father of the same name as mentioned by us above.

The reason for this is not clear. A full account of his deeds is furnished by the Sanskrit portion of a record of his 5th year (*circa* A.D. 1237) from Āttūr[91]. It incidentally furnishes the name of the king who is called Gō-Pṛthusiṁha (Tamil Kōp-Peruñciṅka)-mahārājā possessing the title *Sakalabhuvanacakravartti*. Other epithets given to him in this record are noteworthy. He was the establisher of the Ćōḷa (*Ćōḷa-pratiṣṭhācāryya*), the punisher of the Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala (*Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-daṇḍadhara*), the sun to the lotus of Toṇḍīramaṇḍala (*Toṇḍīramaṇḍala-puṇḍarīka-mārttaṇḍa*), Agastya for the ocean of the Karṇāṭās (*Karṇāṭārṇṇava-Kumbha-sambhava*), the mountain used for churching the Āndhra ocean (*Āndhrasindhu-maṇthācala*), the drum-sound causing the destruction of the hill-fort of the Ćēdi king (*Ćēdirājagiri-durgga-nighāta-bherī-bhāṁkāra*), the instrument to destroy the enemy king's positions (*Pararāja-ghaṭṭanagharaṭṭa*), the tornado of Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa to stifle the opposing enemy (*Paragaṇḍa-Kaṇṭhīrava-gaṇḍabhēruṇḍacaṇḍamāruta*), the extremely affectionate (*abhimānatuṇga*), resembling Rāma in battle (*Saṁgrāmarāma*), the hero who required no help (*asahāyavīra*), valourous in battle (*āhava-dhīra*), proficient in Bharata(nāṭya) (*bharatamalla*), a wrestler like one in the Bhārata (war) (*Bhārata-malla*), one versed in sword-fight (*Khaḍgamalla*), the Pārijāta tree of the Pallava family (*Pallavakula-pārijāta*), the crestjewel of the Kāṭhava (*Kāṭhavakula-cūḍāmaṇi*), one who was born to rule over the earth (*avanipālana-jāta*), the resident of Maṁgala (i.e., Maṅgala or Ćēntamaṅgala) or the abode of auspiciousness (*Maṁgala-nilaya*), one who delights in heroism (*Vīra-vinōda*), one who delights in sacrifices (*tyāgavinōda*), tho looter of the treasury of Gaṇḍa-gōpāḷa (*Gaṇḍa-bhaṇḍāra-luṇṭāka*), the impounder of the enemy king's harem (*pararājāntaḥpura-bandikāra*), the ocean of poetry (*sāhitya-ratnākara*), the possesser of Mallāpura (*Mallāpura-vallabha*), the attractor of Kāñci (*Kāñcīkānta*), the seeker of the Kāvēri (*Kāvērī-kāmuka*), the lord of the southern side of the Pāḷār (*Kṣīrāpagādakṣiṇa-nāyaka*), the ruler of the Peṇṇa river (*Peṇṇānadī-nātha*) and the perpetual administrator of all the items of work of the shrine of (the god) Kanaka-Sabhāpati (*Kanaka-Sabhāpati-Sabhāsarva-kārya-sarvakāla-nirvāhaka*). Later on he is called also as *Kāñcīhṛt* (the conqueror of Kāñcī). The extent of his sway, his conquest of Toṇṭai-maṇṭalam and Kāñcī, and his title *Avanipālana-jāta* (Tamil *Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ*) are noteworthy. Besides, he seems to have confronted with kings of several royal dynasties. The assumption by him of the title Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ appears to have been a significant event in his career and so a variety of its equivalents in *Sanskrit like Bhūpālanōtbhavaḥ, Bhūlōkapālanasaṁbhavaḥ, Bhūlōka-rakṣōtbhavaḥ, Dharaṇipālanōtbhavaḥ* and *Bhūbhōga-jātaḥ* are found employed each in a verse of an inscription[92] from Tribhuvani (Pondicherry State). For it denoted his conquests of territories previously owned by the Cōḷas, the Telugu-Ćōḍas, the Hoysaḷas, and other minor families like the Ćēdis as succinctly stated by the phrases *nirjjita-Cōḷa-Madhyama-mahī-Tuṇḍīradēśa* and *Khaḍga-kēḷi-vijit-Āndhra-Karṇāṭaḥ* occurring in this inscription. The term *Madhyama-mahī* means *Naṭu-nāṭu* and Tuṇḍīradēśa means Toṇṭai-nāṭu. These achievements are over and above what his father Pallavāṇṭār had achieved as per the inscriptions from Atti[93] and Āttūr[94] dealt with above. This shows that while Pallavāṇṭār excelled his father Vīracēkaraṉ, Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅka I achieved greater glory than his father Pallavāṇṭār, thanks to the valour and spirit of adventure of these chiefs.

The achievements detailed above pertain only to Kōp-Peruñciṅka I, for, amongst 130 or more inscriptions attributed to a later Kōp-Peruñciṅka (*S.I.I.*, XII,

91 *Ibid.*, No. 120.
92 *Ibid.*, No. 126.
93 *Ibid.*, No. 125.
94 *Ibid.*, No. 120.

Nos. 131-260) only a few contain historical information and in others, pieces of such information, borrowed from the records of the earlier Kōp-Peruñciṅka, are found included. Though the Tripurāntakam Sanskrit inscription[95] in the three scripts of Telugu, Nāgarī and Grantha, already referred to, and attributed to the later chief bears no date, it may be assigned to a date about Śaka 1184 or A.D. 1261-62 to which the same chief's Drākṣārāma record[96] belongs. If we compare the contents of this record with those of the one from Āttūr discussed above, the difference between them is known. In the Tripurāntakam record under reference Kōp-Peruñciṅka II is given epithets like *Sarvajña-Khaḍgamalla* (slightly different from the title *Khaḍgamalla* of his father), *Bharat-ārṇava-karṇadhara, Kanakasabhāpati-nātha-caraṇāravinda madhukarāyamāna, Niśśaṅkamalla* and *Kṛpāṇamalla*[97]. These epithets are distinctive of this chief and none of these was borne by Kōp-Peruñciṅka I. Further the former is called, in this inscription, the son of Avanyavana (*avany-avanaja*)[98], which seems clearly to indicate that Avanyavana was Kōp-Peruñciṅka I from whose title *Avanyana-sambhava* was derived. A piece of historical information contained in this epigraph also gives the clue that this chief is different form that of the Āttūr record. The Tripurāntakam epigraph in question describes the chief as one who was responsible for the enthronement of the Pāṇḍya king and one who made gifts to the god at Madhurā also besides the deities of other places. These references show that he was a supporter of the Pāṇḍya king of the time, whereas Kōp-Peruñciṅka I, according to the Āttūr record, was an opponent of the Pāṇḍya country as known from his title *Pāṇḍyamaṇḍala-daṇḍa-dhara.*

Kōp-Peruñciṅka I (circa A.D. 1231-1263)

This chief who is mentioned in an epigraph of the 35th year (A.D., 1213) of the reign of Kulōttuṅka III, and who, never reconciling himself as a subordinate of Rājarāja III (*E.I.*, XXIII, pp. 174 ff.), began to increase his power in the following years, seems to be the same as the one who in A.D. 1229 "recognised as his sovereign Rājarāja III"[99]. But in A.D. 1231-32, he overpowered his suzerain, became almost independent and began to issue records in his own right[100].

Sixteen epigraphs of our collection are attributed to Kōp-Peruñciṅka I. Three of them (187, 189 and 190), recently discovered by us, certainly belong to him, because, though fragmentary and have not preserved the date particulars, one of them contains parts of his unique *meykkīrtti* found in his Vailūr record[101]. Two others, also fragmentary (188, 193) may be his on account of the occurrence of the name Miṇṭaṉ Cīyaṉ Aṇṇakaṅkakkār coupled with Kōp-Peruñciṅkan in one and the name alone without the chief's name in the other, the name Miṇṭaṉ Cīyaṉ being borne by Kōp-Peruñciṅka I in his definite record of the 13th year (187) recently discovered by us. The rest are considered to belong to this chief on the ground that in all of them, except 181 he is called as Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Kūṭal Āḷppiṟantāṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Aḷkiya Cīyaṉ *alias* Kōp-Peruñciṅka. Though V. Venkatasubba Ayyar has stated[102] that the epithet *Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ* occurring in an epigraph of this family, supported by the internal evidence and astronomical details would help its attribution to this chief, according to our collection, the presence of the title *Kāṭavarāyaṉ* or *Kāṭavaṉ* along with *Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ*, in an epigraph seems to be a better indicator for attributing it to this chief. That the prince figuring in 208 is called as Kāṭavakumāraṉ (the son of Kāṭava) is noteworthy as it means that his father Kōp-Peruñciṅka I was known chiefly by the title of *Kāṭava*. It should, however, be mentioned here that none of the 130 epigraphs attributed to Kōp-Peruñciṅka II in *S.I.I.*, XII, Nos. 131-260, pp. 66-164, contains one or the other of these two titles, as the distinguishing epithet of this

95 *Ibid.*, No. 247.
96 *S.I.I.*, IV, Nos. 1341, 1342 and 1342-b.
97 This term and its synonym *khaḍgamalla* mean in Tamil *vāḷvallaṉ*. This Tamil form of the epithet *Vāḷvallāperumāḷ* occurs as an epithet of this chief in an inscription (*A.R.E.*, 480 of 1902). *Sarvajña-khaḍgamalla* and *kṛpāṇamalla* are found in an inscription from Tiruvakkarai (*S.I.I.*, XII, No. 246).
98 R. Sewell, *Hist. Inss. of S.I.*, p. 140.
99 R. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 139.
100 According to Sewell this event took place in A.D. 1221-22. *See* his *Hist. Inss. of S.I.*, pp. 136, 140.
101 *A.R.E.*, 418 of 1922, *E.I.*, XXIII, pp. 180-81.
102 *S.I.I.*, XII, p. 56.

chief, and in a majority of them he is called *Cakala-puvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ alias* Kōp-Peruñciṅka (*A.R.E.*, 323 of 1921, *S.I.I.*, XII, 147, etc.).

Kōp-Peruñciṅka I's epigraphs under study, range in date from the 4th year (181) to 31st year (196). Two belong to the 27th year (194 and 195) ; two to the 14th year (191 and 192), one to the 13th year (187) and amongst the remaining ones containing date particulars two are of the 9th year (184, 185) ; and two belong to the 5th year (182, 183). Here we are faced with a problem. Uptil now records of this chief dated beyond the 13th year[103] (187) are not stated to have been found. How then one can account for records of the 14th, 27th, and 31st years ? The only reason that can be adduced for this is that in the records of this chief with high regnal years also, he bears the name in its full-fledged form, which is not found applied in the epigraphs of this family to any other chief. If this is accepted then it will follow that though his son had become the ruler from A.D. 1242-43, Kōp-Peruñciṅka I continued to be powerful till at least his 31st year.

Five epigraphs of this group contain date particulars, (183, 184, 192, 194 and 193) which yield the following equivalents in the Christian era.

1) 183 : Year 5, Ciṅka (*pakṣa* omitted) 5, Friday, Rēvatī — Probably A.D. 1236, August 22, Friday[104]. But on this day the *nak.* was Aśvini that too was current for .12 part of the day only. Perhaps the *nakṣatra* is wrongly quoted. The *pakṣa* was *ba.*

2) 184 : Year 9, Mituna-*ba.* (The *tithi* omitted), Sunday, Mūla — Probably A.D. 1241, May 26, Sunday, *ba.* 1 after .46, and Mūla after .47 of the day[105].

3) 192 : Year 14, Viruccika-*śu.* 15, Sunday — A.D. 1245, November 5, Sunday.Probably A.D. 1259,

4) 194 : Year 27, Mēṣa-*śu.* 3, Friday, Mṛgaśīrṣa — March 28, Friday, *śu.* 3, but the *nakṣatra* was Kṛttikā, not Mṛgaśīrṣa[106].

5) 193 : Year (lost), Puraṭṭāti 21st, (*pakṣa* omitted) 13, Pūram — Probably A.D. 1256, September 17, Sunday, *ba.* 12 up to .33 and Maghā up to .34 of the day. If this is accepted then the regnal year may be 25[107].

The calculation[108] of the equivalents for the date particulars is vitiated by the omission of some detail or by wrong quotation of some other detail in givin them in all the four above-mentioned cases. Usually such difficulties are met with while calculating the equivalents in many an instance[109]. But they are

103 R. Sewell, *Hist. Inss of S. India*, p. 141 citing V. Rangacharya, *Top.List.*, Tanj. 346 ; 135 of 1895 and *E.I.*, VII, p. 165, has stated that this record of the 13th year of Cakala. Kōp-Peruñciṅka belonged to the 1st chief of the name, after giving its date as July 30, 1249. Unfortunately he was misled in this regard by V. Rangacharya who, in his book cited, quoting *E.I.* ,VII, p. 165, has stated that "Dr. Kielhorn calculates the exact date to be Friday, the 30th July, A.D. 1249". This is wrong. Kielhorn has, on the contrary, clearly stated that the date particulars of this record are incorrect. The equivalent of 30th July, A.D. 1249 given by him is really for the record (*A.R.E.*, 320 of 1902) from Tiruveṇṇainallūr. The Tanj. Dt. record in question belongs to Kōp-Peruñciṅka II.

104 Between A.D. 1220 and 1280, two other equivalents are available for these data : (a) A.D. 1246, August 3, Friday with Rāvatī current up to .23 part of the day, the *pakṣa* being *ba.* ; (b) A.D. 1273, August 4, *ba.* 5, Friday, this being regular. Since these dates do not pertain to the period of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I, they are not useful here.

105 Between A.D. 1230 and 1280, equivalents for the astronomical data are available in the years 1235, 1238 and 1262. But they are outside our scope.

106 If the record is supposed to be of Kōp-Peruñciṅka II, which is not the case, even then the probable equivalent A.D. 1270, April 24, *śu.* 3, suffers from the defect that the day was Thursday, not Friday. Between A.D. 1240 and 1280, two regular equivalents for the data are available only in the years 1246 and 1273 which are, however, not acceptable to us.

107 In spite of the presence of details like month, solar day *nakṣatra*, the absence of the regnal year and the *pakṣa* in the data has stood in the way of giving a near correct equivalent or to say categorically that the data are irregular. Between A.D. 1230 and 1280, two other equivalents are seen : (a) A.D. 1237 September 17, Thursday, with *ba.* 12 up to .66 and *nak.* Maghā upto .62 of the day, and (b) A.D. 1275, September 18, Wednesday, with *ba.* 12 upto .30 and Maghā upto .30 of the day.

108 This is based on *An Indian Ephemeris*, IV (Madras, 1922), by L.D. Swamikannu Pillai. Except for the bestowal of usual care required for noting down the correct equivalents for the given data of date from this ready reckoner, no extraordinary knowledge of or exercise into the sciences of Mathematics, Astronomy or Calculas is needed in this matter.

109 *E.I.*, VII, p. 169, where Kielhorn has said with reference to the dates of some inscriptions that "they are very difficult to deal with", and his difficulties are exemplified in the instances Nos. 63-67, etc. he has given on the following pages.

particularly numerous in the records of minor ruling families as the one we are dealing with[110]. Now we may examine, using the equivalents given above and those of the records of this chief contained in *S.I.I.*, XII, pp. 56 ff., whether we can suggest a plausible date of accession for him which has not so far been done. Particulars of date are available in 4 records of this chief given in *S.I.I.*, XII, *viz.*, 118, 121, 123 and 124. Unfortunately three of them are useless for our purpose as they are defective[111].

No. 124 has : Year 10, Simha-*śu.* 5, Monday, Rēvatī — A.D., 1241, July 29, Monday.

Considering this with the three dated records of ours (Nos. 1, 2 and 4 given above), the date of accession of the chief appears to fall between May 26, and July 29 of A.D. 1231. The date of fragmentary epigraph (No. 5 above), assuming its regnal year was 25, is also seen to support this finding.

Donors and donations of lands, utensils and gold :

The number of inscriptions for this small chief is high, and they reveal some interesting information. We have seen that quite a few epigraphs of the Cōḻa period recorded donations of lamps to the god of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Strangely, none of the epigraphs dealt with here relates to this matter, except 192. On the other hand, five of these (181, 184, 187, 189 and 190) are records registering gifts of utensils and gold for ornaments. The chief himself is said to have donated in the 4th year (A.D. 1235) of his reign a *patakamālai* (necklace) composed of pearls, coral and sapphire strung in a golden thread, all together weighing 302 *kaḻañcu*, for adorning the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉar (181). According to 184, a lady, named Nampirāṭṭiyār Nācciyār, gifted in A.D. 1241 three plates made of silver. Though not stated, the gift should have been made to the temple only. She is also the donor in the undated 189 gifting some more utensils and some ornaments here stated to be to the god. The fragmentary inscription (187) dated A.D. 1244 registers a gift probably by the chief, here bearing the title *Miṇṭaṉ Cīyaṉ*, instead of *Aḻakiya Cīyaṉ*, a golden aureole (*tiruvācikai*), probably to the god's Naṭarāja aspect (*atiruṅkaḻaṭikaḷ*, indeed a beautiful expression), and also a couple of white flywisks made of silver. 190 which is extremely fragmentary seems to have been a record of donation of some ornaments to the god.

The remaining epigraphs are seen to be records of land-gifts. The chief himself in 182 of his 5th year (i.e., A.D. 1236) gave away the incomes in paddy and cash derived from such taxes as *āyam* and *pāṭikāval* and other incomes from the god's *tēvatāṉapparṟu* and Aṉṉā-nāṭu to provide for the worship to the god and for works in the temple. Again he figures as the donor in 183, dated in the same year (A.D. 1236), gifting the village of Paṭṭanaṅkāṭu together with a number of taxes (names given), to the god, as (*-tiruma*) *ṭappaḷḷippuṟam* (to provide for the requirements of the kitchen). According to 185, dated A.D. 1240, the *tāṉattār, tēvakaṉmi* and *kōyilkaṇakkaṉ* passed an order, based on the chief's instructions, that the rate of incomes in paddy and cash derived from the lands in Aṉṉa-nāṭu and from other *tēvatāṉa* villages should remain as it was in the chief's 8th year (i.e., A.D. 1239) and that, receiving the incomes

110 See *e.g.*, *S.I.I.*, XII, No. 118 where *śu.* is wrongly quoted for *ba.* ; in No. 121, the regnal year is suspected to be wrong ; in No. 123 the *nakṣatra* is wrongly given.

111 *S.I.*, XII, No. 118 gives, "Year 3, Simha-*śu.* 3, Monday, Pūcam." The equivalent given for them after amending *śu.* into *ba.*, is A.D. 1234, August 21, Monday. But on this day *ba.* 10 was only for .02 and the *nakṣatra* was Punarpūcam current for .92 (almost the whole day), not Pūcam. These defects have not been pointed out by the editor. So, this date is not useful. No. 121 gives,"Year 6, Mīna-*ba.* 6, Wednesday, Mūla." The equivalent suggested is A.D. 1234, March, 22, Wednesday. But this does not tally with regnal year 6. So, we cannot use it, unless we correct the year into 2 or 3 which will be unscientific. No. 123 gives, "Year 8, Makara-*ba.* 2, Wednesday, Punarpūcam." Two equivalents are suggested *viz.*, A.D. 1240, Jannuary 11, Wednesday and A.D. 1251, January 11, Wednesday. Preferring the former it is stated that in either case the *nakṣatra* was ordinary not Punarpūcam. But we find that in the case of the 1st equivalent, the *tithi* was *Prathamā* upto .80 and the *nakṣatra* was Āślēṣa upto .86, on January 11 of A.D. 1240 which was not noticed ; and in the case of the 2nd equivalent we find the 2nd *tithi* ends after .32 and Maghā also ends after .56 on that day. So, neither of them is helpful to us.

at this rate from the 9th year, the worship and works in the temple should be conducted in the temple without diminution, evidently by the temple authorities. In 191, dated in A.D. 1245, the chief is said to have gifted the village of Kīḻaiccirupākkam in Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu together with a number of taxes (names given) as *maṭaippaḷḷi-puṟam* to the image of a god (name lost) set up in the temple by his senior queen Aḻakiya Pallavar Nācciyār. Three persons (names not preserved fully) are stated to have given (or sold) some land (details lost) to the wife of Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ Nīlakaṅkaraiyar for her to gift it for use as *tirunantavaṉam* (flower garden) as per 195 dated A.D. 1258. According to 194, of the same year, the temple authorities are stated to have sold to the above-mentioned lady named Naṅkayāḻvār Nāyaṉār for 10,000 *aṉṟāṭu naṟkācu* a site of the extent of 13 1/2 *kuḻi* within temple precincts, for her to raise a shrine there to the god named after her. In the 31st year of the chief (i.e., A.D. 1262), a certain subordinate of the chief named Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ Tāyilunalla perumāḷ Tirunīrruvīramākatacōḻaṉ is said to have given the village of Taccūr together with incomes from taxes, to the god to provide for a service instituted in his name and for works in the temple (196). Two fragmentary epigraphs (188 and 193) which have not preserved the date particulars, record gifts of the villages of Koṭṭapūṇṭi and Neṉmali respectively together with their tax-incomes, made by a certain Miṇṭaṉ Cīyaṉ Aṉṉakaṅkakkār, to the god.

Some interesting points from the inscriptions.

Of course the gifts of ornaments referred to in some of the epigraphs are interesting ; but of all of them the gift of the necklace made by the chief (181), is very interesting as it furnishes the various articles like big pearls, small pearls, ripe coral etc. that went into its making.

Among the land grants the following are noteworthy. Probably the income of the temple dwindled in about A.D. 1239 either on account of some reduction proposed on the rates of taxation or due to inflation. So, perhaps, on the representation of the temple authorities made in A.D. 1240 (185), the chief ordered that the taxes should be paid at the rate which prevailed in the previous year and the incomes from them should be used for worship and works in the temple without any diminution. It is noteworthy that the chief is referred to as Aiyyatēvar. The inscription of the chief's 3rd year from Muṉṉūr (S.A.Dt.), (*S.I.I.*, XII, No. 134), also refers to Aiyyatēvar in an identical context. Here also Aiyyatēvar seems to refer to Kōp-Peruñciṅka I only and not his father Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ as concluded in *S.I.I.*, XII, p.68.

The epigraph 191 dated A.D. 1245, reveals for the first time the name of the senior queen of the chief. She was Aḻakiya Pallavar Nācciyār. The name Aḻakiya Pallavar borne by the queen is both interesting and intriguing. It has been shown above that Kōp-Peruñciṅka I was always called as Aḻakiya Cīyaṉ and that his father Pallavāṇṭār possessed the title or additional name of Aḻakiya Pallavaṉ. The possession of the name of Aḻakiya Pallavar by this queen requires an explanation. The only one that suggests itself is that Aḻakiya Cīyaṉ being her husband's name was taboo for a Hindu lady to bear, for a Hindu lady, can neither speak out her husband's name nor be called by that name, and so she was not given the name of Aḻakiya Cīyaṉ. Instead, the name Aḻakiya Pallavar, meaning a handsome Pallava, after the family to which the chief belonged, seems to have been preferred by the queen. We have seen above that Kōp-Peruñciṅka II also called Mahārājasiṁha according to his Drākṣārāma and Tripurāntakam inscriptions was the son of Jīya-mahīpati identified with Kōp-Peruñciṅka I, through Śīlavatī. It is not known if this Śīlavatī was identical with Aḻakiya Pallavar Nācciyār, stated to be the senior queen of the chief under reference. Probably not, and Śīlavatī was a junior queen as distinguished from the senior queen mentioned above.

The inscription 194, dated A.D. 1258, is interesting from the point of view of building works in the temple (see the chapter on the subject below). It shows that after this date there was to come into existence a shrine of the god named Naṅkaiyāḻvīcuramuṭaiyār, after the donor Naṅkayāḻvār Nāyaṉār, close by on the south side of the present temple of the goddess. There is no trace of this shrine now, either because it was never built or because of its demolition at a later date.

That a Vāṇakōvaraiyan chief was either a subordinate under Kōp-Peruñciṅka I or was a friend of his is revealed by 196, dated A.D. 1262.

The fragmentary epigraph (188) recently discovered by us, is unique. It records the gift of a village by a certain Miṇṭaṉ Cīyaṉ Aṇṇakaṅkakkār Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ. The purpose for which the gift was made is stated to be to take out the deity in procession daily for the reason that this donor was affected by the evil time brought by the transit of Saturn in the 8th house of his horoscope. That it was an expensive affair needing much financial support is proved by the fact that this person had endowed an entire village to meet the expenses. Thus, this epigraph for the first time brings to our notice the very rare information that in the middle of the 13th century A.D. in Tamiḻnāṭu, a man of importance like the donor of the epigraph had not only had strong belief in the predictive astrology but also had acted according to its dictates[112].

Kōp-Peruñciṅka II (circa A.D. 1243-1279)

Kōp-Peruñciṅka II was the son of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I identified with Jīya-mahīpati, through his queen Śīlavatī as per the undated inscription engraved thrice in three different scripts[113] in the Tripurāntakēśvara temple at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district. His inscriptions are numerous, and barring the Tripurāntakam epigraph and another[114] found at Drākṣārāma in the East Godavari district, which lay then in the Kākatīya kingdom, the rest of them "are found mostly in the South Arcot and Chingleput districts and the northern portion of Taṅjāvūr district, while a few have been secured from the North Arcot and Chittoor districts[115]". No fewer than 130 inscriptions of this chief have been published in *S.I.I.*, XII in Nos. 131 to 260, although some of them may not be his but of his father's time (e.g., 221 of 1934-35, *S.I.I.*, XII, 138), ranging in date from the 2nd year to the 36th year of the reign of the chief. In a majority of them the chief is called as Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar and in others his name is given as Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantār *alias* Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar. In none of these the title Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ which, as we have shown above, was a distinguishing title of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I, is applied to the chief in question, although the family name Kāṭava with its Sanskrit variant Kāṭhaka is found applied to him, the former in an inscription (*A.R.E.*, 191 of 1904 ; *S.I.I.*, XII, No. 246) from Tiruvakkarai (S.A.Dt.) and in another record (*S.I.I.*, VIII, 69) from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, and the latter in the inscription (*A.R.E.*, 197, 198 and 202 of 1905) from Tripurāntakam (Karnool Dt.) mentioned above. Besides, the particulars of date contained in many of these epigraphs are seen to yield equivalents in the Christian era for the initial date in A.D. 1243, which is considered to be the year of accession of this chief on the basis of an inscription from Kāñcīpuram which equates the Śaka year 1182 (A.D. 1260) with his 18th year[116]. The two reasons mentioned above, together with other pieces of internal evidence furnished by the texts of the inscriptions form the basis for their attribution to this chief.

On the above-mentioned grounds, fifteen epigraphs in our collection may be assigned to Kōp-Peruñciṅka II. They range in date from the 2nd year to the 36th year of the chief's reign. With the help of date particulars of three records of Sakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēva, Kielhorn had stated that the date of accession of this chief approximately lay between the 11th February and 30th July of A.D. 1243[117]. Sewell in *E.I.*, XI, p. 252, has given the equivalent of date particulars of *A.R.E.*, 417 of 1909 as A.D. 1261, May 8. On this basis he inferred that the king ascended the throne between May 9 and July 30, 1243.

112 Marco Polo who travelled in South India in the 13th century has observed : "This custom they observe because every single thing they do is done with reference to astrology, and by the advice by diviners, etc." quoted by K.A.N. Sastri in his *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 199.

113 *A.R.E.*, 1905, No. 197 in Telugu, No. 198 in Grantha and No. 202 in Nāgarī of which No. 198 is published in *S.I.I.*, XII, as No. 247, on pp. 154-56.

114 *Ibid.*, 419 of 1893. This is the one referred to in his *Top. List of Insc. of Mad. Presi.*, II, No. 325, by V. Rangacharya. In *S.I.I.*, IV, (1923) this 419 of 1893 is given the number 1341. Besides this, three other fragmentary records numbered as 419 A ; 419 B and 419 C of 1893 are also dealt with each separately under Nos. 1342, 1342 A and 1342 B respectively in the same volume. Except for 1342 A the others belong to this chief. See *S.I.I.*, XII, Intro. p. XIII, note 9.

115 *S.I.I.*, XII, Intro. P. XII.

116 *A.R.E.*, 38 of 1890 ; *E.I.*, VII, pp. 164-165.

117 *E.I.*, VII, p. 165.

Five of the epigraphs of our collection contain astronomical details which are given below with their equivalents. We may see if these dates help us in fixing the date of accession of the chief with greater precision.

1) 197 : Year 2, Simha-*śu.* 1, Wednesday, Maka	A.D. 1242, July 30, Wednesday[118]
2) 198 : Year 2, Mīna-*śu.* 5, Thursday, Anuṣam	Irregular
3) 202 : Year 15, Mituna 25th, Wednesday, Attam	A.D. 1257, June 30, Wednesday.
4) 203 : Year 18, Kumpa-*ba.* 3, Friday Rēvati	Irregular
5) 209 : Year 36, Makara-*ba.* 5, Wednesday, Uttiram	A.D. 1279, January 4, Wednesday.

The first date does not seem to quote the regnal year correctly. The 3rd and 5th dates do not help us to bridge the gap suggested by Kielhorn.

But calculations made from the data contained in ten epigraphs (*S.I.I.*, XII, Nos. 131, 137, 138-140, 168-169, 179, 187, 199), enable us to know that the date of accession of Kōp-Peruñciṅka II lay between the 2nd and the 27th July, A.D. 1243 as per *S.I.I.*, XII, Nos. 169 and 199. This will be seen to narrow the gap in fixing the exact accession date of the chief to a period of 25 days from a period of 2 months 21 days suggested by Sewell. For further precision in this regard one has to await discoveries of new epigraphs with astronomical data of the chief.

Kōp-Peruñciṅka II's personality.

Earlier something has been said about this chief while comparing his qualities and achievements with those of his father and predecessor. In doing so, two undated epigraphs of this chief, one of our collection in Tamil verse (208) and the other (*A.R.E.*, 198 of 1905 ; *S.I.I.*, XII, 247), in Sanskrit verse from Tripurāntakam (Kurnool Dt.), have been pressed into service, as they are the only records which are in the form of a *praśasti* of the chief mentioning his titles and recounting his achievements, just as the Āttūr (Chin. Dt.) inscription (*A.R.E.*, 286 of 1921 ; *S.I.I.*, XII, 120) recounts those of his father. Of the two epigraphs mentioned above, the one from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai seems to be earlier in date than the one from Tripurāntakam. It appears that the former record was put up when Kōp-Peruñciṅka I was alive as evidenced by the fact that its beginning portion is devoted to the praise of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I and by the fact that the hero of the epigraph is called as Kāṭava-Kumāraṉ (literally meaning 'the son of Kāṭava') who bears besides, the names of Āṭkoṇṭatēvaṉ and Kāṅkayaṉ. If this is accepted, then it may be dated prior to A.D. 1263, the last year of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I, according to our study.

This inscription depicts Kāṭava-Kumāraṉ i.e., Kōp-Peruñciṅka II as a dutiful son, a valiant fighter, a sincere devotee of the god Aṇṇāmalaiyār or Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār, and a great benefactor to the people of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. After stating that he was the possessor of Mallai (modern Māmallapuram), Mayilai (modern Mylapore in Madras), Kāñcī, Taṇṭakanāṭu, Pāḷi, the Peṇṇai and Kōval, the inscription makes mention of the chief's success in wars against the Karunaṭar (i.e., Hoysaḷas) and the Teluṅkar (i.e., the Telugu-Cōḷas). He seems to have borne a number of titles, after each one of them one or the other of his charitable deeds like digging wells, rearing gardens is named. They are : *Vēṇāvuṭaiyāṉ, Avaṉiyāḷappiṟantāṉ, Niccaṅkamallaṉ, Vāḷvallaperumāḷ, Tamiḻnāṭukāttaperumāḷ, Cēnattalaivaṉ, Veṉṟumaṅkoṇṭaperumāḷ, Paratamvallaperumāḷ* and *Vīrarāyaṉ*. It is seen that some of them like *Avaniyāḷappiṟantāṉ, Niccaṅkamallaṉ* and *Paratamvalla* were borne by Kōp-

118 Correct equivalents for the data of the inscription are also available in the years A.D. 1252, 1255 and 1269.

Peruñciṅka I, and that Kāṭava-Kumāraṉ simply used them for himself[119].

Compared to the above-mentioned Tamiḻ *praśasti*, the Tripurāntakam Sanskrit *praśasti* will strike anybody as a record altogether different in tenor and information from that of the other one. It appears to have been put up when he was a full-fledged ruler, and a powerful participant in the political affairs of South India, who, at the same time was a devotee *par excellence* of the god Kanakasabhāpati-nātha or Naṭarāja of Cidambaram. It is a valuable document in that it is engraved in Grantha characters and is found at a place far removed from the Kāṭava territory. It is important in that it furnishes the names of the chief's parents and that its main purport is to refer to his construction of the east *gōpura* of the temple at Cidambaram with the booty obtained by conquering his enemies.

While, according to his Drākṣārāma record dated A.D. 1262, already mentioned, this chief appears to be either a subordinate or an ally of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati then, at the time of the Tripurātakam inscription which, as has been stated above, should belong to a date later than A.D. 1262, perhaps later than A.D. 1263 when Kōp-Peruñciṅka I was no more, was an independant ruler 'who was the destroyer of the pride of the king of Karṇāta' (*Karṇāṭarāja-māna-marddana*), 'who was the sun to the lotus tank of the Cōḻa dynasty' (*Cōḻa-kula-kamala-divākara*), 'who was the manager in the act of installation of the Pāṇḍyarāya' (*Pāṇḍyarāya-sthāpana-sūtradhāra*) and 'who elevated the Cōḻa (to the throne) who was shuddering with fear' (*bhaya-cakitam = avācyam pōtam = ārōpya cōḻam*). These claims do not seem to be empty boasts, and they probably reflect the real political conditions of the time. Kōp-Peruñciṅka II, as per this record, seemed to have helped Rājēndra-cōḻa III and to have supported the Pāṇḍya ruler of the period Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya I (accn. A.D. 1251). We have seen in connection with the history of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I, that the Cōḻa and the Pāṇḍya contemporary of this chief were his bitter enemies. Especially the hostility of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya and Jaṭāvarman Vīrapāṇḍya, given expression to in their epigraphs may have been directed towards Kōp-Peruñciṅka I rather than towards his son[120]. But, apparently, after the demise of his father, Kōp-Peruñciṅka II seemed to have adopted the policy of being friendly with his southern neighbours with a view to keep away the Karṇāṭa king of the time from interfering in the politics of Tamiḻnāṭu. His title 'destroyer of the pride of Karṇāṭa king'[121] suggested that he was successful in the implementation of this policy.

Donors and their gifts.

Of the fifteen inscriptions dealt with here, two relate to gifts of lands. The record 199 apparently refers to the gift of some lands together with the incomes from taxes (names given) by a certain person (detail lost) who was probably associated with Maturāntakap Pottapic-cōḻan Vicaiyakaṇṭakōpālatēvan. The presence of some one connected with this chief indicates that he was on friendly terms with Kōp-Peruñciṅka II, who, as we have shown above, appeared to have followed the policy of friendship with his neighbours, which seemed to have helped him greatly. Another epigraph 203 dated A.D. 1261, recently discovered by us, is interesting in that it records the gift made by Āṭkoṇṭāṉ *alias* Kāṅkēyarāyan of the village Kaḻamuḻāṉpūṇṭi after purchasing it from the temple (evidently the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār), for 30,000 *kācu* and endowing the same to the temple of Avaṇi Āḻappiṟantīcuramuṭaiya nāyaṉar for worshippi , and offering to its deity. The epigraph states that the donor intended to build this temple in the 3rd *prākāra* of the main temple (see chapter on Building Works below), for the physical welfare of the chief which shows that Kōp-Peruñciṅka II was unwell then. The donor is said to be one of the *Cāmantamutalis* of the chief and he bore the name Āṭkoṇṭāṉ *alias* Kāṅkayarāyan after the chief who is known to have had these names from his Tamil verse

119 The practice of using the titles of the ancestors by their progenies freely is an ancient usage. Several instances may be cited to illustrate this. For example, Vikrama-cōḻa is known to have used all the titles of his father Kulōttuṅka I (K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḻas* (2nd edn. 1955), p. 345; Narasiṁhavarman Rājasiṁha Pallava is known to have used several titles of his father Paramēśvaravarman I and of his grandfather Narasiṁhavarman I Māmalla, including the title of *Atyantakāma*.

120 *S.I.I.*, XII, Intro., p. XIV.

121 Also mentioned in the Drākṣārāma record, (*S.I.I.*, IV, No. 1342 B).

inscription (208) already discussed. This epigraph contains information on the various gifts made to the main temple and on a variety of charitable works done by Kōp-Peruñciṅka II called here as Kāṭava-Kumāraṉ and also by his father. The epigraph 207 deals with the assignment of land on certain conditions (details lost) by the temple authorities to the temple *tēvakanmi* Tillaimūvāyiranampi.

Nine epigraphs (197-198, 202-201, 204-206, 209-210) relate to the gifts of lamps to the god and goddess of the temple for which cows and bulls were endowed by the respective donors. Interestingly none of the epigraphs records the endowment of sheep. One of the inscriptions (197), belonging to the 2nd regnal year records the gifts of three standing lamps, for burning as *nuntā* lamps to the god and goddess of the place. It is stated that two of them were placed in the *snapana-maṇṭapa* (bathing hall) in front of the god's (shrine) and one was placed in front of the Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam. To provide for ghee for the lamps 96 cows and 3 bulls are said to have been endowed. The donor was Āmūr Aḷakiya-Tirucciṟṟampalamuṭaiyāṉ Nīlakaṅkaraiyan, the son of Āmūr Nīlakaṅkaraiyaṉ Avaṉi Āḷappiṟaṉtāṉ. Two inscriptions (194 and 195) ascribed to the time of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I record gifts by Naṅkaiyāḷvar Nāyaṉār, the wife of Avaṉi Āḷappiṟaṉtāṉ Nīlakaṅkaraiyar. The donor of the inscription in question may be the son of this officer. The latter is probably identical with the officer of the same name figuring in the Vallam and Kāñcīpuram (both in Chin. Dt.) inscriptions.[122] An officer named Pañcanadivāṇaṉ Nīlakaṅkaraiyar figures in some inscriptions[123] of the time of Kulōttuṅka-cōḷa III and in some epigraphs[124] of the time of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I. This officer is sometimes given the epithet of *Piḷḷaiyār*[125] ; also. It appears that this officer is the same as the one mentioned in two records from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai referred to above, although in these two records, the officer is not distinguished by the title Pañcanadivāṇaṉ. If this identification is accepted, the donor (197) becomes a brother of Aruṇakiripperumāḷ figuring in an inscription from Little Kāñcīpuram (Chin. Dt.) (*A.R.E.*, 365 of 1919 ; *S.I.I.*, XII, 212), who is stated to be one of the sons (*kumārarkaḷil*) of Piḷḷaiyār Pañcanadivāṇa Nīlakaṅkaraiyar. This epigraph is dated A.D. 1261, and belongs to the time of the chief under discussion. Thus two of the sons of Pañcanadivāṇa Nīlakaṅkaraiyar who was active during the period of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I, were active during the period of the latter's son Kōp-Peruñciṅka II. This is but natural. It is, however, not known if both or any one of these two sons of Pañcanadivāṇa Nīlakaṅkaraiyar were born to his wife Naṅkaiyāḷavār Nāyaṉār referred to above.

Another officer of the chief named Cilampaṇintāṉ Kūttāṭuvāṉ *alias* Cētirāyaṉ of Paramēcuramaṅkalam *alias* Cōḷakulapaticcaturvētimaṅkalam, gave 1 1/2 lamps for burning on every Tiruvātirai day, to the god. He endowed 48 cows and one bull for this purpose (204 of the 20th regnal year). According to 209, of the 36th regnal year, Kākkunāyakatēvan, the son of Matisūta-natēvar, the younger brother of Marutā (Maturā)ṉtaka Pottappic-cōḷaṉ Vicaiya Kaṇṭakōpalatēvar, gifted one *nuntā* lamp endowing 32 cows and one bull therefor. We have seen above that some one associated with this Kaṇṭakōpalatēvar gave some lands to the temple. Here a blood relation of his was the donor. This testifies to the close relationship that existed between our chief and Vicaiya Kaṇṭakōpala's relatives.

According to 198, of the 2nd regnal year, Periyanāyaṉ, the son of Koṭaṇṭai, apparently an ordinary person belonging to Eyil-nāṭu, gave 1/2 a *nuntā* lamp for which he endowed 16 cows and one bull. Another person, belonging to the *Ceṭṭi* community, named Mallikācaṇa-ceṭṭi, the son of Vīma-ceṭṭi, a Teliṅkaṉ (Telugu speaking or hailing from the Telugu country) of Araiyāṟṟumaṅkalam gifted a *nuntā* lamp, endowing 32 cows and 1 bull for its upkeep, which were left in charge of Cūraṉ, the son of Paṭṭikkōṉ (200, dated 12th regnal year). A reference to this donor and Cūraṉ, the custodian of the cows and bull is found in 201 of our collection, of the 13th regnal year, the purport of which is that the temple servants like *Śrīmāhēśvarak kaṇkāṇi-ceyvār, tevakaṉmi* and *kōyil kaṇakkar* took away from some *tiruviḷakku maṉrāṭikaḷ*, the cows and bull left in their charge and gave them over to Maruntan Appaṉ

122 *E.I.*, VII, p. 166.
123 *A.R.E.*, 2 of 1911.
124 *Ibid.*, 286 of 1921 and 365 of 1919.
125 *E.I.*, VII, p. 166.

alias Periyanāṭṭukkōṉ of Naṟaiyuṭaiyāṉpaṭṭi who was to take care of 2 3/4 lamps with the yield of the cows. A certain Peṇṇōṭṭuvān *alias* Irācakampīramārāyan, the son of Tukkai *alias* Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Māṇikkam one of the *tēvaraṭiyār*, gave one *nuntā* lamp and 32 cows and one bull for its maintenance (205 of the 21st regnal year). The undated epigraph 206 registers several gifts made by a certain Peṇṇō Arivān, the son of Tukkaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Māṇikkam, one of the twenty-four *tēvaraṭiyār* enjoying right at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, consisting of some utensils, and one *nuntā* lamp, to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār ; provision made for feeding during the five festivals of that year ; digging of a well in the west street ; setting up of the image of Tātapiḷḷaiyār ; building of the doorway of the shrine of Kaikkōḷapiḷḷaiyār ; provision of gong to the village ; digging of a well for the Nāṟpatteṇṇāyira-maṭam and another for some other purpose ; and digging up of a step-well and a well at a place in Kaṇṇantaipūṇṭi in Naralōkavīraṉkāḻēntal. It is interesting to note that a private individual, a son of a *tēvaraṭiyar* could not only make gifts to the temple but also accomplish certain public welfare measures like digging up wells. Resources for his deeds which must have cost him quite a substantial amount of money may have been obtained from the estate of his mother Tukkaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Māṇikkam who must have been a very wealthy *tēvaraṭiyār* amongst her twenty-four compatriots.

This chief's inscription (202) with the regnal year 15, records the gift made by Nampirāṭṭimār Nāccciyār, the wife of Miṭṭāṇṭār, and the daughter of Peṇṇaraciyār *alias* Uṭaiyāḷvār who was the wife of Kūṭal Āḷappiṟantāṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Cāṭumperumāḷ, of two utensils to the god. As has been already mentioned, this Cāṭumperumāḷ has been identified with Kōp-Peruñcińka I by Prof. K.A.N. Sastri.[126] It is not likely, because the epithet *Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ* characteristic of him is not given to the chief here. On the other hand the manner of calling him as Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ *alias* Kōp-Peruñcińka is exactly the same as obtains in several of the records of Kōp-Peruñcińka II, as we have noted above. The chief figuring in the epigraph in question is almost certainly the same as Kōp-Peruñcińka II. It is interesting to note that he had the additional name of Cāṭumperumāḷ (meaning the lord who is capable of striking). If this is so, then, this record becomes very important in that it furnishes not only the name of the chief's queen but also the name of his daughter and that of her husband.

Conclusion.

Kōp-Peruñcińka I and his son were remarkable personalities. Imbued with the spirit of independence and an irrepressible urge to improve the conditions of the people of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, the former rebelled against his suzerain and succeeded in establishing his sway about A.D. 1231 over a major part of the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and ran a government parallel to the rule of Rājarāja III and his son Rājēndra III. The seat of his government was at Sēndamaṅgalam. He was an able warrior and so could offer resistance not only to the Cōḻa army but to the armies of the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysaḷas of the time. He was very active and seemed to have enthused the people under him to bring more areas under cultivation and produce more wealth. It appears that by his military exploits he could collect some booty which enriched his treasury. Being a pious person and devotee of the god Śiva, he used a part of his wealth to build additional structures and to rear flower gardens in the temples at Cidambaram, Vṛddhācalam, Tiruveṇṇainallūr, Kāñcīpuram and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai ; these activities must have improved the economic conditions of the people, promoted the fine arts and must have given a fillip to the religious and cultural activities of the people. The causes that were dear to his heart were fulfilled at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai according to his records found here. That agricultural activities were in the forefront during his time is known from the fact that a majority of the epigraphs registered gifts of taxes from villages by the chief (182, 183, 185) and land by his senior queen Mūtta Tampiraṭṭiyār Aḷakiya Pallava Nāccciyār (191). The gifts of jewels and utensils made to the temple by the chief (181, 187, 190) and by Miṭṭāṇṭār Nāccciyār (189) show that the use of a variety of metals was in vogue and that the craftsmen doing these works were patronised. That there was *tiruppaṇi* (temple building) work then is known from three records two of which (182, 185) were of the chief's and one of Naṅkaiyāḷvār Nāyanār, wife of Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ Nīla Kaṅkaraiyar

126 K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḻas* (1955 edition), p. 404.

to whom a plot was allotted in the temple premises for building a shrine named Naṅkaiyāḷvīcuramuṭaiyār after her (194). The point to be noted here is that as per the record, the plot was situated to the south of the temple of the Tirukkāmakkōṭṭamuṭaiya Tampirāṭṭiyār showing that the goddess' temple was already there. The above mentioned fresh building works in a temple indicated that the āgamic practices were flourishing then, because they were needed to consecrate the newly put up structures.

Kōp-Peruñciṅka II was equally brilliant like his father. He ignored his contemporary Cōḷa king Rājēndra III, and continued his independent rule in this region as did his father. According to us even when he was a son of the Kāṭava i.e., Kōp-Peruñciṅka I, he did so much at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and half of 208 is devoted to the listing of his deeds which included the building of new streets, *maṇṭapas*, *maṭams*, tanks and flower gardens. After he became the ruler he is known to have visited places like Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district and Drākṣārāma in the East Godavari district where he put up his records. His records at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (197-211) showed the continued attention paid to the temple and the area by him, by his subordinates and allies. An epigraph (197) dated A.D. 1242 or 1243 records the gift of land to the god and goddess by Aḷakiya Tiruccirrampalamutaiyāṉ Nīlakaṅkaraiyaṉ, the son of Āmūr Nīlakaṅkaraiyaṉ Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ. The noteworthy point here is that the goddess is called here not only by the name Tirukkāmakkōṭṭamuṭaiya nācciyār known from a record (194) noticed above, but also by the name of Uṇṇāmulai nācciyār which name comes into use for the first time here and which became the popular one in later times.

That a new temple was built during this period is known from 203. According to this a Cāmanta mutali named Āṭkoṇṭāṉ *alias* Kāṅkēyarāyaṉ built a shrine named Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantīcuramuṭaiya nāyanār. Though its identification is difficult, the information that it was in the third *prākāra* of the main temple is noteworthy. As in his father's reign-period, now also gifts of utensils were made to the temple by a royal lady Miṭṭāṇṭār's wife named Nampirāṭṭimār Nācciyār (202) and also by a certain Peṇṇōṭṭuvāṉ (206) who also donated a lamp as registered in 205. This person was the son of a *tēvaraṭiyār* named Tukkai (Skt. Durgā) *alias* Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Māṇikkam who was one of the twenty-four *tēvaraṭiyār* having *kāṇi* in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. These records are interesting as they not only reveal the existence of the *Tēvaraṭiyār* community there but also that some of them were rich so as to be able to make considerable donations to the temple. Since one of the activities of the *Tēvaraṭiyar* community was performing dance before the god in the temple, we may presume that this art was in vogue in the place at that time. Two epigraphs (200-201) make mention of a Ceṭṭi named Mallikāccuna-ceṭṭi, son of Vīma-ceṭṭi, described as Teluṅka, meaning either they were Telugu speaking or hailed from the Telugu country. This, coupled with the fact that an associate of Maturāntakap-Pottappiccōḷaṉ Vicaiyakaṇṭa-kōpāḷaṉ probably a native of Nellore region, indicates the increase in the visitors to this place from other regions. The presence of *Ceṭṭis* here from other regions showed the flourishing nature of commerce and trade. Thus the two Kāṭavārya chiefs who were a force to reckon with in the politics of the 13th century Tamiḻnāṭu had contributed much to the prosperity of the region around Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and to the growth in all aspects of the Śiva temple there.

The Bāṇas

The inscriptions copied at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai include over twenty epigraphs which contain references to the Bāṇa family and to some of its members. Before making a study of them in some detail, a brief account of this family which had had connections with Tamiḻnāṭu from about the 5th century A.D. is given below.[127]

The progenitor of this family is stated to be the demon king Bali, the son of Virōcana.[128] His descendants were ruling over the territory called Perumpāṇappāṭi, which lay between Puṅganūr in the west and Kāḷahasti in the east. The members of the family were powerful in this area in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. In order to reduce them to subordination the early Pallava king Siṁhavarman (about A.D. 450) made the first Gaṅga king as the ruler of the territory[129] which later on came to be called Gaṅgavāḍi. The Tālagunda pillar inscription of Kākutsavarman (*circa*, 5th century A.D.) refers to Bṛhad-Bāṇa. The Bāṇa chiefs of this early period were forced to move southwards in the 6th and 7th centuries when the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi were expanding. In the early period the chronology of the kings of this family is not clear. When they were independent they had the place called Parivi as their capital. This place may be identified with Parigi in the Hindupur taluka of the Anantapur district. For a comparative statements of the pedigrees of this family as given by various writers, the article by E. Hultzsch in *E.I.*, XVII, p. 3, may be consulted.[130] The last ruler of this family was Vikramāditya III Vijayabāhu, who was a friend of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III. "About A.D. 915 the Bāṇas were completely defeated by Parāntaka Cōḻa I, and their country was given to the Gaṅga subordinate Hastimalla-Pṛthvīpati II who was also conferred with the title of 'Bāṇādhirāja'". However, their history in Tamiḻnāṭu did not end with this. "After Perumpāṇappāḍi was transferred to the Gaṅgas, or perhaps at an earlier period in their history, the Bāṇas seem to have moved further south, crossed the river Pālār which seems to have been originally the southern boundary of their territory, and settled on the banks of the river Southern Peṇṇār, calling the new province Vāṇakōppāṭi or Vāṇakappāṭi."[131] From this time, references to Vāṇakōvaraiyar occur in several inscriptions of North and South Arcot districts and in some places in the former Pudukkōṭṭai State. "A certain Maṟavaṉ Narasiṁhavarman *alias* Rājarāja-Vāṇakōvaraiyar, with usual Bāṇa titles figures as a feudatory of the Cōḻa king Rājarāja I, in an inscription at Jambai in the South Arcot district (*A.R.E.*, 86 of 1906)".

This epigraph describes him as, "*sakala-sur-āsura-samadhigata-vijaya-śrī-manōharī-vallabha-mahārāja Mahābali-kula-tilakāyamāna-Peṇṇai-saridudaiyananda-Nanda-girinātha-Paṟivaipura-paramēśvara-veṭci cihnālaṁkṛta-vṛṣabhalāñcanaḥ*".[132] The important thing to be noted here is that this family had *veṭci* in its banner and bull as its emblem. Bāṇa chiefs bearing the title Vāṇakōvaraiyar continue to figure as subordinates of the Cōḻa

127 Due to its importance in the history of Tamiḻnāṭu, Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, has made a special study of this subject in his *The Bāṇas in South Indian History*, which may be consulted for details.
128 *E.I.*, XVII, p. 2.
129 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 328.
130 Also see *ibid.*
131 *E.I.*, XI, p. 238.
132 *Ibid.*, p. 239, note 4.

kings of the subsequent periods. "In the time of Kulōttuṅka-cōḷa I his throne at Muṭikoṇṭacōḷapuram was called Vāṇādhirājan (*A.R.E.*, 93-96 of 1910). Vikramacōḷa had also an officer named Mahābali-Vāṇarāya (*A.R.E.*, 545 of 1904) and another called Virudarājabhayaṅkara-Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ (*A.R.E.*, 112 of 1895)."[133]

In so far as our collection of epigraphs is concerned, we have some damaged records which make mention of Vāṇakōvaraiyar. One of them (1) belongs to the 14th year of a Rājakēcaripaṉmar whom we have identified with Āditya I. Another similar epigraph of the 15th year (A.D. 922) of Parāntaka-cōḷa I (5) refers to Vāṇakkāppāṭi-Peṇṇai-vaṭakarai. An inscription (18) which refers itself to the 13th regnal year of a certain Rājakēcaripanmar probably Rājarāja I, registers a gift of land made by Vāṇakōvaraiyar Kuṇamantaṉ Kuṟumpakōlālaṉ Vayiramēkaṉār koṭukkaṉ Cirraṇpuliyūr-nāṭaṉ.

A number of epigraphs of the reign of Kulōttuṅka-cōḷa III from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Kuṭumiyāmalai refer to Magadēśaṉ, Vāṇakulōttaman and Vīramāgadan Rājarājadēvaṉ Poṉparappiṇāṉ Magataipperumāḷ (108, 109, 213 from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and *A.R.E.*, 381-383 and 385 of 1906 from Pudukkoṭṭai). The Tiruvaṇṇāmalai epigraphs of the 21st regnal year of this king refer to him as Āṟakaḷūruṭaiya Irārātēvaṉ Poṉparappiṇāṉ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ (108, 109). From them we come to know that this Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ had his headquarters at Āṟakaḷūr. His title *Poṉparappiṇāṉ* (one who covered with gold) has been considered obscure by V. Venkayya who surmised that this might refer to his having gilt the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and also his having regilt the Śiva temple at Cidambaram.[134] It appears that this deed related to his having regilt the Cidambaram temple. For, in the epigraph 128, of the 35th regnal year (A.D. 1213), the same chief is stated to have gilded the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai on Sunday, the 8th day of the month of Mituna when the asterism Anuḷam (Anurādhā) was current which correspond to June, 1213, and gave lands as *maṭappuṟam* to the same.

An inscription (122) of Kulōttuṅka-cōḷa III's 29th year (A.D. 1207) registers a gift of a village by a certain Catiraṉ Vāṇarāyaṉ of Āṟakaḷūr. Another record (126) of the 33rd regnal year (A.D. 1211) of the same king refers to a Vāṇakovarayaṉ Cāmanta-mutali named Cōḷakōṉ Tēvāramaḷakiyāṉ. The relationship of these chieftains to Poṉparappiṉaṉ Irārātēvaṉ of the other epigraphs is however not known. This chief seems to have left the service of the Cōḷas and had become a feudatory of Cakalapuvaṉacakravartin Kōp-Peruñciṅka I as known from the epigraph *A.R.E.*, 159 of 1900. It appears that during the transitional period, this Bāṇa chief began to engrave inscriptions in Tamil and Sanskrit verses in his own name without mentioning any overlord. The epigraphs in Tamil verse are noteworthy for their poetic qualities (212-216, 223).

Some inscriptions (*A.R.E.*, 10, 12, 14, 15 of 1903) from Tiṭṭakuṭi in the South Arcot district refer to gifts of lands in Makataimaṇṭalam made by this chief. Apparently, he was ruling over this area which was wrongly named as Mahara, Makara and Magara in Hoysaḷa inscriptions of the time. This chief who had joined the rebel Kōp-Peruñciṅka I had to be overcome before the latter could be attacked by the Hoysaḷa generals commissioned to liberate the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III from captivity.[135]

This chief probably experienced some difficulties in the 17th regnal year (A.D. 1233) of Rājarāja III. This is known from *S.I.I.*, VIII, 80, of this year, which registers a gift of land on the south bank of the river Peṇṇai in Vāṇakōppāṭi made by Tempaiyāḷvāṉ Irārātēvaṉ Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ of Āṟakaḷūr, for the welfare of Nāyaṉār Poṉparappiṉa Perumāḷ and for a *canti* named after him in the temple. It appears that the donor of this epigraph was a son of Poṉparappiṉa Perumāḷ and that he differing from his father's stand switched over his allegiance to Rājarāja III.

The last epigraph of our collection to refer to a Bāṇa chief is 277. It belongs to the 7th year (*circa*, A.D. 1275) of the reign of Kulacēkara-pāṇṭiya. It registers a gift of cows to provide milk for the *abhiṣēka* (*pāl āṭi aruḷa*) of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār made by Makatēcaṉ Ulakaṅkātta Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ of Āṟakaḷūr. This chief may be a descendent of Tempaiyāḷvāṉ Irārātēvaṉ Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ of *S.I.I.*, VIII, 80 referred to above. This epigraph reveals the fact that when the Pāṇḍyas of

133 *Ibid.*, p. 239, note 7.
134 *E.I.*, XI, p. 239, note 11.
135 *E.I.*, XI, pp. 239-240, quoting *E.I.*, VII, p. 168.

Madurai became powerful in Tamiḻnāṭu, the Bāṇas had accepted them as suzerains and become their feudatories. Subsequently one or more branches of them appear to have moved to the Madurai and Ramnad districts *via* the Pudukkōṭṭai region, and settled down there. Inscriptions of the members of these families found in these regions show that they existed till the 16th century A.D.[136]

Points of interest gleaned from their epigraphs :

We know from 212 which is in Tamil verse probably composed by the chief that Poṉparappiṉāṉ *alias* Makataipperumāḷ possessed epithets like *Vīrapperumāḷ, Makatēcaṉ, Makataiyarkōmāṉ, Vāṇativākaraṉ, Vāṇapurantaraṉ* and *Vāṇakulatīpaṉ*. It appears that he put up this record on the north wall of the second *prākāra* of the temple, when he ceased to be a feudatory of Rājarāja-cōḻa III and became an ally of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I both of whom rebelled against the Cōḻa king. It appears that this chief encountered the army of the Hoysaḷas and achieved a measure of success in the encounter and this caused trembling to the Cōḻas (lines 3-4). He is said to have taken Kāñci and Vañci (line 4). Lines 5 and 6 of the epigraph refer to this chief's battles at Periyakuricci etc. and with Malaiyamāṉ. There is also a reference to his fight with the Vaṭukar, probably the Telugu-cōḻas, in lines 7-8. It is noteworthy that this chief did not go to war on the days when the asterism Uttirāṭam was current. This might be due to the fact that he was born in this asterism and so considered it unholy to fight on the days when it was current.

The epigraph 134 which is also in Tamiḻ verse, seems also to belong to the same Bāṇa chief Poṉparappiṉāṉ of the record discussed above, although this name is not mentioned in this record. Here he is called Makataiyar-perumāṉ (line 4). According to this epigraph he was the lord (*īcaṉ*) to the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḻas.

To the same chief belongs the epigraph (214) which is in Sanskrit verse. It is inscribed on the Kiḻigō-pura and copy of it was discovered by us recently (215), on the wall of the *Ṛṣigōpura*. It appears that the text of this epigraph was also composed by the chief. He is addressed as Bāṇēśvara in these epigraphs which refer to his having defeated a group of five Pāṇḍyas and taken their crowns. He is stated to have given one of them to a Cōḻa king, and the rest to the Aruṇa-śailēndra. This inscription also refers to the chief having bestowed the booty which he obtained from his conquests on the god Svarṇṇamayēśvara of the place.

A short epigraph (216) in Tamil verse which seems to have been a composition of the same chief refers to the tradition relating to the carving of fish symbol on the mountain Mēru.

The damaged epigraph (223) discovered recently belongs to this chief who is stated to be the chief of Āṟakaḷūr. The record begins with 'yāṇṭu (2) 3'. It is not known if this year pertains to this chief's regnal year or to that of his suzerain whose name is lost. This record mentions the Tiruntikai river.

Topographical information furnished by the epigraphs :

212 - Kāñci, Vañci, Koṅku ; Kaliṅkam, Ceṅkuṉṟam, Periyakuricci, Kāraikkāṭu
213 - Maturāpuri
214 - Aruṇa-śailēndra, Mēru
215 - Mēru
216 - Mēru
220 - Mēyūr in Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu
221 - Vaṉṉiyaṉ ēntal and Tōṭṭaṉ ēntal in Murukamaṅkalappaṟṟu
223 - Āṟakaḷūr, Tiruntikaiyāṟu

136 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 328.

The Campuvarāyas

Chiefs bearing the title of Campuvarāya figure in some epigraphs of our collection (85, 97, 114, 142, 144, 153, 160, 219).

They belonged to the Cenkēṇi line, and bore also the names of Attimallaṉ and Ammaiyappaṉ. During the hey-day of the Cōḷas, they allied themselves with the Cōḷa kings when they affixed the titles or names of their masters to their names, *e.g.* Attimallan Ammai Appan *alias* Vikkiramacōḷaccampuvarāyan (144). When the Cōḷas became weak, the Campuvarāya chiefs associated themselves with whatever power was then ascendant, as for instance the Kāṭavarāyas, the Telugu-Cōḷas, and the Pāṇḍyas in the 13th century which is testified to by the inclusion in their names, the titles of the new associates as for instance *Aḷakiyacīyaṉ*, *Āḷappiṟantāṉ* etc. of the Kāṭava chiefs (*A.R.E.*, 106 of 1912) and *Kulacēkara* of the Pāṇḍya king (*A.R.E.*, 92 of 1900). These chiefs continued for long in the 14th century when Tamiḻnāṭu experienced a worst kind of political disaster brought about by the invasion more than once of the Muhammadan armies from Delhi and their occupation of several parts of Tamiḻnāṭu till A.D. 1363 when they were dislodged from here by the viceroys of the newly emerging Karnāṭaka empire, popularly known as Vijayanagara empire. The Campuvarāya chiefs of this period seemed to have been free and independent until they were completely wiped out of the political scene of Tamiḻnāṭu in the last quarter of the century, by the Vijayanagara viceroys.

In the reign of Kulōttuṅga-cōḷa III (A.D. 1178-1218), the activities of the Campuvarāya chiefs increased. Ammaiyappaṉ Pāṇṭināṭu-koṇṭāṉ *alias* Kaṇṭar Cūriyaṉ Campuvarāyaṉ who built a *gōpura* to the temple at Tiruvakkarai in Rājādhirāja II's time, is said to have built the 1000-pillared *maṇḍapa* at the same place in Kulōttuṅga's 2nd year (A.D. 1179-1180).[137] One Ceṅkēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Kaṇṇuṭaiperumāḷ *alias* Vikkiramacōḷa Campuvarāyaṉ, who is known for the first time in this reign, figures in some epigraphs of the king dated in his regnal years like 10 (A.D. 1187-88)[138], and 13 (A.D. 1190-91).[139] He is probably the same as Ceṅkēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Vīra Miṇṭaṉ *alias* Attimallaṉ Vikkiramacōḷa Campuvarāyaṉ of an epigraph from Kāvērippākkam (*A.R.E.*, 405 of 1905). The same chief without his proper name figures in a number of epigraphs of this period of which two[140] from Ceṅgama are dated in the 20th year (A.D. 1197-98) of the reign of the king. These two epigraphs deal with agreements between rival chiefs. Ceṅkēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Rājarāja Campuvarāyaṉ described as *Pāṇḍināṭukoṇṭa* (who took the Pāṇḍya country) is mentioned in some epigraphs of this period like the one from Accarappākkam[141] dated A.D. 1189-90 and another from Mēl-Cēvūr[142] dated A.D. 1190-91. He was the same as the one who figured in another record from Mēl-Cēvūr dated A.D. 1075.

An epigraph dated in the 27th year of Kulōttuṅga III (A.D. 1204-05) from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (114) four Campuvarāyas are mentioned including Pāṇṭināṭu-

137 *A.R.E.*, 190 of 1904.
138 *A.R.E.*, 343 of 1912.
139 *S.I.I.*, VIII, 144.
140 *A.R.E.*, 107 and 115 of 1900.
141 *A.R.E.*, 239 of 1901.
142 *A.R.E.*, 223 of 1904.

koṇṭān *alias* Campuvarāyaṉ Pāvantittāṉ *alias* Irājēṇtiracōḷac Campuvarāyaṉ, Ceṅkēṇi Attimallaṉ Vīrāṇṭāṉ *alias* Etirilicōḷac Campuvarāyaṉ and Attimallaṉ Pallavāṇṭāṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅkacōḷac Campuvarāyaṉ. Apparently they are each an independent individual and their mutual relationship is not known, though sharing the dynastic name in common. It is to be noted in this connection that a Ceṅkēṇi Vīrarākkata Campuvarāyaṉ styling himself as Pallava figures in an epigraph (*A.R.E.*, 58 of 1908) dated A.D. 1195 from Vaḷuvūr in Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot district. The titles *Vīrāṇṭāṉ*, *Pallava*, and *Pallavāṇṭāṉ* borne by two of these suggest that they had some connection with the Kāṭavarāyas. Similar is the case with the chief named Miṇṭan Cīyan Campuvarātittan *alias* Miṇṭan Cīyan Cētiyarāyan figuring in a damaged epigraph (85) recently discovered at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. It is interesting to note that this chief bore the title of *Cētiyarāyan* indicating his connection with the Cētiyarāya family or with the rulership of the Cēti region. Another point to be noted in his case is that he called himself as *Campuvarātittan*[143] (the Sun amongst the Campuvarāyas). Then comes Ceṅkēṇi Ammaiyappan Aḷakiyacōḷan *alias* Etirilicōḷa Campuvarāyaṉ, also called Cōḷa-piḷḷai, (*S.I.I.*, IV, No. 849) stated to be the son of Kaṇṇuṭaiperumāḷ Campuvarāyaṉ referred to above, figuring in an epigraph[144] dated A.D. 1210-11, from Tiruvattūr in Cheyyar taluk of the North Arcot district as well as in a record[145] from Āṟakaḷūr in the Attur taluk of the Salem district, dated in the 35th year of Kulōttuṅkacōḷa III's reign (A.D. 1212-13). While the former epigraph relates to a gift of land by the chief, the latter inscription registers a political compact between him and three other chiefs namely Poṉparappiṉān *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyan, Kulōtuṅkacōḷa Vāṇakōvarayaṉ and Kāṭavarāyaṉ. It is interesting to note that during the time of this chief and of his father Kaṇṇuṭaiperumāḷ Campuvarāyaṉ, there were frequent clashes between the local chieftains who settled issues amongst themselves without any apparent reference to the king. The increasing association of the members of the Campuvarāya family with the Kāṭavarāyas of the time seems to have emboldened Kōp-Peruñciṅka I, an ambitious member of the latter family to rebel against the Cōḷa Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216-56) and establish an independent principality of his own. One of the latest references to a Campuvarāya of the reign of Kulōttuṅka III is met with in an epigraph (*A.R.E.*, 234 of 1910) dated A.D. 1215-16 from Iḷambayan Kōṭṭur in the Kāñcīpuram taluk of the Chingleput district. The chief here is named Ceṅkēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Vanniyanāyaṉ Campuvarāyaṉ. The title *Vanniyanāyaṉ* is noteworthy as it denotes his leadership over the Vanniyas. It also distinguishes him from the other chiefs mentioned above.

We have seen that in the reign of Kulōttuṅka III there was a steady increase in the number of branches of the Campuvarāya family, each represented by a prominent member. In the subsequent history of this line of chiefs, this trend continued unabated. In fact, as will be shown below, certain members of some branches of the family, probably in collaboration with and active support of the Kāṭavarāya chiefs Kōp-Peruñciṅka I and II, attempted to become free from their subordination to Rājarāja III and to carve out a separate principality for themselves in parts of North Arcot and Chingleput districts just as the Kāṭavarāya chiefs did in South Arcot and parts of Chingleput district at the same time. But unlike the latter, the rebel Campuvarāya chiefs, though sometimes issued records in their own names, were not successful in their attempt. Several Campuvarāya chiefs of Rājarāja III's time are known from epigraphs. Of these Ceṅkēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Kaṇṇuṭaiperumāḷ *alias* Vikkiramacōḷac Campuvarāyaṉ of 160 discovered recently at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, belonging to the 25th year (A.D. 1241) of Rājarāja III, is the same as the one who was in the service of Kulōttuṅka III in A.D. 1197-98. His son Ceṅkēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Aḷakiyacōḷaṉ *alias* Etirilicōḷac Campuvarāyaṉ of the 35th year (A.D. 1212-13) of Kulōttuṅka III continued to be in the service of Rājarāja III also as known from the inscriptions of the king's 16th (A.D. 1231-32 ; *A.R.E.*, 89 of 1900), 19th (A.D. 1234-35 ; 153 from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai), 22nd (A.D. 1237-38 ; *S.I.I.*, I, No. 59), and 24th (A.D. 1239-40 ; *S.I.I.*, I No. 61).

143 It is similar to the title of Kāṭavarāṭittan borne by the Kāṭavarāya chief Āḷappiṟantāṉ Eḷicaimōhaṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅkacōḷa Kāṭavarāṭittan of an epigraph from Vṛddhācalam dated A.D. 1148 (*A.R.E.*, 135 of 1900).
144 *A.R.E.*, 94 of 1900.
145 *A.R.E.*, 435 of 1913.

Like his father Kaṇṇuṭaiperumāḷ Campuvarāyaṉ, who continued to serve Rājarāja III till A.D. 1240-41, Etirilicōḻa Campuvarāyaṉ seems to have been also loyal to the king. From about A.D. 1229, Rājarāja III was in trouble in managing his kingdom. He was helped by the Hoysaḷa Narasimha against the rising rebel the Kāṭavarāya chief Kōp-Peruñciṅka I who, in spite of the check imposed on him by the Hoysaḷa king, had established his independence from A.D. 1231-32, and continued to work for the downfall of the Cōḻa king. It appears that during this troublesome period Kaṇṇuṭaiperumāḷ Campuvarāyaṉ and his son Etirilicōḻa Campuvarāyaṉ stood firm supporting Rājarāja III in stemming the progress of Kōp-Peruñciṅka. Probably in recognition of this, Etirilicōḻa Campuvarāyaṉ got the titles of *Vīrācaṉi* (thunderbolt to heroes) and *Taṉiniṉṟuvenṟrāṉ Taṉi-vācikāṭṭuvāṉ* (who vanquished singlehanded and who showed his unequalled valour) which are referred to in the epigraphs of *A.R.E.*, 72 and 73 of 1887 (*S.I.I.*, I, 59) dated Śaka 1160 (A.D. 1237-38) and *A.R.E.*, 77 of 1887 (*S.I.I.*, I, 61) dated Śaka 1165 (A.D. 1243-44). As dealt with in the chapter on the Kāṭavarāyas, Kōp-Peruñciṅka II established his independent rule in A.D. 1242-43 and this must have involved much fighting between his forces and those of Rājarāja III before A.D. 1242. It is very probable that one of the Rājarāja's senior military officers was this Etirilicōḻa Campuvarāyaṉ who fought with the enemy's forces singlehanded and in a fearful manner which earned for him the titles mentioned above.

The other chiefs namely Ceṅkēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Rājarāja Campuvarāyaṉ (A.D. 1228-29 ; *A.R.E.*, 57 of 1919), Ceṅkēṇi Vīrapperumāḷ *alias* Kulōttuṅkacōḻa Campuvarāyaṉ (A.D. 1232-33 ; *A.R.E.*, 57 of 1908), and Attimallaṉ Campukulapperumāḷ *alias* Rājagambhīra Campuvarāyaṉ[146] (A.D. 1235-36 ; *A.R.E.*, 89 of 1887) may have also assisted Rājarāja III in his fight against the Kāṭavarāya chiefs. One of the Campuvarāya chiefs stands out as different from the others. He was Ceṅkēṇi Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ, the son of Campuvarāya Pallavāṇṭār of *A.R.E.*, 106 of 1912, dated A.D. 1228-29. He also figures in *A.R.E.*, 393 of 1922 dated A.D. 1230-31. We have seen already that Pallavāṇṭār was the father of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I who bore the title Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ. The Campuvarāya chiefs, the father and son in question, by bearing these titles respectively clearly indicate that they were serving under the respective Kāṭavarāya chiefs. The years A.D. 1229 and 1231 to which the Campuvarāya chief Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ belonged were the crucial ones when Kōp-Peruñciṅka I was in the thick of fighting Rājarāja III whom he had first imprisoned and later released at the military intervention of the Hoysaḷa Vīra-Narasimha. In all probability Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ Campuvarāyaṉ served as an important army officer under Kōp-Peruñciṅka I. Possibly the reference to Campurāja in the *Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇamu* is to this Aḷakiya Cīyaṉ Campuvarāyaṉ who is stated to have been defeated by the Telugu-cōḍa Tikka. The presence of Gaṇḍagōpāla's inscriptions dated about A.D. 1230 and later in Kāñcīpuram etc., and the fact that many of them are dated in the regnal years of Rājarāja"[147] show the friendly relationships between them. Probably Gaṇḍagōpāla also helped Rājarāja to regain his throne and this act earned for him the title of *Cōḻasthāpanācārya*. In view of the fact that this chief was no longer heard of, it is possible that he did not survive the violent political events of the period. There was another chief named Vīrapperumāḷ Etirilicōḻa Ālappiṟantāṉ *alias* Rājarāja Campuvarāyaṉ, the grandson of Ceṅkēṇi Vīrākaraṉ Ammaiyappaṉ dated A.D. 1245. He was evidently a subordinate under Rājarāja III at the fag end of his reign.

Rājēndra III's reign marked the decline of the Cōḻa power in the Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam. This was brought about by the Kāṭavarāyas, Telugu-Cōḍas and the Kākatīyas, as well as due to the Pāṇḍyan invasion of the Cōḻa kingdom. As a consequence of this political situation, the Campuvarāya chiefs of these times changed their allegiance frequently from one powerful dynasty to another. When the Telugu-Cōḍa chief Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla (accession *c.* A.D. 1250) had sway over this region a Campuvarāya chief named Rājarāja Campuvarāya was his ally as known from an inscription (*A.R.E.*, 302 of 1912) at Atti in the Cheyyar taluk of the North Arcot district. It is dated in the 8th year of Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla corresponding to A.D. 1257-58. The relationship between

146 A.D. 1235-36 is coupled with the year 12 which is taken by R. Sewell as this chief's regnal year, thus ascribing A.D. 1224-25 as the chief's accession year. *Vide H.I.S.I.*, p. 389. This ascription, however, needs definite evidence for its acceptance.

147 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 434.

them was so intimate that the Campuvarāya chief is addressed in this record affectionately as *Piḷḷaiyār*, which according to R. Sewell means only a vassal.[148] It is likely that he was identical with Etirilicōḷa Āḷappiṟantāṉ *alias* Rājarāja Campuvarāyaṉ of A.D. 1245 mentioned above. The title Āḷappiṟantāṉ was also borne by Vījaya Gaṇḍagōpāla, and it was apparently affixed to his name by the Campuvarāya chief, as the Cōḷa and the Telugu-Cōḍa were friends. Another epigraph (*A.R.E.*, 303 of 1912) from the same place Atti, of the 18th year (A.D. 1268) of the same Telugu-Cōḍa ruler, also refers to the same Campuvarāya chief bearing the title Āḷappiṟantāṉ. Both these epigraphs show that this chief had jurisdiction over Cheyyar region. Since the contents of these two epigraphs relate to the gift to a Viṣṇu temple and a building of a Kṛṣṇa temple, it is evident that the chief was devoted to Viṣṇu.

The Telugu-Cōḍa chief Vījaya Gaṇḍagōpāla was killed by Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya I (accession *c.* A.D. 1251) about A.D. 1260 and his territory was annexed to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. So, his allies and subordinates including the Campuvarāyas had to switch their loyalties over to the Pāṇḍyan king, losing in this process whatever independence they possessed during the earlier years. After this till A.D. 1322, the Campuvarāya chiefs appear to have served as subordinates of the Pāṇḍyas, and so, epigraphs of this period referring to them are few. Two epigraphs, one (*A.R.E.*, 92 of 1900) from Tiruvattūr in Cheyyar taluk and the other (*A.R.E.*, 77 of 1908) from Veḍāḷ in Wandiwash taluk, both in the North Arcot district make mention of a certain Kulacēkara Campuvarāya. Of these, the former is dated in the twenty-second year of a Vīra-pāṇḍya, without his cognomen. It is possible that he was a son of Māṟavarman Kulacēkara involved in the Pāṇḍyan civil war, who began to rule from A.D. 1296-97, and his 22nd year would then fall in A.D. 1318. Kulacēkara Campuvarāya in question seems to have started as an ally of Māṟa. Kulacēkara and hence bore the name after his master. Interestingly the second epigraph purports to have been issued by Kulacēkara Campuvarāya in the 25th regnal year. It is not known if the chiefs of both these records are identical. Most probably they are one and the same individual. But what was his accession year is difficult to know. Considering the fact that Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Campuvarāya started his rule in A.D. 1322, Kulacēkara Campuvarāya may have continued upto then only. In this case we may assume that he counted his regnal year from A.D. 1296-97 simultaneously with that of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭā. Vīra-pāṇḍya in whose 22nd year the other record of Kulacēkara Campuvarāya is dated. The inscription issued in this chief's 25th year records a gift of land for conducting the festival called Ceyyāṟṟu-veṉṟāṉ tirunāḷ. Apparently he assumed independence after his victory at Ceyyāṟu, although it is not known who his opponent was. A certain Vīra-Campa flourished in the Gudiyattam taluk of the North Arcot district during this time. His inscription is found in the Bilvanāteśvara shrine at Tiruvallam. (*A.R.E.*, 3 of 1890 ; *E.I.*, III, pp. 70-72). It bears the date Śaka 1236 or A.D. 1313-14. He was the son of the Telugu-Cōḍa chief Vīra-cōḍa and so was called as the son of Cōḷa-bhūpa in the epigraph. (*Vide* K.A.N. Sastri, the *Cōḷas* (1955), p. 438). However, R. Sewell[149] identifies this person with Vīra Campanāyaṉ *alias* Campuvarāyaṉ figuring in a record (*A.R.E.*, 97 of 1900) from Tiruvattūr belonging to the twelfth year of Māṟa-Tribu. Sundarapāṇḍya in spite of the fact that the Pāṇḍyan king in A.D. 1314 was Jaṭā. Sundara-pāṇḍya a son of Māṟa. Kulacēkara. It is probable that this Vīra-Campa was defeated by Veṉṟu-maṇkoṇḍa Campuvarāya (i.e., Campuvarāya who obtained the earth by conquest) and assumed the title Vīra-Campa himself.

Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Ekamparanāta Campuvarāya's earliest inscription dated in his 2nd year is from Kuṉṟattūr (*A.R.E.*, 29 of 1934) in the Chingleput district. From his inscription from Kāṅkēyanallūr in the Vellore taluk of the North Arcot district (*A.R.E.*, 24 of 1887) with date particulars of year 17, Pramāthi, Riṣabha-śu. 1, Rōhiṇī, Monday exactly corresponding to Monday 10th May 1339 and from his another inscription from Kāñcīpuram (*A.R.E.*, 18 of 1921) in the Chingleput district with date particulars of 18th year, Vikrama, Mithuna-śu. 13,

148 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 389.

149 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 389. This identification is apparently influenced by Venkayya's identification of Māṟa. Sundara of the Tiruvattūr epigraph (*A.R.E.*, 97 of 1900) with Jaṭā. Sundara (*A.R.E.*, 1900, p. 7, para. 13), which is not correct not only because the two Pāṇḍya rulers are different as indicated by their titles but also because the chief Vīra-Campa of A.D. 1314 stated to be a son of Cōḷa-bhūpa is different from Vīra-Campanāyaṉ *alias* Campuvarāya of the Tiruvallam record (*A.R.E.*, 3 of 1890).

Jyēṣṭhā corresponding to 20th June 1339, his independent rule is considered to have begun between May 11 and June 20 of A.D. 1322. His inscription from Tiruvāmāttūr (*A.R.E.*, 434 of 1903) in the Villupuram taluk of the South Arcot district is dated in his 14th year (A.D. 1335-36) wherein reference is made to the Muhammadan invasions of the country. He seems to have driven the Muhammadans out of Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam and this, according to some scholars, earned for him the title of *Ćakalalōkacakkaravartti* (the emperor over the whole world). The Cevellimēṭu, Kāñcīpuram taluk, Chingleput district inscription (*A.R.E.*, 46 of 1900) of his 18th year gives him both the titles of *Ćakalalōkacakkaravartti* and *Venrumaṇkoṇṭa*. From the fact that no epigraphs of his dated between his 3rd and 13th years have so far been discovered, it is presumed that he was engaged in conflicts with the Muhammadan invaders during this period. His latest inscription is of his 18th year dated June 20, 1339. From the provenance of his records discussed above, it is clear that he held sway in all the three districts of North and South Arcot and Chingleput. He bequeathed this kingdom to his son Rājanārāyaṇa Campuvarāya who is known to have borne the titles *Venrumaṇkoṇṭāṉ* and *Cakalalōka-Cakkaravartti* of his father. It must be mentioned here that Venrumaṇkoṇṭa Campuvarāya it was who minted coins called *Vīracampaṉ Kuḷikai* after his title (*A.R.E.*, 24 of 1887). He is known to have done several deeds benefitting the people, temples etc. It may be stated here that from this chief's time, the names like Aṭṭimallaṉ, Ammaiyappan, Ceṅkēṇi, etc. are not found added to the names of the chiefs.

Cakalalōkacakkaravartti Rājanārāyaṇa Campuvarāya was the most powerful member of the Campuvarāya family of the 14th century. Numerous inscriptions of this chief dated between his 3rd (*A.R.E.*, 178 of 1894) and 24th years (*A.R.E.*, 564 of 1919) are met with in the area comprising the three districts mentioned above. From several of them his accession has been fixed in A.D. 1337-38.[150] This shows that he came to hold power while his father was still active. His 3rd year (A.D. 1339-40) epigraph from Tiruvāṉakkōyil in the Madhurantakam taluk of the Chingleput district gives him the titles of *Mallināṭaṉ* and in some other records of his the same title is put as *Mallinātha* (Skt.) and *Tirumallināṭaṉ*.[151] That he was a subordinate under the Telugu-Cōḍa chief Vījaya Gaṇḍagōpāla is proved by his bearing the latter's titles of *Avaṉiyāḷappiṟantāṉ* or *Āḷappiṟantāṉ*, as known from a record of his dated A.D. 1357-58.[152] It may be mentioned that these titles were also borne by Kōp-Peruñciṅka II. It appears that by A.D. 1359 Bukka I of the newly established Vījayanagara empire held sway over the Rājagambhīra-rājya which has been rightly identified with the territory possessed by the Campuvarāya family.[153] This territory may be said to comprise the taluks of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Cheyyaru and part of Chengam in the North Arcot district. In fact the range of hills to the north-west of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai region goes by the name of Rājagambhīranmalai. According to epigraphical evidence[154] in A.D. 1352, and 1359, Kampaṇa II, the son of Bukka I was already ruling in this region.

This unmistakably shows that Rajanārāyaṇa Campuvarāya began to experience the pressure of the mighty Vijayanagara empire from A.D. 1352 onwards. According to the Maḍam inscription (*A.R.E.*, 268 of 1919), "Kampaṇa II warred against and defeated the Ceṅkēṇi chief Venrumaṇkoṇṭa Campuvarāya whom he took prisoner . . . . . the capture as having been made by the son of Kampaṇa's minister Sōmaya (this was in A.D. 1361)".[155] This Venrumaṇkoṇṭa Campuvarāya was in all probability the same as Rājanārāyaṇa Campuvarāya, not his father.[156] The rule over North Arcot and Chingleput districts by Kampaṇa II in A.D. 1361-62 is attested by an inscription (*E.I.*, VI, p. 322). After his defeat Rājanārāyaṇa seemed to have served as a subordinate under Kampaṇa II for some years. This is proved by an inscription from Taiyūr dated July 18, 1363

150 R. Sewell, *H.I.S.I.*, p. 389.
151 In view of this, the question of a brother of his bearing this title does not arise.
152 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 389.
153 *Ibid.*, p. 194 ; *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1907-08, p. 239 ; *I.A.*, 1914, p. 7.
154 *A.R.E.*, 297 of 1919 (A.D. 1352) ; *ibid.*, 304, 305 of 1919 (A.D. 1359).
155 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 195.
156 In *H.I.S.I.*, pp. 195-96, it has been suggested that Venrumaṇkoṇṭa Campuvarāya was the chief who began his rule in A.D. 1322 or a younger man not otherwese heard of. This does not appear to be the case.

which records a grant made by Sōmappa Daṇṇāyaka, a general of Kampaṇa II at the written request of Rājanārāyaṇa Campuvarāya.[157] According to the *Madhurāvijayam*, the poem by Gaṅgādēvī, the queen of Kampaṇa II, a Campuvarāya chief was killed in a duel. It is not known which chief is meant by this reference and when the event actually took place. It is, however, clear that after A.D. 1363, the illustrious Rājanārāyaṇa Campuvarāya did not survive. References to *Vīra-Campaṉ Kuḷikai*, a coin, (*A.R.E.*, 102, 103 of 1933) and to a *Vīra-Campancanti* (*A.R.E.*, 91 of 1936) are found in this chief's epigraphs. Here the title may refer to the one borne by the father of Rājanārāyaṇa and not of himself.

A word may be said about a chief of this family bearing the name Vīra-Campanāyaṉ *alias* Campuvarāya figuring in an inscription from Tiruvattūr (*A.R.E.*, 97 of 1900) in the Cheyyar taluk of the North Arcot district belonging to the 12th year of the reign of Māṟa. Tribhuvanacakkaravartti Sundara-pāṇḍya, to which reference has already been made above. This Māṟa. Sundara-pāṇḍya was perhaps the third of the name who is considered to have ruled between A.D. 1344 and A.D. 1372 according to a recent study.[158] The 12th year of this Pāṇḍya falls in A.D. 1355-56. So, Vīracampanāyaṉ *alias* Campuvarāya of this date was perhaps a scion of Rājanārāyaṇa Campuvarāya, ruling in the Cheyyāṟu region, owing allegiance to the Pāṇḍya ruler, while Rājanarāyaṇa had his headquaters at Kāñcīpuram. Vīracampanāyaṉ *alias* Campuvarāya may have been one of the sons of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Campuvarāya, who according to us assumed the title of Vīra-Campa and that he inherited the area around Cheyyāṟu from his father. The title *Vīracampanāyaṉ*, meaning one whose father was Vīracampa, seems to support our view.

An epigraph (225) recently discovered at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai refers itself to the reign of one Cakalalōkacakravattikaḷ (. . .)ṇṇa Campuvarāyar. The name is damaged, but seems to read as (Ariya)ṇṇa. Ariyaṇṇa evidently was after the Vijayanagara emperor Harihara II (c. A.D. 1377 - A.D. 1404), some of whose epigraphs are met with in our collection. It seems that the Campuvarāya chief, though issuing this record in his 11th year, was a subordinate under Harihara II. It is not impossible that he succeeded Rājanārāyaṇa Campuvarāya and was put in charge of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai area by the Vijayanagara emperor. It is not known how he was related to his predecessor and when he began to rule, and so his 11th regnal year cannot be equated to any year in the Christian era. It is not unlikely that after Rājanārāyaṇa's demise, this chief was put in charge of the North Arcot region by Cāḷuva Maṅgi due to which the latter got the title of *Śambuvarāyasthāpakācārya*[159], as per an epigraph dated about A.D. 1770[160] and the literary works the *Śāḷuvābhyudayam* and the *Jaimini Bhāratam*.[161] For the time being this chief may be considered to be the last representative of the Campuvarāya family which like that of the Kāṭavarāyas had played an important role in the 13th and 14th centuries in the history of Tamiḻnāṭu, by checking the advances made by the Kākatīyas, the Hoysaḷas and the Muhammadans into the Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam.

Gifts of lamp, land etc. made during rule of the chiefs :

In the 13th year (A.D. 1190-91) of the reign of Kulōttuṅkacōḻa III, (97) Ceṅkēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Kaṇṇutaipperumāḷ *alias* Vikkiramacōḻa Campuvarāyaṉ gifted a *nuntā* lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār for which he endowed 32 cows and one bull which were left in charge of one Iraṇṭāyirakkōṉ. Another chief named Vīracōḻan Attimallaṉ Campuvarāyaṉ *alias* Etirilicōḻac Campuvarāyaṉ (153) who was a subordinate under Rājarāja III, gave in the latter's 19th year(A.D. 1234-35), a *nuntā* lamp to the same god with a similar endowment of 32 cows and one bull. In the 25th year of the reign of the same king (A.D. 1240-41) Ceṅkēṇi Kaṇṇutaipperumāḷ Aḻakiya Pallavan *alias* Vikkiramacōḻa Campuvarāyaṉ (160) gifted the village of Koṭṭapūṇṭi in Uttamacōḻa-vaḷanāṭu in Palkuṉṟak-kōṭṭam as *tēvatāṉam* together with a number of items of income to the same

157 C.R. Srinivasan, *Kāñcīpuram through the ages*, p. 219.
158 N. Sethuraman, *Imperial Pāṇḍyas* (1978), p. 233.
159 *A.R.E.*, 1939, Pt. II, para. 39.
160 *A.R.E.*, 191 of 1936.
161 K.A.N. Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, *F.S.V.H.*, pp. 30, 32.

god to provide for a service called Aḷakiya Pallavancanti to the god instituted in his name.

One Miṇṭan Cīyaṉ Campuvarāṭittan tated to be the brother of Prithivi Kaṅkar and Cēṭiyarāyan had gifted gold for making handles for flywhisks etc. to be given probably to the same god as per 226 which is badly damaged. This chief may have been an associate of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I who had the same name.

Minor Dynasties

The Malaiyamāṉs

Twelve records in our collection make mention of chiefs of the Malaiyamāṉ family. Of these nine belong to the period of Kulōttuṅkacōḻa III ranging in date from his 14th to 27th regnal years, i.e., A.D. 1192 to 1205 (98-100, 103, 105, 106, 114, 115) and the remaining three to the period of his successor Rājarāja III (149, 158, 170).

This family which ruled over the territory round about Tirukkōvalūr in the South Arcot district, which later came to be called Milāṭu or Malāṭu, was one of the ancient ruling families of Tamiḻnāṭu, like the Atiyamāns of Takaṭūr. The chiefs of this family are mentioned in the Caṅkam works of the early centuries of the Christian era. Tirumuṭik-kāri, a Malaiyamāṉ, figures in several poems of the *Puṟanānūṟu* sung by Kapilar and Mārōkkattu Nappacalaiyār. This chief was celebrated for his patronage to the poets of his time. This is revealed by a poem of Kōvūr Kiḻār by which he succeeded in releasing the children of the Malaiyamāṉ from a cruel death to which the victorious Cōḻa monarch (probably Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ) had condemned them".[162] It is interesting to note that Sundara-cōḻa (*circa* A.D. 956-973) took for his queen a Malaiyamāṉ princess named Vāṉavanmahādēvī who performed *satī* at the king's death. After this time till we come to the reign of Kulōttuṅka I, this family seems to have been under eclipse due to the fact that the Bāṇas became the rulers of this area in Rājarāja I's time[163], and some others who called themselves Milāṭuṭaiyar became the rulers in the time of Rājēndra I.[164] A certain Naraciṅkavarman ruled the Malāḍu 2000 country in A.D. 1058 who built the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkōvalūr (*A.R.E.*, 119 of 1900).

Among the important feudatories of Kulōttuṅka I (*circa* 1070-1120), the Malaiyamāṉs of the hilly regions in the North and South Arcot districts were one. They had their headquaters at a place called Kiḻiyūr.[165] The members of this family bore the title Cētiyarāyar (king of the Cēti country which is represented by the hilly area round about Tirukkōvilūr, Kiḻiyūr etc.). Some of them and some of their subordinates ruled from Tirumuṉaippāṭi in the South Arcot district. The chiefs of this family continued to be the subordinates of Vikrama-cōḻa (*A.R.E.*, 408 of 1909 etc.). Kulōttuṅka II's reign was a peaceful one. The Malaiyamāṉs continued to serve him. That they were considered of a high lineage is borne out by the fact that he married Mukkōkkiḻāṉ, a princess of the family of Malāḍas (Malaiyamāṉs) (*A.R.E.*, 85 of 1895). Some members of this family like Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Kulōttuṅka-cōḻa Cētiyarāyaṉ and others figure in the inscriptions of this king's time (*A.R.E.*, 284, 285 of 1902). To the reign-period of Rājarāja II some members of this family belonged who ruled in the territory round about Torukkōvalūr. They included Malaiyamāṉ Periya uṭaiyāṉ Nīrerraṉ *alias* Rājarāja Malaiyakularājaṉ (*A.R.E.*, 163 of 1906).

A number of chieftains of this family figure in the inscriptions of the time of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅka-cōḻa III, testifying to the fact of the increased

162 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḻas* (2nd edition, 1955), pp. 43, 70.
163 *A.R.E.*, 84, 86 of 1906.
164 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 226.
165 *A.R.E.*, 246, 251 of 1902.

influence of this family during the period. Unlike the Bāṇas and the Kāṭavas who rebelled against the emperors, the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs continued to be loyal subordinates of their Cōḻa masters. It may be mentioned here that several such local families of chieftains gradually became powerful in their areas and the people here looked to them for favours more than to the central authority.[166] This trend naturally weakened the influence of the Cōḻa kings, and in the process paved the way for the interference of the neighbouring kingdoms in the politics of Tamiḻnāṭu. To the reign-period of Rājādhirāja II belonged Rājarāja Malaiyamāṉ *alias* Aruḷāla Perumāḷ, the son of Tiruccūrakkaṇṇappaṉ Malaiyamāṉ (*A.R.E.*, 321 of 1901), Rājarāja Cēṭiyarājaṉ and Rājarāja Kōvalarāyaṉ (*A.R.E.*, 262 of 1902), Rājakempīra Cēṭiyarāyaṉ of Kiḻiyūr (*A.R.E.*, 311, 322 of 1921) and Kaṇṇaṉ Cūraṉ *alias* Ākāracūraṉ Malaiyamāṉ (*A.R.E.*, 427 of 1909).

However, it was during the reign of Kulōttuṅka-cōḻa III, that the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs seem to have been very active as attested by the epigraphs of this period. As before, they had Kōvalūr (i.e., Tirukkōvilūr) as their capital and so were called Kōvalarāyas. But the other title of Cēṭiyarāya, which they also used to bear assumed special significance. "It evidenced the new tradition that was growing then by which these chieftains sought to establish a connection with the Haihayas of Cēti country at a time when all ruling chieftains were busy finding a Purāṇic pedigree for themselves. One of them is even called Śiśupāḷaṉ (*A.R.E.*, 73 of 1906)".[167] Numerous Malaiyamāṉ chiefs figure in inscriptions of Kulōttuṅka-cōḻa III's time with similar names although each seems to be different from the other. It is, therefore, difficult to trace any relationship between them. A noteworthy aspect of the history of these chiefs of this period is that they sometimes were taking orders from other families like the Campuvarāyas as for instance Nīraṇiñcāṉ Cēṭiyarāyaṉ who gave away a village as *dēvadāṉa* under the orders of a Campuvarāya (*A.R.E.*, 291 of 1912) ; and sometimes they had marital relationship with other families of chieftains like the Bāṇas, as would be evident from the title *Vāṇakularāyaṉ* borne by a Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamāṉ (*A.R.E.*, 390 of 1902) and the title *Poṉparappiṉāṉ* borne by another Malaiyamāṉ chief of Kiḻiyūr (*A.R.E.*, 414 of 1909). This feature seems to indicate that the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs were of an eclectic and adjustable type and got into alliance with others without prejudice to their loyalty towards their sovereigns. Further they were mostly connected with making gifts to temples which reveals their pious nature.

Among the chiefs mentioned in the epigraphs of the time of Kulōttuṅka-cōḻa III, two distinct groups are met with. One group bears the title *Malayarāyaṉ* or *Malayakularāyaṉ* or *Malaiyaṉ* (98, 99, 103, 114) and the other group bears the title *Malaiyamāṉ* (100, 105 etc.). It is also seen that the chiefs bearing the title *Malaiyaṉ* etc. were generally called Karikāla-cōḻa Āṭaiyūr-nāṭāḻvan while the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs are said to belong to Kiḻiyūr. Further in more than one epigraph a *Malaiyaṉ* chief and a *Malaiyamāṉ* chief figure together. This is known from 100 of the 17th year (A.D. 1195) and from 106 of the 19th year (A.D. 1197) which is a counterpart of the previous record, where Malaiyaṉ Viṉaiyveṉṟāṉ *alias* Karikālacōḻa Āṭaiyūr-nāṭāḻvāṉ is mentioned along with Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Aḻakiyanāyaṉ Ākāracūraṉ *alias* Irācakempīra Cēṭiyarāyaṉ. This shows that these two chiefs belong each to a different family, one having its residence at Kiḻiyūr and the other at Āṭaiyūr. The latter place being very near to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, the family residing here seems to have been known as the *Malaiyaṉ* family, while the Kiḻiyūr chiefs always were known as belonging to the Malaiyamāṉ family.

Three or four members of the Malaiyaṉ or Malaiyakularāyaṉ branch are known from the epigraphs in question. They are Niṉṟaperumāḷ *alias* Kulōttuṅkacōḻa Malaiyakularāyaṉ (98 of the 14th year = A.D. 1192), Muṉaiyataraiyaṉ's son Tiruvaraṅkamuṭaiyāṉ *alias* Irājātirāja Malaiyakularāyaṉ *alias* Taṉmaparipālaṉ (99 of the 14th year = A.D. 1192) ; Malaiyaṉ Viṉaiveṉṟāṉ *alias* Karikālacōḻa Āṭaiyūr-nāṭāḻvāṉ (100 of the 17th year = A.D. 1195 ; 103 of the 18th year = A.D. 1196 ; 106 of the 19th year = A.D. 1197) and Malaiyaṉ Naraciṅkapaṉmaṉ *alias* Karikālacōḻa Āṭaiyūr-nāṭāḻvāṉ (114 of the 27th year = A.D. 1205 ; 115 of the same year). The last mentioned chief also figures in an inscription of the 3rd

166 K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḻas* (1st edition), Vol. II, Pt. I, 1937, pp. 112 ff.
167 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 164-65.

regnal year of the king from Ceṅkamā (*A.R.E.*, 114 of 1900). The name Naraciṅka borne by this chief reminds one of Naraciṅka-Muṉaiyadaraiyar, a contemporary of Cuntaramūrti-nāyaṉār and again a chief of the same name who was a contemporary of Rājēndra II in A.D. 1058.[168]

As regards the three epigraphs of Rājarāja III's time, the chief mentioned in each of them is styled *Malaiyamāṉ*. There figures in 149 of the 17th year (A.D. 1232-33) of the king the chief named Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamāṉ (Periy)uṭaiyāṉ alias . . . . . and also in 170 which has not preserved the details of date and also the name Periya uṭaiyāṉ. He is probably connected with the chief named Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Iraiyūraṉ Pekka uṭaiyāṉ *alias* Irācarāca Cēṭiyarāyaṉ mentioned in 105 of the 18th year (A.D. 1196) of Kulōttuṅka III's reign. Similarly the chief Kiḻiyūruṭaiyāṉ Ākāracūraṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ *alias* Irācakempīraccēṭiyarāyaṉ of 158 of the 24th year (A.D. 1239-40) may be related to Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Aḷakiyanāyaṉ Ākāracūraṉ *alias* Irācakempīra Cēṭiyarāyar mentioned in two records (100 and 106) of Kulōttuṅka-cōḻa III's period. In the epigraph 114 of the 27th year (A.D. 1204-05) of Kulōttuṅka III, one Ākāracūraṉ of the same family is mentioned but without his proper name. Whether he is identical with the other two chiefs mentioned above is, therefore, not known.

The contents of the nine epigraphs of Kulōttuṅka-cōḻa III's time referred to above are interesting. The chief Niṉṟaperumāḷ was the donor of some jewels to the god as per 98 of the 14th year. Tiruvaraṅka-muṭaiyāṉ of 99 of the 14th year, gifted *nuntā* lamps to the temple. 100 dated 17th year of the king and 106 dated 19th year contain matters relating to an agreement of understanding reached between two groups of chiefs. According to the former, Malaiyaṉ Viṉaiyveṉṟāṉ *alias* Karikālacōḻa Āṭaiyūr-nāṭāḻvāṉ gave an undertaking of friendship to Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Aḷakiyanāyaṉ Ākāracūraṉ *alias* Irācakempīra Cēṭiyarāyar and to Pirutivikaṅkar. As per the second record Malaiyamāṉ Aḷakiyanāyaṉ Ākāracūraṉ *alias* Rācakempīrac Cēṭiyarāyan gave a similar undertaking to the other two. It is interesting to note that the latter record is dated two years later than the former.

The chief Viṉaiyveṉṟāṉ mentioned in 103 of the 18th year (A.D. 1196) gave lands to provide for food offerings to the god ; Vāṇakōvaraiya Malaiyamāṉ's son Pāvantittāṉ *alias* Ākāracūraṉ gave lands to the temple as *tirununtāviḷakkuppuṟam* according to 111 of the 25th year (A.D. 1203); and as per 115 of the 27th year (A.D. 1205), Malaiyaṉ Naraciṅkapaṉmaṉ *alias* Karikālacōḻa Āṭaiyūr-nāṭāḻvāṉ gave lands as *tirumaṭappaḷḷippuṟam*.

Of the three inscriptions of Rājarāja III's reign two (149 of the 17th year, A.D. 1232-35 ; and 170, date particulars damaged) relate to the agreement of friendship and help between two groups of chiefs. The third inscription (158 of the 24th year, A.D. 1240) registers a gift of land as *tirumaṭappaḷḷippuṟam* by Ākāracūran Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ *alias* Irācakempīrac Cēṭiyarāyaṉ of Kiḻiyūr.

Important matter revealed by these epigraphs :

Six of the twelve epigraphs examined above, deal with compacts between chiefs. The significance of this trend has been pointed out by Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri in his book *The Cōḻas*, II, Pt. I, (1937), on pages 112 following. We have referred to this phenomenon while dealing with the same epigraphs under the later Cōḻas. According to the Professor, "such political compacts were calculated to regulate their conduct towards the emperor. They seem to have had an important role in effecting the transition by which the class of official nobility, which had at first grown with the growth of the Cōḻa empire, converted itself into a number of petty local chieftaincies of a hereditary character." (*Ibid.*, p. 113). As regards the vogue of this tendency during the period of Kulōttuṅka III and his successors, the same authority says the following. "Under Kulōttuṅka III this tendency became much more general, and there can be no doubt that we have here unmistakable evidence of the approach of the end. The empire is dissolving into a number of warring principalities before the eyes of the king, now no longer powerful to enforce his will on his vassals who, though they still own allegiance to him, generally

168 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 166.

act very much by themselves and as best suits their divergent interests." (*Ibid.*, p. 114).

The Pirutivikaṅkas

In some epigraphs of the time of the later Cōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Kāṭavarāyas and Campuvarāyas, chiefs bearing the title of *Pṛthvīkaṅka* or *Pirutuvikaṅka* figure. This family like the other feudatory families was playing a prominent role in the political life of the people of the 12th century, but the activities of the members of the family were confined mostly to the area comprised of the present North Arcot district. It is not unlikely that this family had descended from the Western Gaṅga Pṛthvīpati II who was a subordinate first under Parāntaka-cōḷa I and later under Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III[169], and whose records are found in some places near Vellore in the North Arcot district.[170] The chronology and genealogy of these chiefs are not possible to chart out because of the absence of details in this regard.

In our collection earliest reference to a chief of this family is met with in the much damaged 85 of the 7th year (A.D. 1170) of the reign of Rājādhirāja II. He is called Appakaiyaṉ Kūttāṭuntēvar *alias* Pirutivikaṅkar. The inscription registers a compact of friendship between this chief and his son Cōmā . . . . and three others whose names are damaged. The reason for entering into this agreement by them is not known. But it is learnt from some later records that the Pṛthvīkaṅka chiefs were loyal to their Cōḷa masters, and they were probably entrusted with the maintenance of order in this region, and with the work of curbing, whenever necessity arose, the tendency of revolt against the central authority, of the other feudatory chiefs or locally influential persons. The epigraph in question seems to provide an example of this type of activity by the Pirutivikaṅka chief Kūttāṭuntēvar.

The epigraph 96 dated in the 13th year (A.D. 1191) of Kulōttuṅka-cōḷa III registers a grant of land to the god at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai made by Kūttāṭuntēvaṉ Piratikaṅkan. He bears also the names of Vaṉṉiya Mātēvaṉ Aḷakiyacōḷaṉ. This chief appears to be the same as the one referred to above, but during the period of rule of Kulōtuṅka III, he got the two special titles, one referring to his being the leader of the Vaṉṉiyas and the other probably after an epithet of the Cōḷa king.

Another instance of compact of the type mentioned above is registered in 100 of the 17th year (A.D. 1195) of the same Cōḷa king. Here a person named Malaiyaṉ Viṉaivenṟāṉ *alias* Karikāla-cōḷa Āṭaiyūr-nāṭāḷvān promised allegiance to Kūttāṭuntēvaṉ Cōmaṉ Pirutivikaṅka and Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Aḷakiyanāyaṉ Ākāracūraṉ *alias* Irācakempīra-cētiyarāyaṉ. The Pirutivikaṅka chief Cōmaṉ of this record was evidently the same as the one figuring as the son of Kūttāṭuntēvaṉ Vaṉṉiya Mātēvaṉ Aḷakiyacōḷaṉ in the previous inscription. The same Cōmaṉ Pirutivikaṅka whose name is damaged figures in the inscription 106 of the 19th year (A.D. 1197) of Kulōttuṅka III, of which the purpose is the same as in 100.

The epigraph 114 of the 27th year (A.D. 1205) of the same Cōḷa king, is interesting because here ten chiefs jointly gave an undertaking, evidently to the king, that they would never swerve from their loyalty to the king and would never back the two Vāṇa chiefs (names given). Among the ten are two Pirutikaṅka chiefs named Cōmaṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyāṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅkacōḷa Pirutikaṅkaṉ and Cōman Varantaruvāṉ *alias* Cōḻēntiracinkap-Pirutikaṅkan, who were obviously the sons of Kūttāṭuntēvaṉ Cōmaṉ Pirutivikaṅkaṉ referred to above. The latter of the two brothers now with title Aḷakiya-cōḷaṉ was the donor of land to the god in 118 of the same 27th year of Kulōttuṅka III. This Piritikaṅka is stated to have become the chief of Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu in this epigraph.

A Pirutikaṅkar addressed as *Piḷḷaiyār* but without any other name is mentioned in 136 of the 5th year (A.D. 1221) of Rājarāja III as well as in a fragmentary epigraph (173) most probably of this king's time. The endearing term meaning 'Prince' employed here for this chief indicates that the high status the Cōḷa king gave him. The purport of the former record is that two locally important persons gave an undertaking to the servants of Pirutikaṅkar that they would remain always loyal to the latter. In the much damaged epigraph (142) of the 15th year (A.D 1231) of the same Cōḷa king, some chiefs of the family figure, one of them being called Cōmaṉ . . . . . Whether this Cōmaṉ was the same as the one figuring

169 V. Rangacharya, *Top.List.*, I, pp. 101-02.
170 *Ibid.*, pp. 101-02, N.A., Nos. 580, 585, 586, from Cōḷapuram.

in some epigraphs of Kulōttuṅka III's time is not known.

In another much damaged record (144) in which the name of the king and details of date are not preserved, a Pirutivikaṅka chief named Kūttāṭuntēvaṉ *alias* Rājakempīra Pirutivikaṅkan figures as one of the three who gave an undertaking of mutual loyalty to some other chiefs whose names are lost. This Rājakempīra Pirutivikaṅkan's identification is difficult. A chief named Appakaiyan Kūttāṭuntēvan *alias* Irājarājap-Pirutivikaṅkan figures in 149 in which the name of the king and other particulars are not preserved. In this record this chief gave an undertaking to the chief Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamān (Periyuṭai)yān Iraiyūraṉ *alias* . . . . . The counterpart of this record where the latter gave a similar undertaking to the former is met with in 170 which is also much damaged although here the name of the king Rājarājatēvar is preserved.

An epigraph of the 13th century (226) belonging to Miṇṭa Ćiyaṉ Campuvarātittan calls him as the younger brother of a Pirutivikaṅkatēvar whose name is, however, not preserved in the epigraph. We have taken this Campuvarātittan as a member of the Campuvarāya family. When he was the younger brother of a Pirutivikaṅka chief, it goes without saying that either Campuvarātittan was not of Campuvarāya stock or that the latter family was connected with the Pirutivikaṅkas by blood. In case of accepting the latter theory, which seems more plausible, Campuvarātittan may not a Campuvarāya.

In a record (269) of the 5th year (A.D. 1245-46) of the Pāṇḍya king Vikkirama-pāṇṭiyatēvar, reference is made to a land, situated in Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu and bought by Sarvēśvaradēvaṉ, the head of the monastery called Kalmaṭam, from Prithivikaṅkar. The identity of this chief is not clear. In another record (276) of the 18th year (A.D. 1269) of Emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya Cuntarapāṇṭiyatēvar, reference is made to a land in Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu which was obtained by the chief of Gōḻaki-maṭam from Prithivikaṅkar.

Thus, the Pirutivikaṅka family according to our collection of epigraphs continued for at least a century. A majority of the epigraphs having a bearing on the chiefs of this family are seen to register political compacts, in which members of this family are shown to be supporters of their Cōḻa over-lords. Unlike the Bāṇas and the Kāṭavarāyas and Campuvarāyas to some extent, who tried to revolt against the Cōḻa kings, the Pirutivikaṅka chiefs were trusted and loyal subordinates of the Cōḻas, and they looked after the Vāṇakappāṭi region with great care on behalf of their suzerains.

The Nīlakaṅkarayas

Like the Campuvarāyas, chiefs of a family named Nīlakaṅkaryas figure in seven inscriptions of our collection. Of these inscriptions four are of the time of Kulōttuṅka-cōḻa III (88, of the 2nd year ; 114 and 116 of the 27th year and 121 of the 29th year) ; two are of the time of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I (194 and 195 of the 27th year) and one of the time of Kōp-Peruñcinka II (197 of the 2nd year). It is seen from these epigraphs that the chiefs were subordinates either under the Cōḻa king or under the Kāṭavarāyas. According to R. Sewell, a connected history of these Nīlakaṅkaraya chiefs cannot be made out, and that the 'Kaṅka' and 'Vāṇaṉ' included in their name "may perhaps justify the belief that these rulers belonged to the Gaṅga family stock and point to descent from the Bāṇa stock", respectively.[171] Krishnaswamy Ayyangar had not accepted Sewell's second proposition, by saying that 'Vāṇaṉ' in Pañcanadivāṇaṉ means in Tamil 'a resident' or 'being master of' and Pañcanadivāṇaṉ means Śiva in Tiruvaiyāṟu in Tanjore.[172] Just as the Pṛthvī-Kaṅkas, the chiefs under discussion most probably belonged to a branch of the 'Gaṅgas'.

An epigraph (88) recently discovered by us belonging to the 2nd year of Kulōttuṅka-cōḻa III (A.D. 1179-80) refers to Kurukulattaraiyaṉ Pañcanativāṇaṉ Nīlakaṅkaraiyan also called Kali Pañcanativāṇaṉ. He is no doubt identical with the chief figuring in an epigraph from Chingleput now stored in the Madras Museum[173], and in several other records of the 5th, 10th, 16th and 33rd years of the same Ćōḻa king. This chief seems to

171 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 370.
172 *Ibid.*, note 1.
173 V. Rangacharya, *Top. List.*, I, p. 323, No. 20. This epigraph appears to contain particulars of date which according to Sewell work out to A.D. 1183, May 26. (*Vide H.I.S.I.*, p. 370).

have borne different titles like 'Piḷḷaiyār Kulōttuṅka-cōḻa Kaṇṇappaṉ Nallanāyanār' and 'Cōḻa Kaṅka' in different years of his suzerain's rule. One Kuntan Nampūral *alias* Yirārā Nīlakaṅkaraiyaṉ figures in an inscription (114) of the 27th year (A.D. 1204-05) of the same Cōḻa king. This individual seems to be different from Pañcanativāṇaṉ Nīlakaṅkaraiyaṉ mentioned above. In another epigraph of the same year of the king (116) one Aracakaḷāḷayaṉ Nīlakaṅkaṉ Kariyaperumāḷ figures. He is the same as the one mentioned in a recently discovered epigraph (121) of the 29th year (A.D. 1206-07) of the king. He is also different from Pañcanativāṇaṉ Nīlakaṅkaraiyaṉ.

Some epigraphs of the time of Rājarāja-cōḻa III[174] refer to chiefs of this family. They are apparently different individuals and connection between them and the earlier chiefs is not easy to establish.

During the conflict between the Cōḻa kings Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III and the Kāṭavarāyas the members of the Nīlakaṅkaraya family sided with the latter. In two epigraphs (194 and 195) of the 27th year of the Kāṭava king Kōp-Peruñciṅka I (A.D. 1258-59)[175], reference is made to Naṅkaiyāḻvār Nāyanār[176], the queen (*nampirāṭṭiyār*) of Avani Āḷappiṟantāṉ. This chief was in all probability the same as Āmūr Nīḷakaṅkaraiyaṉ Avani Āḷappiṟantāṉ whose son Aḻakiya Tirucciṟṟampalamuṭaiyāṉ Nīlakaṅkaraiyaṉ is referred to in 197 belonging to the 2nd year (A.D. 1244-45) of Kōp-Peruñciṅka II. It is not, however, known if Naṅkaiyāḻvār Nāyanār was the mother of Aḻakiya Tirucciṟṟampalamuṭaiyāṉ Nīlakaṅkaraiyaṉ.

R. Sewell has given in his book the names of a few other members of this family, and the last of them is said by him to be 'Prince Nīlakaṅkaraiyaṉ', in the 39th year of Māṟavarman Kulacēkara-pāṇḍya I i.e., in A.D. 1306-07.[177]

The activities of the Nīlakaṅkaraya chiefs figuring in the records of the Cōḻa and Kāṭava kings have been already dealt with in the respective places above.

The Telugu-Cōḍas

The History of the Telugu-Cōḍas (i.e., the Cōḻas settled in the Telugu country), like that of the Bāṇas is interesting and their origins are to be traced to a great antiquity. Some inscriptions found in the Cuddapah district and a couple of copper-plate records give the history of a "dynasty of kings bearing the Cōḻa name, tracing their descent from Karikāla and holding sway in this region. The territory ruled by them was called Rānāṇḍu 7,000, and comprised the tract of land lying along the Kunderu river in the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts".[178] So, they were called by the name of Rēnāṇḍu Cōḻas then. But according to Professor Sastri "the history of this line cannot be fully understood until fresh discoveries are made. But it is already clear that they form the link connecting the early Cōḻas of the Tamil country and the numerous dynasties of petty chieftains in the Telugu and Karnataka country claiming to have been of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, and to have descended from Karikāla and ruled at Uraiyūr".[179] This family later on seems to have settled down at Pottappi in the Pullampet taluk of the Cuddapah district[180] and so came to be called as the Pottappi-cōḻas. After a long interval we come to know from a 4th year record of Vīrarājēndra-cōḻa (accession A.D. 1062-63) from Karuvūr[181] that he killed a king of Pottappi. After another long interval, the Telugu-cōḻas "rose into prominence, during the reign-period of Rājādhirāja II, in the districts of Nellore, Cuddapah, Chittoor, North Arcot and Chingleput, and it is to them that the Cōḻas lost Kāñcīpuram and from them that Kulōttuṅka III recovered the city".[182] Even in

174 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 370.
175 If *ibid.*, where Sewell would assign this record to A.D. 1269-70.
176 *Ibid.*, Sewell considers this princess to belong to the Āḷūpa family.
177 *Ibid.*
178 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḻas* (1955 edition), pp. 102-03.
179 *Ibid.*, p. 104.
180 *A.R.E.*, 1908, II, p. 79. According to R. Sewell, "Pottappi was the old name of Kāḷahasti, whence the chiefs derive their name Pottappi-Cōḻa and Tirukkāḷatti." (*Vide*, *H.I.S.I.*, p. 395).
181 *S.I.I.*, III, 20.
182 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 387.

the early 13th century, the history of this family is difficult to trace with certainty in spite of the availability of epigraphs and literary works relating to them.[183]

In the epigraphs of the period of Kulōttuṅka III, two or three chiefs of this line figure, and always in a subordinate capacity only. The most important of them was Tammusiddha or Tammusiddhi. Professor Krishnaswamy Aiyangar states the following about this chief's family : "Of Errasiddhi and Śrīdēvī were born sons, the eldest of whom was Nallasiddhi who was anointed to the throne. By his favour Tammasiddhi became king. Read in the light of this, the other two (*E.I.*, VII, No. 17), could only mean Mammasiddha. The eldest, was anointed and ruled in great fame ; the middle one having been other-worldly in life, and gone to heaven later, Mammasiddha, for the security of the kingdom gave the kingdom to Tammasiddhi, though younger. So, (1) Nallasiddha was another name of Mammasiddha, the eldest brother, not of Beta ; (2) all three were the sons of Śrīdēvī ; and (3) Beta was religiously inclined in life and Tammasiddha was nominated to succeed Manuma ; Beta died before Tammasiddha actually succeeded".[184]

Errasiddha or Eṟamasiddha was called Madhurāntaka Pottappi-cōḻa. His son Nallasiddha was a vassal of Kulōttuṅka III in A.D. 1204 and 1213. In between, records of Tammusiddha a brother and Betarasa also called Tirukkāḷattidēva, a son of Nallasiddha are known from Nellore and Chingleput districts. Earlier in A.D. 1192-93, Nallasiddha seemed to have occupied Kāñcīpuram, but this city was in the occupation of Kulōttuṅka III in A.D. 1196 as known from his inscriptions.[185] These chiefs continued to rule over their territory in the reign of Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III also. "Manumasiddharasa who had the title Cāḷukya-Nārāyaṇa and made a gift to the great Śiva temple at Kāñcīpuram in A.D. 1218 ; Madhurāntaka Pottappiccōḻa Eṟasiddharasa, gifts from whose officials and relatives are recorded in Rājarāja's inscriptions from Kāñcīpuram and Nellore between his fifth and eleventh regnal years ; Malamādēvarasa and Puḍōliyarasa mentioned in records of the sixth and eighth years of Rājarāja from the Chittoor district ; and the great Tikka I himself who figures under the name Gaṇḍagōpāla along with his queen and his officials in a large number of Rājarāja's inscriptions, are the chief among the Telugu-cōḻas who flourished in this reign".[186] The last-mentioned chief Tikka was especially friendly with Rājarāja III and this is evident from the fact that many of his epigraphs are dated in the regnal years of Rājarāja. That Tikka was on good terms with the Cōḻas is known from Tikkaṇa Sōmayāji's *Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇa*. By opposing the Hoysaḷa king Sōmēśvara and supporting Rājarāja III, Tikka got the title *Cōḻasthāpanācārya*. It appears that "Kāñcīpuram had for some years become part of the Telugu-cōḻa kingdom under Tikka, and that he held it in nominal subjection to Rājarāja III in the beginning, and to Kākatīya Gaṇapati later on, until the city was captured by the Pāṇḍyan invader, Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya who eventually killed Gaṇḍagōpāla i.e., Tikka some years later and put Kākatīya Ganapati to flight".[187] Before this had happened Rājendra III entered into an alliance with Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara who interceded on the former's behalf and got killed by the Pāṇḍya king mentioned above "in a battle fought near Kaṇṇanūr in A.D. 1264." Rājēndra's alliance with Sōmēśvara brought about a change in the attitude of Gaṇḍagōpāla who, as a consequence of it, seemed to have joined hands with Kōp-Peruñciṅka II to oppose the Cōḻa-Hoysaḷa axis. This is reflected in some of the epigraphs of the Kāṭava chief. Of the three inscriptions of this family in our collection two inscriptions attest to this fact (199, 209). The third one (162) is of the 29th year (A.D. 1245) of Rājarāja III. It registers a gift of a *nuntā* lamp by a certain Kollai Iruceyan who is stated to be a servant of Nāyanār Kaṇṭakōpālar. In the absence of details it is difficult to identify who this Telugu-cōḻa chief was. But it is not unlikely that he was the same as Marutāntaka (wrong for Maturāntaka) Pottappi-cōḻaṉ Vicaya Kaṇṭakōpālatēvar whose younger brother Matisūtanatēvar's son Kākkunāyakatēvaṉ was the donor of a *nuntā* lamp in one of the other epigraphs (209) belonging to the 36th year (A.D. 1278) of Kōppeṟuñciṅka II. It must be noted

183 *Ibid.*
184 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 130, note 1.
185 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 389-90.
186 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 430.
187 *Ibid.*, p. 436.

that Vicaya Kaṇṭakōpālatēvar is mentioned as an uncle of the donor in order probably to claim respectability by him. The chief Vicaya Kaṇṭakōpālatēvar who ascended the throne in A.D. 1250-51 (V. Rangacharya's *Top. List*, I, p. 363, Nos. 342, 350, 351), was a powerful person and a large number of his records are found in Chittoor, Cuddappah, Kurnool, Nellore, Chingleput, North Arcot and Thanjavur districts. (*Ibid.*, III, p. 2049). The third epigraph of our collection (199) which is much damaged also belongs to a Kāṭava chief, but details about his identity and date of the record are not available, although he might be Kōp-Peruñciṅka II. This inscription registers a grant of land probably by the same Telugu-cōḻa chief Maturāntaka Pottappiccōḻa Vicaiyakaṇṭakōpālatēvar, although due to the damaged condition of the record, we are not sure.

The Pāṇḍyas

From Jaṭāvarman Vikrama-pāṇḍya (A.D. 1244-1248 ?) onward, some of the members of the Pāṇḍya dynasty of Madurai, who became powerful after the decline of the Cōḷas of Tañcāvūr in the 13th century had been active at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and in the neighbouring region during the 13th and 14th centuries.[188] During this period these rulers as well as some of their subordinates had made grants of land and lamp to the temple at the place. This is substantiated by as many as twentythree epigraphs of this dynasty in our collection. Of these, four were copied by the Epigraphy Department in 1902 and their texts are published in *S.I.I.*, VIII, under Nos. 70, 71, 73 and 162 (= 277, 282, 288, 290). Three more were copied by the same department in 1945-46 and were reported in *A.R.E.*, 1945-46 under Nos. 67, 77 and 78 (=279, 287, 291). The rest have been copied by us recently. A majority of them are found engraved on the walls (outside) of the existing second *prākāra*. Some are found on the walls of the third *prākāra* which is marked by the elegant Kiḷi-gōpura at its east wall. The remaining ones are met with on the walls of the fourth *prākāra* which, in all probability, was put up only after A.D. 1317 under the aegis of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Ballāḷa III whose name the east main *gōpura* of the *prākāra* bears (see chapter on Building Works below). Mention is made of the location of the epigraphs in order to arrive at their most probable date, for, there is the problem of identity of some of the kings to whom the respective epigraphs belong. Earlier structures can be and are used by the contemporary people as well as by those of later times for engraving their records on. But a structure erected at a later period cannot bear an inscription of an earlier period unless the slab bearing it was removed from its original place and used in the new structure or the epigraph was copied *de novo* on the newly put up structure for some reason.

In the epigraphs belonging to this dynasty there are kings of the same name bearing different epithets. Evidently they are not identical and each of them may belong to a different period. There are others without any epithet at all. Neither do the epigraphs contain *meykīrttis* characteristic of the kings by which one can distinguish them, except in one instance (280). Owing to the uncertainty of the accession dates of some of them, the astronomical particulars available in a few of the records do not help us in fixing the date and position of the king in the chronology. In fact in many a case the astronomical details themselves are vitiated by wrong quotations of week-days, *tithis* and *nakṣatras*. All these handicaps have made the study of the history of the Pāṇḍyas of this period complicated if not confused.[189]

Jaṭāvarman Vikrama-pāṇḍya

The earliest king whose records are included in our collection is Caṭaiyavarman (Jaṭāvarman) Vikrama-pāṇḍya. His historicity, however, has not been recognised by scholars like R. Sewell, L.D.S. Pillai, K.A.N. Sastri and S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar. The *Pudu. Inss.* does not include any records of this king. Some of the five epigraphs[190] (Mr. 220; Rd. 58 ; S.A. 239 ; Cg. 480, 845) listed by V. Rangacharya may belong to this ruler. A few

188 For a general account of the period see especially K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom.*
189 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, in his *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* (Luzac and Co., London, 1929) on pp. 139-140, has made the matter clear.
190 See his *Top. Inss. of Madras Presi.*, III, p. 1822.

inscriptions of a king named Vikrama-pāṇḍya are published in *S.I.I.*, XVII (1964), but none of them is attributed to the Jaṭā. Vikrama-pāṇḍya whose history we are presently concerned with. No epigraphs of this ruler are mentioned in *S.I.I.*, XXIII, (1979). The recent study by N. Sethuraman[191] of the later Pāṇḍyas has shown clearly the existence of this ruler during the reign of Māṟa. Sundara-pāṇḍya II. His findings may be briefly stated here. The official Uyyaninṟāṭuvāṉ Vīracōḻa Tēvaṉ *alias* Vāṇātirājaṉ figuring in the Dēvipaṭṭinam record of the fifth year of Vīkrama-pāṇḍya (*A.R.E.*, 117 of 1903 ; *S.I.I.*, VIII, No. 403) is most probably the same as Uyyaninṟāṭuvāṉ Vīracōḻa Tēvaṉ Kurukulattarayaṉ met with in some of the inscriptions of Māṟa. Sundara-pāṇḍya II, who called the Hoysaḷa ruler Vīra Sōmēśvara as Māmaḍi (uncle). Epigraphs Nos. 188 and 190 of *A.R.E.*, 1943-44 from Madurai of the fourth year of Jaṭā. Vikrama-pāṇḍya refer to the same Hoysaḷa king as Māmaḍi of this Pāṇḍya king. This may suggest that he was probably brother of Māṟa. Sundara-pāṇḍya II. The inscription *A.R.E.*, 362 of 1953-54 found at Śrīraṅgam registers a grant of a village named after Jaṭā. Vikrama-pāṇḍya to provide for the maintenance of cows. The gift was intended for the welfare of the chief queen of Sōmēśvara. Though it was made by a Hoysaḷa official, the signatories to it were the officers of Māṟa. Sundara-pāṇḍya II. The date portion of this record is partly built in.

In 270 of the seventh regnal year of Vikrama-pāṇḍya (with no title), a certain Kaṇṭiyatēvar figures as a donor. He is apparently the same as Kaṇṭiyatēvar in whose presence some agreement was made by the Māhēśvaras etc., according to the inscription *A.R.E.*, 296 of 1910 belonging to the twelfth year of Māṟa. Sundara-pāṇḍya II. Probably the same Kaṇṭiyatēva is referred to in two inscriptions of the tenth year of Jaṭā. Sundara-pāṇḍya (accession A.D. 1251), (*A.R.E.*, 425 and 438 of 1913) both from Āṟakaḷūr in the Āttūr taluk of Salem district, and one inscription of the twenty-seventh year of the same king (*ibid.*, 30 of 1900), from Tāramaṅkalam in the Ōmalūr taluk of the same district. It is evident that this chief served as a subordinate under three kings looking after the royal affairs in this region just as Kaṇṭaṉ Āḻuṭaiyāṉ was in the Pudukkottai region. In 271 of the eighth year of Jaṭā. Vikramapāṇḍya a chief named Kaṇṭatēvaṉ *alias* Cuntarapāṇṭiyak Kāṅkēyaṉ figures. The name Cuntarapāṇṭiyaṉ, borne by the chief is probably after Māṟa. Sundara II. Perumāḷ Kulacēkaratēvar referred to in 268 of the second year of this king seems, likewise, to be identical with Jaṭā. Kulacēkara II.

Let us examine the question of this Pāṇḍya king's date of accession and the duration of his rule. Of the five epigraphs ascribed to this king, only one (269) contains particulars of date. They are: year 5, Simha-ba. 7, Friday, Rōhiṇī. They are found to correspond to 26th August 1244.[192] Accordingly this king's accession date appears to fall in A.D. 1240. According to the data of the same king contained in his Tenkarai record (*A.R.E.*, 11 of 1894 ; *S.I.I.*, V, 299) *viz.*, year 4, Mituna-śu.9, Svāti and Thursday equated to 16th June 1244, and the Vembattūr record (*A.R.E.*, 339 of 1959-60) *viz.*, year 5, Tulā, Tuesday and Anurādā equated to 24th October 1245, the date of accession should fall in A.D. 1241. This problem requires more evidence for a proper solution.

He was ruling jointly with Māṟa. Sundara-pāṇḍya. An examination of a larger number of inscriptions of this king is necessary to say if he had any characteristic *meykkīrtti*. The latest year of his reign was eight as per our inscription 271, that is he ruled upto A.D. 1246-47 or 1247-48. Perhaps he died prematurely. The five inscriptions of this king dealt with here include one each of the year two, five, seven and eight and the regnal year is lost in the fifth record. In spite of the small number, they furnish some interesting and important pieces of information.

Gift of lamps and lands :

Three of the epigraphs (268, 271 and 272) deal with gifts of lamps to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyaṉār. 268 registers the gift of a single lamp for which some cows and bull were endowed. The number of the animals is lost. The donor was a certain Vikkiramacōḻatēvar *alias* Iruṅkōḷar stated to be a *mutali* of Perumāḷ Kulacēkaratēvar. A group of eight *nuntā* lamps was donated to the same god according to 271. To provide for these lamps 250 numbers of cows and bulls

191 See his *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*, pp. 42 ff.

192 For the data, exact equivalents are available in A.D. 1271, 1285, 1312, 1315, 1339, 1342 and so on, suggesting that these data are not of a complicated type occurring once in a blue moon.

were endowed by the donor Kaṇṭatēvaṉ *alias* Kāṅkēyaṉ, the son of Naraciṅkatēvar of Cātai in Pāṇṭi-nāṭu. According to 272, Tirunaṭṭapperumāḷ *alias* Kāṅkēyaṉ, another son of the same Naraciṅkatēvar of Karuṅkuḷam *alias* Cātavācaka-nallūr (i.e., Cātai of the other record), in Veṇaikkuṭi-nāṭu in Pāṇṭimaṇṭalam, gifted two *nuntā* lamps to the same god for which he endowed (68) cows and 2 bulls.

It should be mentioned here that the donor mentioned in 271 donated 600 he-buffaloes and the donor mentioned in 272 donated 14 he-buffaloes together with 3 calves for the purpose of construction work in the temple (*tiruppaṇi*). The gift of such a large number of these animals evidently suggests that during that time a big project of construction work by way of either additions or renovations to the temple was under way.

Another noteworthy information contained in 272 relates to the gift of 250 goats or sheep by Tirunaṭṭapperumāḷ for the purpose of providing milk to children in front of (the image or shrine) of the goddess Uṇṇāmalai-nācciyār.

Epigraphs 269, dated in the fifth regnal year, and 270, dated in the seventh year, register gifts of lands. According to the former Sarvvēśvaradēva, the head of the Kalmaṭam at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai donated the village Kuḷattuṭaiyāṉpāṭi on the northern bank of Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu together with its wet and dry lands and incomes in cash and kind, to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār to provide for food offerings to the god during the Ardhajāma service as well as for worship of Tiruñāna-campanta. It is stated that the village was obtained as *maṭappuṟam* by the *maṭa* head from Prithivikaṅkar. Here is an example of transfer of a *maṭappuṟam* village to the temple.

The latter inscription 270, however, records the gift of the village Nallāṉpiḷḷaiperṟāḷ ēntal (boundaries specified) together with its incomes and privileges, by Tēvar Kaṇṭiyatēvar's mother . . . cāntiraḷmulaiyāḷ, as *maṭappuṟam* to a *maṭam* (name not mentioned) presided over by Tiruñānacampantar.

Donors :

In 268 a certain Vikkiramacōḻatēvar *alias* Iruṅkōḷar was the donor. The name Iruṅkōḷar reminds one of the family of chiefs of the same name who lived in and around Koḍumbāḷūr in the former Pudukkottai State. It is noteworthy that he was an important official under Perumāḷ Kulacēkaratēvar who, as already stated, was possibly the same as Jaṭā. Kulacēkara II.

The two brothers figuring as donors in 271 and 272 are stated to be the sons of a certain Naraciṅkatēvar who was an officer of *Akapparivāram* of the king and who belonged to Karuṅkuḷam *alias* Cātavācaka-nallūr in Pāṇṭi-nāṭu. Apparently the sons of this official had accompanied the king to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai when they had made the donation. Or it is also possible that the king employed these men to supervise the big temple building or renovation project that was being carried on then at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

The epigraph 269 states that the donor was Sarvvēśvaradēva the head of a *maṭam* called Kalmaṭam at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and that he transferred his *maṭappuṟam* village to the temple. The reason given is that it was the desire of his preceptor to do so.

From the inscription 270 we know that . . . cāntiraḷmulaiyāḷ, the mother of Tēvar Kaṇṭiyatēvar gave a village as *maṭappuṟam* to a *maṭam*. Kaṇṭiyatēvar, as stated above, figures prominently in the records of some other Pāṇḍya kings of the period also. The name of his mother known from this record, is interesting to note. Such names are usually borne by women of the *tēvaraṭiyār* group.

Matters of special interest :

Two matters of interest are revealed by the epigraphs examined above. One of them relates to the temple building activity of the time to which attention has already been drawn.

The other matter is that we know for the first time the existence, at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, of the *maṭam* called *Kalmaṭam* and its head named Sarvvēśvaradēva. This is evidently one such institution connected with "the revival of Śaiva activities in the thirteenth century by the Śaiva teachers (Santāna-guravar) beginning with Meykaṇṭatēvar who popularised and spread the tenets of Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy".[193] This *maṭam* continued to exist in the subsequent periods also according to

193 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 188-89.

some of the later-day epigraphs which will be dealt with later on.

Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya I (Circa A.D. 1251-1283)

Jaṭāvarman Sundara-pāṇḍya I was one of the most important and brilliant monarchs known to the mediaeval history of South India, and an honoured and celebrated king of the main line of the later Pāṇḍyas. Prof. K.A.N. Sastri's book *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 158 ff. may be consulted for an account of this king's achievements. They included the killing of Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara and the occupation of his capital Kaṇṇanūr-Koppam, killing of the Telugu-chōḷa king Gaṇḍagōpāla, occupation of Kāñcīpuram, defeating of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati, performance of *Vīrābhiṣēka* at Nellore, gilding of the roofs of the temples at Chidambaram and Śrīraṅgam, etc. Due to these he got the attributes like *Hēmācchadanarāja*, *Kāñcīpuravarādhīśvara*, etc. His inscriptions are numerous. Many of them contain his characteristic epithet *Emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya* (conqueror of all countries). Some of his inscriptions commence with the Sanskrit passage *Samasta-jagadādhāra* containing a string of his surnames. A few inscriptions of this king begin with the rare and long *meykkīrtti Pūmalar vaḷar tikaḷ*, *e.g.*, *A.R.E.*, 166 of 1894 from Tiruppūnturutti, containing statements of his "prodigious activity in the early years of his rule".[194] His inscriptions at Śrīraṅgam, Jambukēśvaram and Cidambaram speak about his exploits as well as his pious donations to the temples there. He seems to have been an younger brother of Māṟa. Sundara-pāṇḍya II and also of Jaṭā. Kulacēkara.[195]

Only three inscriptions (274, 275 and 276) of this important ruler are found at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, dated in the 15th, 17th and 18th year of his reign each containing his distinguishing title *Emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya*. The reason for this is not known. Under the Cōḷas we have seen that except for a doubtful record no epigraphs of the time of the great Rājarāja I have been found here. It seems that busy kings, engaged always in warfare, were not able to pay attention to the temple in question.

Donations of lamps and land :

Two of the three inscriptions deal with gifts of lamps to the god of the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. 274 of the 15th year (A.D. 1265-66), registers a gift of a *nuntā* lamp by an individual named Caṅkaraṉ Kaṇṭanāyakkar of Tirunallūr, for which 32 cows and one bull were endowed by him. The other epigraph (275) dated in the 17th year (A.D. 1257-58) records a gift of one *nuntā* lamp by Cuntaraṉāyan Vañcirāyan for which he endowed the same number of cows and bull as in the other record. This donor is stated to be the *kiḻavaṉ* of Pālaiyūr and he belonged to Irācēntiracōḻapperunteru in Malaināṭu i.e. the Kerala country. Apparently this donor was an important person of his place.

The third inscription (276) relates to the transfer to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyaṉ nāyaṉār of all lands together with the incomes thereof, except 500 *kuḻi*, in Teṅkampaṭṭu *alias* Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷnallūr, a *maṭappuṟam*, by the ascetic Hṛdaya-śiva, the disciple of Siddhāntavyākhyātākkaḷ Varata-śiva who was a disciple of the *mutaliyār* of Tirukkoṭuṅkuṉṟam of the lineage of Lakṣādhyāya-mutaliyār of Śrī-Gōḷaki-maṭam who had his residence in the Kāṅkayarāyaṉ-tirumaṭam *alias* Vidyāvinōtaṉ-tirumaṭam located in Tiruvaṇṇāmalait-tirupati. This gift was intended to provide for food offerings to the god during the service on the days when the asterism Punarpūcam the natal asterism of Varata-śiva was current and on the days when the asterism Cataiyam, the natal asterism of Hṛdaya-śiva was current. It is stated that the village was gifted as tax-free *maṭappuṟam* by Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ *alias* Prithivikaṅkar to the above-mentioned teacher.

Interesting information :

Besides furnishing an instance of transfer of a *maṭappuṟam* village to the temple, 276 is the only epigraph from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai to furnish the interesting information about the existence of a branch of the well-known Gōḷakimaṭha at the place. It seems that Śaivism of the Siddhānta variety was vigorously practised in the

194 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 161.
195 N. Sethuraman, *op.cit.*, pp. 48-49.

Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region for a long time. The Śaiva teachers belonged to various groups each of which had a principal monastery at a place with branches at various other places. One of the groups, called *Santānas*, was the *Lakṣādhyāya-santāna*. A *maṭha* (monastary) of this *santāna* named Patañjali-dēvar-maṭham was "at Mēlaiccēri of Perumparrappuliyūr (Chidambaram)".[196] The epigraph in question refers to Varata-śiva as a disciple of a teacher of the Lakṣādhyāya-mutaliyār-santāna of the Śrī-Gōḷaki-maṭam. It shows that the *Lakṣādhyāya-santāna* was closely connected with the Gōḷaki-maṭha. A Śaiva-maṭha at Tirutturaippūṇṭi in the Tanjāvūr district presided over by a teacher named Hṛdayadēva is referred to in *A.R.E.*, 471 of 1912 belonging to the 2nd year of the reign (A.D. 1218) of Rājarāja III. It is not known if this *maṭha* was an affiliate of the Gōḷaki-maṭha and if the teacher Hṛdayadēva had any connection with the teacher Hṛdayaśiva the donor of the epigraph 276 from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai under study.

Jaṭāvarman Vīra-pāṇḍya I

Jaṭā. Sundara-pāṇḍya I was assisted by a powerful co-regent named Jaṭāvarman Vīra-pāṇḍya.[197] He may be Jaṭā. Vīra-pāṇḍya I. A large number of his epigraphs are available. They are found chiefly in the Ramnad, Tirunelveli, Madurai and Pudukkottai regions. Some of his records are also found in the Koṅgu country and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. He bears the usual titles *Jaṭāvarman* and *Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ*. But his epigraphs credit him with the conquests of Ḷḷam (Ceylon), Koṅgu, and the Cōḻa-maṇḍalam, and the victory over Vallān and the *abhiṣēka* at Cidambaram. Not a single inscription definitely attributable to Jaṭā. Vīrapāṇḍya has been found in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Nevertheless, from its findspot, which is very close to that of the three Jaṭā. Sundara-pāṇḍya I's records as well as on palaeographical grounds, the badly damaged 273 may be considered to be a record of Jaṭā. Vīra-pāṇḍya. It has preserved the date particulars like year 5, Iṣapa-śu. (. .), Rōśani (Rōhiṇi) and Thursday. They work out correctly to 27th April 1256, when the *tithi* was śu. 1 till .36 of the day and Rōhiṇī was current throughout the day. If this is accepted then the date of accession of the king would fall in A.D. 1252, rather than in A.D. 1253. There are other equivalents in A.D. 1273, 1283, 1317, 1344[198] etc. for the data but none of them suits the so far known accession date of any of the Jaṭā. Vīra-pāṇḍyas known so far. Owing to its extremely damaged condition, this epigraph has not preserved other particulars of interest, except for stating that a certain Deṇṇāyaka (name not clear) made a grant of land as *tēvatāṉam*.

Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama-pāṇḍya II

Along with the two kings the history of whose reigns has been dealt with above, there was one Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama-pāṇḍya II whose inscriptions are seen to overlap with those two. This Māṟa. Vikrama-pāṇḍya was considered to have ascended the throne in *circa* A.D. 1283 (see K.A.N. Sastri's *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 189, and note). But a study of his epigraphs, some beginning with *the meykkīrtti Tirumalar mātu* and some with the Sanskrit *praśasti Samasta-bhuvanaika-vīra*, seems however, to tell a different story. His exploits, as recorded in his epigraphs, are more or less the same as those met with in the epigraphs of Jaṭā. Sundara-pāṇḍya I and Jaṭā. Vīra-pāṇḍya I. It is also likely that he was the leader of the other two, that his accession took place most probably in A.D. 1249-50 and that he was elder to the other two kings. Subject to careful examination, for further details *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*, pp. 61 ff., by N. Sethuraman who gives greater credit to this Māṟa. Vikrama than to the other two kings may be referred, because here we are not dealing with this king's reign as no epigraphs of his time are found at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

Māṟavarmaṉ Kulacēkara-pāṇḍya I

Of the later Pāṇḍya rulers who dominated the political scene in the second half of the 13th century A.D., Māṟavarman Kulacēkara-pāṇḍya I was the most

196 K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḻas*, (1955), pp. 647, 650-51.

197 It may be noted that several kings bearing the same name are supposed to have existed during the period from A.D. 1250 to A.D. 1300. This surmise is based on the variously interpreted astronomical data contained in the numerous epigraphs mentioning the king as Jaṭā. Vīra-pāṇḍya. See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 174, note 1.

198 18-5-1273 (śu. 1 ; *nak.* 4 till .18) ; 29-4-1283 (śu. 1 ; *nak.* 4 after .29) ; 12-5-1317 (śu. 1 ; *nak.* 4 till .26) ; 13-5-1344 (śu. 1 ; *nak.* 4 till .49).

prominent. "Marco Polo who visited part of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom towards the end of the 13th century, speaks of 'five royal brothers' and 'five crowned kings' of this great province of Ma'bar,' and that 'Ashar or Asciar (corruption for Cēkar) was the eldest of the five brother kings'. Chinese sources of about A.D. 1280 also refer to the five brothers who were Sultans".[199]

Inscriptions of the period also reveal the existence of "a Māṟa. Vikrama-pāṇḍya, two Jaṭā. Sundara-pāṇḍyas and a Jaṭā. Vīra-pāṇḍya who ruled with Māṟa. Kulacēkara. Besides a Māṟa. Śrīvallabha and a Jaṭā. Śrīvallabha also appear to have reigned then".[200] Māṟa. Kulacēkara came to the throne in A.D. 1268, and ruled for about 44 years till A.D. 1311-12. Like Jaṭā. Sundara-pāṇḍya I, he also bore the title *Emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya* (who took all countries). His inscriptions are numerous and some of them, dated early in his reign, found in the Tirunelvēli district call him *Cēraṉai veṉṟāṉ* (conqueror of the Cēra) and *Kollam koṇṭāṉ* (who took Kollam or Quilon) (*A.R.E.*, 126 of 1907 ; *ibid.*, 1927, Pt. II, paragraph 42). An epigraph of the 7th year of his from Nāṅgunēri in the Tirunelveli district begins with the *meykkīrtti Tērpōl alkul*. An inscription of his from Tirunelvēli (*A.R.E.*, 29 of 1927) refers to his conquest of the Kēraḷa, the Cōḷa and the Hoysaḷa kings. His rule over the Koṅgu country is attested by the writings of the Muhammadan historians. According to the *Mahāvaṁśa* of Ceylon, Māṟa. Kulacēkara conquered that country in about A.D. 1284. "The epigraph from Cērmādēvi (*A.R.E.*, 692 of 1916) dated in the twentieth year of the king states that he conquered the Malaināṭu, Cōṇāṭu, the two Koṅgus, Ilam (i.e. Ceylon) and Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. These territories were already brought under the sway of the Pāṇḍyan rule by Jaṭā. Sundara-pāṇḍya I, so, the references to the conquest of them in Māṟa. Kulacēkara I's records are considered to be to his quelling of some local trouble or other which erupted during his reign".[201] Unlike his predecessors whose epigraphs are rarely found at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, ten inscriptions of our collection may be attributed to Māṟa. Kulacēkara I (277 to 286). However only three of these (280, 284 and 285) definitely belong to this king, and the rest are assigned to him on grounds of palaeography, internal evidence and findspots. The donor of 277, Makatēcaṉ Ulakaṅkātta Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ is the same as the one who figures in an inscription from Taṭāvūr, Attur taluk in Salem district (*A.R.E.*, 460 of 1913), which being associated with the previous epigraph (*A.R.E.*, 459 of 1913) where another chief, Ādittan Gaṇapati Āḷvān *alias* Vāṇātarāyan of Kappalūr figures and who figures also in *A.R.E.*, 438 of 1913 of A.D. 1226, may give the upper limit of date for our donor. The donee of 278 was the daughter of the queen of Jaṭā. Sundara-pāṇḍya I and she is already known from *A.R.E.*, 11 and 13 of 1913. This king's epigraphs in our collection range in date from the 7th to the 35th year of his reign. Some of them give astronomical particulars in full and some give them partially.

Though badly damaged, the epigraph 280 dated in the 14th year[202] is important and interesting. For it contained a *meykkīrtti* of the king which is, however, available only in pieces. It is curious that in the grant portion of the epigraph some passages have been erased apparently wantonly. It appears that these passages contained the name of a gift village. The contemporary or a later-day owner of that village seems to have caused the disappearance of this name of the village in an attempt to misappropriate the village for himself. As the beginning of the record is damaged it is not known if it commenced with the words *Tērpōl* of the *meykkīrtti*.[203] Nevertheless, some points of interest can be gleaned from this mutilated text. References to Ciṅkaḷar (i.e. Ceylonese), the Ćēṭiyar and Koṅkar are found in line 1. Levying tribute (?) from Vīra-Pōcala (i.e. the Hoysaḷa king) and subduing of Cēralan (i.e. the Cēra king) are mentioned in line 2. Again in line 6 Pōcalaṉ (i.e. the Hoysaḷa king) and his army general Ciṅkaṇa-teṇṭanāyakkar are referred to. A certain Villavaṉ (a Cēra king ?) figures in line 7. References to Kaṉṉi-vaḷanāṭu, Cuntara-pāṇṭiyaṉ, and the Poṉṉipperiyāṟu (i.e. the Kāvērī) are mentioned in line 8. Irācanārāyaṇaṉ, evidently the

199 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 180-81, quoting Yule and Cordier's *Travels of Marco Polo*, II, pp. 334 etc.
200 *Ibid.*, p. 180.
201 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 183.
202 The given particulars are insufficient for a proper verification. Equivalents for them are available in several years in the 13th and 14th centuries.
203 *A.R.E.*, 254 of 1927-28 from Nāṅgunēri in Tirunelvēli district. As the text of this inscription is not available it is not possible to compare it with that of our record.

Campuvarāya chief and Kōp-Peruñciṅka, the Kāṭavarāya chief are referred to in line 9. Tirunelvēli and Ciṅkaḷaṉ appear in the next line. In line 11 the army of the Pallavaṉ, and the breeze of the Potiyiṟ (hill) are mentioned besides the statement that the king Kō-Māṟupaṉmar *alias* Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravatti Kōnēriṉmaikoṇṭāṉ was seated on the pure gold lion-throne along with his queen Ulakamuḻutum uṭaiyāḷ.

The king's name Kulacēkara is given in the business portion of the record in lines 12 following. The purport of the record is that on the representation made by his official Kāliṅkarāyar, the king made a tax-free gift of Pākkam in Makarai-maṇṭalam and another village (name erased as stated above), after renaming them together as Kulacēkaranallūr with all its incomes to the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār to provide for the service instituted in the temple in the name of the king. The badly damaged epigraph 285 dated in the 35th year of the reign records the gift of land probably by the king. It contained the name of a chief of a place (name lost) of Takaṭūr-nāṭu but it is not preserved.

Donation of lamps and cows :

Only one of the inscriptions 282, dated in the 16th year relates to the gift of a *nuntā* lamp made by an important person named Cīraṅkanātar *alias* Māḻuvaccakkaravattikaḷ of the village of Vāraṇavāci for which he endowed 32 cows and one bull.

Another important person, named Makatēcaṉ Ulakaṅkātta Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, the chief of Āṟakalūr, donated, according to 277, dated in the 7th year, 54 cows to the god for the purpose of supplying milk for the milk-bath of the god.

Other interesting transactions :

Epigraph 278, dated in the 10th year, registers a sale of land for an amount of 10 *poṉ* by the *Cīmakēcurakkaṅkāṇi ceyvārkaḷ, tēvakanmi* and the *kōyirkaṇakkar* of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple to Puḻukkuneypperumāḷ who is enjoined to pay some specified quantity of paddy annually to the temple. The land was situated on the eastern border of Āṭaiyūr. The purchaser was an important person, she being the daughter of Tennaṉaimuḻutumuṭaiyār, the queen of Tēvarkaḷ, evidently referring to Jaṭā. Sundara-pāṇḍya I, as mentioned above.

According to 281, of the 15th year, the same temple officials had sold some land for 4 *poṉ* to Kulacēkaratēvar, the son of Kalavaḻi-nāṭu Āḻvār, a Kaikkōḷa of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai with a stipulation that he should pay some specified quantity of paddy annually.

We are informed about a transfer of landed property on a permanent basis between two private parties by the inscription 279, dated in the 14th year. According to this record two military captains (names given) owners of the hamlet Karumāṇikkaṉēntal had sold it for 50 *paṇam* to a certain Aruṇakiripperumāḷ *alias* Iyātavarāyar who was the son of Kulacēkaratēvar the daughter of Eppotumiṉiyār a *tēvaraṭiyāḷ* of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. The reasons for the sale of the land were that the owners did not have resources to cultivate it ; it therefore became ruined, that tax was demanded of them and that they were unable to pay the tax.

The epigraph 284 dated in the 33rd year, records a royal gift of money obtained from a levy of 5 *paṇam* on every *vēli* of land in all the *tēvatāṉa* villages to provide for musk for smearing the god with it. It is stated that the king ordered this gift on the collective representation made by *Śrī-Māhēśvarar*, the *sthānajanaṅkaḷ* (i.e. the *tāṉattār*) of the temple, the *tiruvuṇṇāḻikaiyār*, the *nāṭṭavar* of Aṇṇā-nāṭu, the *nāṭṭavar* of the villages included in Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu, Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu, Vāṇakappāṭi-nāṭu, Pākkapparru and Ciṅkamulaipparru, the *Tirumalai-vēḷaikkārar*, and Tiruvakampaṭiyar headed by the royal official Kāṇa iṉiyār *alias* Kulacēkarakkaṇṭiyatēvar hailing from Ampalattāṭiṉallūr *alias* Maṇappaṭai-vīṭu in Pāṇṭi-maṇṭalam.

The fragmentary epigraph 286 seems to refer to an assignment (details lost) to the *tēvar aṭiyār* apparently for reciting such sacred hymns as the *Tiruvempāvai*. This hymn was a composition of the Tamil Śaiva saint Māṇikkavacakar who is said to have lived at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and to have recited, for the first time, his celebrated holy philosophical poem entitled the *Tiruvācakam*.

Māṟavarmaṉ Vikkirama-pāṇḍya III

A much damaged epigraph (283) of this king bearing the title *Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ* was discovered by us. The text registers an allotment of lands to forty *tēvaraṭiyār* who were to do service at the time of a service called Irācākkaḷnāyaṉ-canti and of a festival

called Irācākkaḷnāyaṉ-tirunāḷ in the temple of the god at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Evidently Irācākkaḷ-nāyaṉ was the title of this king. The Hoysaḷa king Rāmanātha, the son of Sōmēśvara had the surname *Rājākkaḷnāyaṉ* (*A.R.E.*, 92 of 1910) which is said to have been assumed by Māṟa. Vikrama-pāṇḍya. (K.R. Venkataraman, *Hoysaḷas in the Tamil country*, p. 24). Epigraphs of this king registering grants to provide for a service called by the same name are met with in several places in the North and South Arcot districts and in some places in the Chingleput district.[204] It appears that he was in charge of this region most probably during the rule of Māṟa. Kulacēkara-pāṇḍya. This suggestion has been made by H. Krishna Sastri.[205] But the identification and the date of accession have remained a difficult matter, although Prof. K.A.N. Sastri has shown that this king's accession in A.D. 1283 might be accepted[206], because "on the basis of any date there are difficulties in reconciling all the known facts".[207] The epigraph in question contains the astronomical data such as year 4 + 1, Ṛṣabha-śu. 3, Thursday and Mṛgaśīrṣa. They are not found to correspond correctly to any year between A.D. 1280 to A.D.1350. However, with a single correction of śu. 3 to śu. 2[208], they are found to give the equivalent of May 15, 1287. This goes to support the accession date in A.D. 1283 for this king.[209] He does not seem to have ruled for long after his fifth regnal year.

Kings after Māṟavarmaṉ Kulacēkara I

It has been mentioned above that during the reign period of Māṟa. Kulacēkara I some other kings, probably related to him by blood, were also exercising regnal authority. In fact his sons Jaṭāvarman Vīrapāṇḍya and Jaṭāvarman Sundara-pāṇḍya are also known to have assisted their father, becoming eventually responsible for the confusion brought about in the politics of the country. According to the Epigraphy Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India and Professor K.A.N. Sastri, these two rulers designated as sub-kings by Prof. Sastri were drafted into service respectively in A.D. 1296-97 and in A.D. 1276.[210] But recently this position has been questioned under a fresh study, of which the bonafides are yet to be carefullly assessed, which introduces a few new kings into the later Pāṇḍyan genealogy.[211] However, since our collection of epigraphs from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai does not include records of these rulers we shall gloss them over here.[212] A likely reason for the absence of records of the brothers and others, if any, at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was that they, being busy with their own personal affairs did not find time to visit this place to cause donations to be made to the temple.

Tribhuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Cīvallapatēvar

Two epigraphs of this king are included in our collection. Except for the title *Tribhuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ*, the king in either record is not distinguished by any other title. They are 289, dated in the 21st year and 290, dated in the 22nd year. The former is engraved on the west wall outside of the 2nd *prākāra* while the latter is found in the Vallāḷa gōpura. This *gōpura*, having come into existence after A.D. 1317, can receive engravings of epigraphs only after that date. So, 290 can be certainly ascribed to a date somewhere in 1320s. The other record, though found at a different place, may be of the same period and ruler, since it refers to king in the same manner as other epigraph does as well as on palaeographical grounds. Professor Sastri has recognised a Jaṭā. Śrīvallabha as a sub-king with a question mark with the initial date in A.D. 1291.[213] If we add 21

204 It may be noted that no inscription of this king is found in the collection of *Pudu. Inss.*
205 V. Rangacharya, *Top. List.*, I, p. 131, No. 61, p. 134, No. 71, p. 137, No. 87 etc.
206 See his *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 189.
207 *Ibid.*, p. 189, note 2.
208 N. Sethuraman who is against the correction of regnal years, is himself agreeable to the correction in other details like the *tithi*, *nakṣatra*, etc. See his *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*, p. 209.
209 *Ibid.*, pp. 209 ff. for a discussion of this point and for assigning A.D. 1332-33 as the date of accession of the king.
210 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 259.
211 N. Sethuraman, *op.cit.*
212 See K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 201 ff. for an account of the reigns of Jaṭā. Vīra-pāṇḍya and Jaṭā. Sundara pāṇḍya. He has stated also that "little information is available about the Pāṇḍyan rulers who were co-regents with Jaṭā. Vīra-pāṇḍya (accn. A.D. 1296) and those that came later." (See *op.cit.*, p. 24).
213 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 180, 259.

or 22 years to this, the dates of the records in question, their dates would be A.D. 1312 or A.D. 1313, when, at least the second epigraph, could not have been engraved as the *gōpura* on which it is found was not in existence then. So, the initial date of this Tribhu. Ćivallapa must be later. According to the new study[214] of this dynasty referred to above, there ruled a Jaṭā. Śrīvallabha with A.D. 1308 as his initial date who ruled till A.D. 1342. This finding seems to suit the dates met with in our inscriptions under study, and we may, therefore, tentatively identify the king Tribhu. Ćivallapa of our records with the Jaṭā. Śrīvallabha. In this case, the dates of our records would become A.D. 1328 and A.D. 1330 respectively. Exact equivalents cannot be given because the astronomical details contained in them are incomplete.

Donation of lamps :

According to 289, on the 30th day of the month of Māci in the 21st year of the king, the official Oppiccāṉ Kaccirāyaṉ of Maruvūr gifted three *nuntā* lamps, two to the god and one to the goddess at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. He endowed 92 cows and a bull for this purpose. It may be noted that usually 32 cows and a bull were given to provide for a lamp, and at this rate 96 cows and 3 bulls should have been endowed, as is seen in a few instances of this kind of donation recorded in some epigraphs of our collection. So the provision of 92 cows and one bull for 3 lamps in the record in question is rather peculiar.

Other transaction :

The other inscription (290) states that on the 15th day of the month of Kāttikai in the 22nd year, the king issued an order to the *tāṉattār* of the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai to ask the *tēvaraṭiyār* of the place to stop the payment of a certain levy due to the chief of Kaḷattūr from the *tēvaraṭiyār*. This is an interesting document given by the king in favour of the *tēvaraṭiyār*, who probably represented to him, probably because the levy was oppressive and unprecedented.

Māṟavarmaṉ Kulacēkara-pāṇḍya II

"A certain Māṟavarmaṉ Kulacēkara, who may be called the second of the name came to power in A.D. 1314, and would seem to have ruled at least up to A.D. 1346.[215] His records are found in all the districts from Tirunelvēli to Tañjāvūr".[216] According to Professor Sastri, this king had also the title of *Emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya* (who conquered every country), and that, according to the inscription from Sīrkāḻi of the 18th regnal year of this king, one Sundara-pāṇḍya identified with Jaṭā. Sundara of the civil war, was his elder brother".[217] But the recent study has proposed that this Māra. Kulacēkara II, had the title of Bhuvanaika-vīraṉ, that he was the son of Jaṭā. Sundara-pāṇḍya mentioned above and that he might have lived upto A.D. 1362.[218] What a difference between the findings of the two studies ! This necessitates a careful analysis of the historical sources of the period, especially of the epigraphical evidence.

Coming to our collection of inscriptions, this king seems to be represented by two items *viz.*, 287, dated 20th day of Āṭi of the 5th regnal year of the king who bears the titles *Tribhuvanaccakkravartti* and *Kōṉeriṉmaikoṇṭāṉ*, and 288, dated 27th day of Vaikāci of the 20th year of the reign of the king who gets the titles Māṟupaṉmar and Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ here. That these two epigraphs belong to a Māṟa. Kulacēkara who reigned after A.D. 1317 is proved by the engraving of the 5th year record on the wall of the 3rd *prākāra* which, as stated above, came into existence after that date and the figuring of a king named Pararājarāmaṉ Parākramapāṇḍya of accession date in A.D. 1314, in the 20th year epigraph. Incidentally the former epigraph proves that the third *prākāra* was already in existence in July, 1319. We are not able to say anything important about the achievements of this king, for want of full texts of his inscriptions.

214 N. Sethuraman, *op.cit.*, p. 162.
215 *E.I.*, IX, p. 228 ; *A.R.E.*, 362 of 1904, and also 595 and 639 of 1902 ; 119 of 1903 ; 419 of 1905 etc.
216 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 245.
217 *Ibid.*
218 N. Sethuraman, *op.cit.*, p. 151.

Donations :

The epigraph 287 registers evidently a gift made by the king of the village of Tēviyār ēntal on the northern bank of Makatai-maṇṭalam together with all its incomes, to provide for the worship and construction in the temple of Cempiyanmātēvīcuramuṭaiyār wherein the god Tirunilai Aḷakiya Vayirava nāyaṉār was installed. The name Cempiyanmātēvi reminds one of the Cōḷa queen of the same name of the 10th century who was known for piety and for building several temples in various places in the Cōḷa and Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. The temple bearing her name of our epigraph was probably one such built by this queen, although its vestiges are not traceable. The same temple is referred to again in 291, about which we shall say something more later on. 288 records the gift made by a joint ruler named Pararājarāmaṉ Parākrama-pāṇḍya, of 73 cows together with 23 tender calves, to the god of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai for the cow's milk bath of the god. We have come across already an instance of this kind of gift for the god's milk-bath (*kṣīrābhīṣēka*) which, though may have been a regular feature of a daily temple ritual, has assumed importance during the time when the inscriptions in question were put up.

Pararājarāmaṉ Parākrama-pāṇḍya

This king figures, as shown above, in 288, belonging to Māṟa. Kulacēkara II, dated A.D. 1335 and no other epigraph of his has been found at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Here he bears the peculiar title *Pararājarāmaṉ* (Rāma to opponent kings), and *Vayyantoḻaniṉṟa-perumāḷ*, but is not distinguished either by the name Jaṭāvarmaṉ or by the name Māṟavarmaṉ. The occurrence of a Sanskrit verse at the end of the record glorifying this ruler as world-honoured (*viśva-vandya* = *vayyan-toḻaniṉṟa*) and one who inspires awe in the minds of his enemies, both alive and dead, indicates that he was the *de facto* ruler, at least in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai region. In view of the fact that the titles mentioned above are not met with in the epigraphs belonging to Parākrama-pāṇḍya, it is difficult to be sure of this king's identification. Yet he may probably be the same as Jaṭāvarmaṉ Parākrama I who ascended the throne in A.D. 1314 and ruled upto A.D. 1347 according to Prof. Sastri.[219]

Māṟavarmaṉ Vikkirama-pāṇḍya IV

The last king of the later Pāṇḍyas to be noticed is Vikkirama-pāṇḍya without either Jaṭāvarman or Māṟavarmaṉ associated with his name but bearing the titles *Tribhuvanacakravatti* and *Kōṉēriṉmaikoṇṭāṉ*, of the epigraph 291. It is dated Vaikāci 17th in his second regnal year. For want of other details, no equivalent can be given for these date particulars. So, the period of this king cannot be precisely mentioned. However, since the epigraph in question is engraved on the south wall of the fourth *prākāra* which, as has been stated above, was built after A.D. 1317, the king has to be assigned to a later date. He was probably Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama-pāṇḍya IV who ruled from A.D. 1333 to 1340.[220] The palaeography of the epigraph seems to support this identification. He was in all likehood related to Kulacēkaratēvar of 287 dealt with above. Again on palaeographical grounds the five milestone epigraphs (292-296) are assigned to this king. They clearly show that Tiruvaṇṇāmalai possessed a number of streets with subdivisions in them during this period. As some of them are found on the road around the hill, they seem to point to the existence of the streets or lanes in those places. These are the only records to show this practice. Apparently not long afterwards, Vikkirama-pāṇḍya, of the inscription 291 in question, made a similar grant of land as did Kulacēkara according to 287, to the gods. The significance of the name Cempiyaṉmātēvīcuram has already been explained.

No epigraphs of Pāṇḍyan kings of the subsequent periods have been found in our collection. The reason for this is obvious. During these times (i.e. from about A.D. 1325 onwards) north Tamiḻnāṭu experienced an unprecedented political turmoil due to the invasion of the Muhammadan rulers of North India, who are known to have occupied Madurai and ruled almost the entire country from there for about half a century till they were vanquished by the Vijayanagara prince Kumāra Kampaṇa

219 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 245. Also see N. Sethuraman, *op.cit.*, pp. 152 ff.
220 N. Sethuraman, *op.cit.*, p. 218.

about A.D. 1378.[221] At this time the Pāṇḍyan dynasty was badly hit and several branches of it carved out small principalities of their own in the Madurai, Tirunelvēli, and Ramnad districts and in the Pudukkottai region. None of them had the power and resources to conquer territories in the north Tamil country. Further, this part of Tamiḻnāṭu came to be gradually annexed to the Vijayanagara empire, which sounded the death-knell to the local ruling houses like the later Pāṇḍyas. Hence the absence of inscriptions of this once-glorious Pāṇḍyan dynasty at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, belonging to periods after about A.D. 1340.[222]

The Pāṇḍyas : Conclusion.

The thirty-two epigraphs ranging in date from about A.D. 1241-42 to A.D. 1338 and belonging to eight kings of the Pāṇḍyan dynasty of Madurai each furnishes a brief account of a transaction that took place on the date of the epigraph at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and its neighbourhood. Some of them register the gift of *nuntā* (perpetual) lamps, e.g. 268, 271, 272, 274, 282, and 289. Of these, the epigraph 289 dated A.D. 1328 refers to gift of a lamp to Uṇṇāmulai nācciyār, and that Uṇṇāmulai nācciyār is Tirukkāmakkōṭṭamuṭaiya nācciyār is made known by 285 dated A.D. 1303. We have seen above that according to the inscription 86 dated A.D. 1180 of the time of Kulōttuṅka-cōḻa III, there was a shrine to the goddess Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam. Later on in the epigraph 197 dated A.D. 1242-43 of Kōp-Peruñciṅka II's time the goddess of the Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam was described as Uṇṇāmulai nācciyār. But the simple general name of Tirukkāmakkōṭṭamuṭaiya nācciyār was still in use in the 13th century as known from the record 194 dated 1258 of the time of Kōp-Peruñciṅka I. The epigraph 272 dated A.D. 1247-48 of the time of Vikkirama-pāṇḍya refers to the goddess Uṇṇāmulai nācciyār. As per the Pāṇḍya record (285) of Kulacēkara I mentioned above the combined name was in vogue in A.D. 1303 because of the old habit. This vacillation seems to have disappeared and the latter name Uṇṇāmulai nācciyār became popular from A.D. 1328 according to the epigraph 289 belonging to Cīvallapa-pāṇṭiya. The existence of a temple named Cempiyaṉ mātēvicuramuṭaiya nāyanār on the south side of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai is made known by two epigraphs (287, dated A.D. 1319, and 291, dated A.D. 1334).

Two epigraphs (277 and 288) are there registering gifts of cows to provide for the milk bath of the god. Of these, 288 dated A.D. 1334 of the time of Kulacēkara II is interesting in that it records the gift of seventy-three cows and twenty-six tender calves.

Two inscriptions 271 and 272 both dated A.D. 1247-48 and both belonging to the reign of Caṭaiyaṉ Vikrama-pāṇṭiya are specially noteworthy as they relate to gifts of he-buffaloes, the former mentioning 600 of them and the latter 17 of them, for the purpose of *tiruppaṇi* or temple work, made by two brothers *viz.*, Kaṇṭatēvaṉ (271) and Tirunaṭṭapperumāḷ *alias* Kāṅkāyaṉ (Moṭṭai) Aṟappūtipātam (272), sons of Naraciṅkatēvar, hailing from Cātai or Cātavācakanallūr in Pāṇṭi-nāṭu. It is evident that the use of 617 *kiṭas* (he-buffaloes) for the temple work meant that construction or renovation or repair work on a large scale was in progress in the temple at that time, although it is difficult to know about the nature of the work.

Tamiḻnāṭu witnessed the growth of the Śaiva monastic establishments in the 13th century and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai seems to have been one of the centres where a number of Śaiva *maṭams* existed then. The Pāṇḍya epigraphs under reference reveal the existence of two or three *maṭams* in the place. They were the Kaḷmaṭam mentioned in 269 dated A.D. 1244 of the time of Caṭaiyaṉ Vikrama-pāṇṭiya and 276 dated A.D. 1268-69 of the time of *Emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya* Cuntara-pāṇṭya which refers to the Gōḷaki-maṭam being housed in the Kāṅkayarāyaṉ-tirumaṭam or the Vidyāviṉōtaṉ-tirumaṭam. Another *maṭam* named Tiruvācal-maṭam also existed at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Sōmanātatēvaṉ of the *maṭam* is said to have donated land to provide for a

221 R. Sewell, *Hist. Inss. S.I.*, p. 185 where he says that the Muhammadan governor was ruling the country since A.D. 1327 on the basis of the Paṉaiyūr inscription. K.R. Venkataraman, however, says that the Sultān ruled from A.D. 1323, using the same epigraph. (See his *Hoysaḷas in the Tamil country*, p. 32).

222 K.A.N. Sastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 240 ff., especially p. 244.

special worship to the god according to the epigraph 298 dated A.D. 1336, belonging to the reign of *Tiripuvaṉac-cakkaravattikaḷ* Vikkirama-pāṇṭiya.

The land transactions referred to in such epigraphs as 269 (A.D. 1244), 270 (A.D. 1246-47), 273 (13th century), 276 (A.D. 1268-69), 298 (A.D. 1338) etc. indicate the agricultural activities that were going on during the 13th and the early 14th century A.D. in this area.

The inscriptions uner review reveal the fact of the participation in the temple affairs not only by the rulers themselves (280, 284, 287) but also by certain royal personages like Pararājarāmaṉ Vayyantoḷaninṟaṉperumāḷ Parākrama-pāṇṭya (288) and Puḻukuneyppperumāḷ, daughter of Nampirāṭṭiyār Tēvarkaḷ Tampirāṭṭiyār (278) and also by some chiefs and other important persons like . . . cantiraḷmulaiyāḷ, the mother of Kaṇṭiyatēvar (270), Ulakaṅkātta Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ (277), and a Kacciyarāyaṉ (289).

Surely, the visits of these eminent persons to the temple and the place would have caused not only rejoicings in the people but also encouraged them to put forth better efforts to make the area flourishing.

Indeed the prosperity of the place during the time to which the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions belong is attested by some of them which deal with the community of *Tēvaraṭiyār*. It is an axiom that the place where a number of people of this group reside is a prosperous place. From the epigraphs belonging to the Kāṭavarāya chiefs we know that there were a number of families of this group at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai then. The epigraphs under examination being for the most part contemporary with the Kāṭavarāya ones, attest to the fact that this community was a prominent and flourishing one. For instance, the epigraph 279 dated A.D. 1281 of the time of Kulacēkara I deals with a land transaction in which the sons of two army captains (*paṭaittalaivaṉ*) and one Aruṇakirip-perumāḷ Iyātavarāyar, a grandson of a *Tēvaraṭiyār* named Eppōtuminiyār were involved. The former were selling their lands to the latter showing the affluent nature of the *Tēvaraṭiyār's* grandson. The inscription 283 dated A.D. 1287 of the time of Māṟavarman Vikkiramapāṇṭiya records the assignment of land to forty-four *Tēvaraṭiyār* whose names are not preserved because of the damaged condition of the record. These women were perhaps expected to do service in the temple during the special occasions like the Irācākkaḷnāyaṉ canti and the Irācākkaḷnāyaṉ tirunāḷ. This record underlines the growing importance of these people then. This is supported by the epigraph 290 dated A.D 1330 of the time of Cīvallapatēvar which states that the king restrained the people from collecting a certain levy from the *Tēvaraṭiyār* of the place. That the *Tēvaraṭiyār* were performing the important service of reciting the Tamiḻ Śaiva scriptures like the *Tiruvempāvai* a work of Tiruvātavūrar or Māṇikkavācakar is known from the damaged epigraph 286 probably of the beginning of the 14th century.

The Pāṇḍyan rule over this region seems to have benefitted Tiruvaṇṇāmalai town. Though no specific instances of structures being put up then are recorded in the epigraphs under study, a group of five mile-stone inscriptions (292-296) which we have assigned to Vikkirama-pāṇṭiya (accn. A.D. 1233) suggest that there existed a number of streets with subdivisions or lanes in them at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. This is the only instance to show the practice of erecting milestone in this town. As some of these stones are located in places around the hill (Giripradakṣina) they seem to indicate the lanes or streets that existed in those places then.

Thus the Pāṇḍyan epigraphs can be said to give an interesting picture of the place during a period of about a century which is also attested by the records of other royal families like the Kāṭavarāyas.

The Hoysaḷas

Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple has yielded nine epigraphs of the Hoysaḷa dynasty (301 to 309). They belong to the reign of Ballāḷa III (A.D. 1292-1343). Of these 301, which was discovered recently by us, is dated A.D. 1317. Three of the rest (303-305) are dated A.D. 1341, and the others are so badly damaged that no useful particulars could be got from them. The members of this dynasty had had a connection with Tamiḻnāṭu from at least A.D. 1026 until A.D. 1342-43. The early members like Nṛpakāma, Vinayāditya, Ereyaṅga and Ballāḷa who were subordinates to the Western Cāḷukyan kings had occasions to fight with the Cōḷa armies on behalf of their masters. From the time of Biṭṭiga-Viṣṇuvardhana, who freed himself from the Western Cāḷukyan yoke, this dynasty had engaged itself directly with the Cōḻas and the Pāṇḍyas of the Tamiḻ country. For over a century in the 13th and 14th centuries (i.e., from about A.D. 1220 to A.D. 1342-43) the Hoysaḷa kings of the time, *viz.*, Narasiṁha II, Sōmēśvara, Rāmanātha and Ballāḷa III were not only directly involved in the politics of Tamiḻnāṭu but also were intimately connected with the Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya royal houses by marital ties.[223]

The Hoysaḷa kingdom which included the whole of the Cōḻa territory under Sōmēśvara was bifurcated by him in about the middle of the 13th century. He gave the home region to his son Narasiṁha II and the southern part to his other son Rāmanātha. The latter was dissatisfied with this arrangement and wanted to take possession of the whole kingdom. This resulted in frequent fights between the brothers. But Narasiṁha died in A.D. 1291 and his son Ballāḷa III succeeded to the throne of Vijayanagara in the same year but got coronated on January 31, 1292 when he was thirty years old. He ruled for over fifty years till A.D. 1343 or so and died fighting as valiant warrior. Rāmanātha tried to oust Ballāḷa III but could not and he died sometime in A.D. 1295 when his son Viśvanātha succeeded him. But he could last only for a couple of years till A.D. 1297. Ballāḷa III took advantage of this situation and became the master of the whole of the Hoysaḷa kingdom by about A.D. 1301. From the beginning he had to face one enemy after the other, like the Seūṇas and the Kadambas. About A.D. 1310 he went to the Tamiḻ country to help Sundara-pāṇḍya, the son of Māṟavarman Kulacēkara and heir to the throne of Madurai against the claims of Vīra-pāṇḍya, the illegitimate son of Kulacēkara favoured by the latter. At this juncture on the orders of Ala-ud-din Khalji, Mālik Kāfūr invaded the south for the second time with the intention of going upto Madurai. He was at Dōrasamudra (modern Haḷebīḍ) in February 1311. Ballāḷa III having come to know of this, hurried back from the Tamiḻ country, offered stiff resistance to the Muslim army but being overpowered by the superior army surrendered to the enemy offering his wealth.

Some time after the return of Mālik Kāfūr to Delhi Ballāḷa III again intervened in the politics of the Tamil country siding with Sundara-pāṇḍya and gaining in the process some territories in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam including an area around Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. This area is described in his earliest so far known epigraph (301) from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai dated A.D. 1317 as Aṇṇāmalai-rāṣṭra in

223 For detailed accounts on the Hoysaḷas see William Goelho's *The Hoysaḷa Vaṁśa* (1950) and J.D.M. Derrett's *The Hoysaḷas* (Oxford University Press, 1957). Other useful books to be consulted in this regard are : L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*; J.F. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*; S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*; K.R. Venkataraman, *Hoysaḷas in the Tamil country*; and B. Sheik Ali (edited), *The Hoysaḷa Dynasty* (University of Mysore, 1972).

Vāṇakappāṭi-viṣaya comprising Āḍa-dēśa (Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu), Paṅkaḷa-dēśa (Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu) and Aṇṇāmalai-pattana. This epigraph also says that here he established in his Hōsaḷa-maṇḍala, a capital (*Rājadhānī*) named Aruṇasamudra in affectionate memory of his father. Though the actual date of the foundation of this capital is not mentioned, we may presume that it should have happened some time in A.D. 1315 or 1316. Epigraphs of this ruler have not been found here for twenty-four years after A.D. 1317, as the next record of his time (303) is dated A.D. 1341.

During this period Ballāḷa III was active on the northern borders of his kingdom where he had to fight with a powerful chief of Kampili, (a region situated near Hampi), named Kampiladēva. Some time in A.D. 1327, the new Sultan of Delhi Muhammad Bin Tughlak, sent an army to Dōrasamudra to take it. Ballāḷa was unable to resist and it is said that he retreated to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. But, as stated above, no epigraphs of his of this period are found at this place. The Muslims could annex the Seüṇa, Kākatīya and Pāṇḍya kingdoms to the Delhi Sultanate. The Kampili kingdom and the Hoysaḷa kingdom were the only independent kingdoms. In A.D. 1327, the former kingdom was captured and Ballāḷa III survived the Muslim onslaught by submission and this enabled him to get the permission of the Delhi Sultan to govern his kingdom. The period of Muslim rule was an extremely trying period for the Hindus of South India and the Hoysaḷa king and his subordinates were guarding their interests by diplomacy, and submissiveness. Ballāḷa III had a son named Virūpākṣa Ballāḷa IV and he was weak. But there were numerous able subordinates and feudatories under Ballāḷa with the help of whom he contrived to keep the Hoysaḷa kingdom going. Amongst the subordinates, the five brothers headed by Harihara I and Bukka I who were the sons of a certain Saṅgama were prominent and Ballāḷa III owed not a little to these brothers in preserving the integrity of his kingdom. Further, he tried secretively to unite the opponents of the Muslims so as to liberate this part of India from the latter. Prōlayanāyaka and Kāpayanāyaka of the Andhra country readily responded and Kāpayanāyaka even defeated Mālik Magbul and sent him away from Teluṅgāna to Delhi. Ballāḷa III on his part defeated the Muslims from the northern part of the Pāṇḍya country and placed it under the Campuvarāya chiefs. In A.D. 1340 Jalāl-ud-din Hasan Shah of Madurai invaded the Hoysaḷa kingdom but Ballāḷa III was successful in it by chance. He on his part besieged the fort at Kaṇṇanūr some 15 kms. north of Tirucirāpaḷḷi town which once belonged to him.

But here, by a chance, Ballāḷa III was caught by his enemy forces unawares and he was taken to Madurai by the Muslim general Nasir-ud-din and presented before the Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din who had him killed. According to Ibn Batuta, the manner in which Ballāḷa III's corpse was treated by the Sultan was inhuman. "Such was the end of the great Ballāḷa III and his death occurred some time in A.D. 1342 or 1343, at the ripe old age of 80 years."[224] His personal valour and diplomacy were a model to Harihara I and Bukka I and the excellent training they underwent in the administration of the last surviving Hindu kingdom of South India enabled them to found the glorious Vijayanagara empire subsequently. "By A.D. 1346, which is the latest known date of Ballāḷa IV, most of the Hoysaḷa dominions had come under the sway of these Saṅgama brothers."[225]

It is to this illustrious Vīra-Ballāḷa III that all the records mentioned above belong. One of them (302) is on the third *prākāra* wall, the rest are engraved on the second *prākāra*. It is noteworthy that none of them has any reference to the main *gōpura* on the east side of the fourth *prākāra*. This *gōpura* is called the Vallāḷa-gōpura at present, and it appears to have been so called traditionally too. Interestingly none of the 500 odd epigraphs copied from the temple, except one, refers to the *gōpura* named so. The exceptional epigraph is 334 which is found engraved on the west side of the north wall of this *gōpura* where it is referred to as *Vīra-Vallāḷaṉ-tiruvācal*. This inscription belongs to the time of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II and is dated Śaka 1299, Piṅkaḷa, Āṭi 3 corresponding to 30th June, 1377. This epigraph, being removed in date by 60 years from the earliest record (301) dated A.D. 1317 of Ballāḷa III may be taken to prove the fact that the *gōpura* was built during this king's time. In fact as we have stated in the chapter on building works, 301 contains a hint to the effect that the

224 P.B. Desai and others, *A History of Karnāṭaka*, p. 279.
225 *Ibid.*

third *prākāra* together with its eastern *gōpura* was under construction in A.D. 1317, and it was perhaps completed some years later.

The incomplete and damaged 301 which is an important document, is written in Sanskrit in Grantha characters and in Tamil and is dated in the current Śaka 1239, Anaja, Phālguna-śu.3, Tuesday corresponding to 15th February 1317.[226] In the Tamil section of the record particulars of another date are given as Śaka 1240, Piṅkaja Āvaṇi 8th day. Here too the Śaka year was current and the particulars may correspond to Friday, 5th August 1317. This was evidently the date when the epigraph was put on the wall. It refers to the king as the son of Narasiṁha who was the son of Sōmēśvara, who belonged to the race originating from Sōma or the Moon (i.e., Lunar race), and as residing at his own capital called Aruṇasamudra which was in his Hōsaḷa-maṇḍala. Here Aruṇasamudra means Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. The expression *Aruṇasamudrākhyām nijarājadhānīm = adhivasat* meaning 'while residing at his own capital called Aruṇasamudra' clearly indicates that this place had, even prior to A.D 1317, been made by Ballāja III, his capital. According to some Kannaḍa epigraphs[227] Aruṇasamudra became this king's southern capital in A.D. 1310 itself and its full name was Aruṇasamudra-Vallāja-paṭṭaṇa according to some other epigraphs.[228]

The other interesting pieces of information briefly given in the Sanskrit section of the epigraph are the following : It appears to refer to the kingdom annually (?) yielding one *lakṣa* (100,000) of *niṣkas*, which was most probably obtained from Kulacēkaradēvār, evidently the contemporary Pāṇḍya king. Aṇṇāmalai-rāṣṭra was included in it. In this *rāṣṭra*, a *viṣaya* (district) yielding ten thousand (*niṣkas*) comprising lands in the district of Vāṇakkappāḍi-viṣaya, yielding 5,000, lands in Āḍa-dēśa yielding 2,000, and lands in Paṅkajadēśa yielding 2,000, besides an amount of 1,000 obtained from tolls, shops and taxes from the town of Aṇṇāmalai, all totalling to ten thousand (*niṣkas*) were gifted by the king. The gift was made to provide for the worship to be done thrice daily to the god Aṇṇāmalainātha and the goddess Uṇṇāmulainācci, and also for meeting the expenses connected with the festivals like the Pañca-parva-dīpōtsava and the festival held in the month of Jyēṣṭha (June-July) lasting for twelve days.

The Tamil section of the epigraph (lines 4-16) deals in detail (*sa-prapañcam*, line 4) with the gift etc. mentioned above made on the first date, besides recording new gifts made, of lands and the uses to which they were to be put, on the second date. All the important titles of the king Vīra-Vallāḷadēva (Vīra-Ballāḷadēva) are given here, including the four noteworthy ones *viz.*, *Makara-rājya-nirmūlana* (the destroyer of the Makara kingdom), *Pāṇḍyakula-samuddharaṇa* (the uplifter of the Pāṇḍya family), *Cōḷarājya-sthāpanācarya* (the preceptor in establishing the Cōḷa kingdom) and *Pāṇḍyarāya-pratiṣṭhācārya* (the preceptor in establishing the Pāṇḍya king). These claims proclaimed at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai indicate that Ballāja III was, by A.D. 1317, not only the master of the Makara kingdom comprised of North Arcot and parts of South Arcot district but also a guide and leader of the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya kings.

Then follows, in the Tamil part, the passage relating to the gift of 10,000 *poṉ* for the worship and offerings to the deities and for the festivals mentioned above. In this connection some special details of expenses pertaining to the offerings made, for persons fed and remunerated and for temple repairs are mentioned, including those for a service named Vīra-Vallāḷatēvan-santi, after the king, and for the procession (of the deities) taken out during the days when Rōcaṇi (Rōhiṇī), the natal asterism probably of the king was current. The lines 7-10, register the second gift of 22,000 *poṉ* made by the king on the second date and gives details about the various places whence this amount was collected, and about the different items on which it was to be expended, including the festivals conducted in the name of the *tēvar* i.e., the king, one in the month of Puraṭṭāti and the other in the month of Māci. Another item of

226 In the Tamil part of the epigraph the date particulars are given as Śaka 1239, Naja, Māci 22nd, Tuesday. The point to be noted here is that the cyclic year is called as Naja, while in the Sanskrit section it is called Anaja. Now-a-days also the popular name in Tamiḻnāṭu for Anaja is Naja as may be seen in all the almanacs.

227 *E.C.*, IX, Cp. 73 ; XII, Ck. 4 etc.

228 *M.A.R.*, 1916, p. 55. R. Narasimhachar has correctly identified this town with Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. It is confirmed by the epigraph 301 in question discovered by us. So J.D.M. Derrett's doubt about the identification of Aruṇasamudra, expressed in two places in his book *The Hoysalas*, on pp. 157 and 164 may be ignored.

work for which an amount was set apart was the building work including the *Tirumatil* or enclosure wall (*tirumatil ullitta tiruppaṇikku*, line 11). Obviously this is the clinching reference to the building of the third *prākāra* together with its eastern *gōpura* which came to be called Vīra-Vallāḷaṉ tiruvācal according to an early Vijayanagara epigraph dated 60 years after it was built and called simply as *Vallāḷa-gōpuram* from an unknown subsequent period.

A third gift of 1,000 *poṉ* made by the king in the month of Āvaṇi, most probably the same month in which the second gift was made, is mentioned in line 11, and there it is stated that it was intended for the worship and offerings to the deities Vīra-Vallāḷicuramuṭaiyār and his consort. The name of the deity shows that it was Śiva in the form of a *liṅga* set up in a shrine built probably by the king. It is, however, difficult to locate this shrine now, unless it is one of those that stand on either side of the Vallāḷa-gōpuram. Of the 1,000 *poṉ* gifted to the deities, 600 *poṉ* is said to be obtained from Cōmācipāṭi and other villages and the remaining 400 *poṉ* is to be got from Kuntāṇi-nāṭu. The present-day Cōmācipāṭi is no doubt the same as the one referred to in this epigraph. Kuntāṇi after which the *nāṭu* is called, has been identified with "a village above the ghats of the same name near Hosur in the Salem district ..... The place still shows ruins of fortifications and structural monuments indicating its past greatness."[229] This place was chosen as the seat of government by Vīra-Rāmanātha in A.D. 1283-84, and it became a kingdom with twenty *nāḍus*, in A.D. 1287.[230] It apparently continued to be an important territorial division during the time of Ballāḷa III also, from the revenue of which, according to our epigraph, the king, in A.D. 1317, could gift 400 *poṉ* to the deities mentioned above. Two lists, one containing 43 villages and the other containing 23 villages are appended in lines 13 to 16 which are damaged. Apparently, it is from these villages that the amount of 33,000 *poṉ* donated by the king to the temple, was realised.

The other three well-preserved epigraphs (303, 304, 305) of Ballāḷa III found at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai relate not to any gift to the temple but to an establishment of a Brāhmaṇa settlement by a general of the king named Vallappa-teṇṇāyakar (303) and gifts of land made to the Brāhmaṇas by two parties (304, 305). It may be mentioned here that in 303 only the king Vīra-Vallāḷa-dēva is given a string of epithets. Some of them are also found in the epigraph dated 1317 dealt with above. Several of them are new and they are : *Apūrvvarūpakandarppa* (possessing excellent form like Cupid), *Koṁkaṇa-cakravartti* (emperor of Koṁkaṇa), *Sapta-mahā-pūruva-Cōḷa-Māḷava-Gauḍha-Gūrjjara* . . . . (vanquisher of Cōḷa-Māḷava-Gauḍha and Gūrjjara countries each prefixed with *Saptamahā*), *Kāṭava-rāja-Kadakuddalarāya* (tormenter of Kāṭava king), *Hulirāya-gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* (Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa to Hulirāya), and *Niśśaṁka-pratāpa-cakravartti* (emperor of proven valour). The omission here of the epithet *Pāṇḍyarāya-pratiṣṭhācārya* and the use of *Magadharājya-nirmūlaka* for *Makararājya-nirmūlaka* of A.D. 1317 epigraph indicating that *Makara* was an alternate name or a misnomer for *Magadha*, are noteworthy. The new epithets like *Koṁkaṇa-cakravartti* borne by the king show that between A.D 1317 and A.D. 1341, the date of the epigraph in question, he had acquired the rulership over such countries also.

The epigraph 303 contains the astronomical data Śaka 1262, (year omitted but it was apparently Vikrama) Makara-ba. 1, Thursday, Pūcam corresponding exactly to January 4, 1341, registers that Vallappateṇṇāyakar, the brother of Mahāpradhānaṉ Tāti Ćiṅketeṇṇāyakkar, established, in the name of the king, an *akaram* (= *agrahāram*) called Rūpanārāyaṇa-caturvavēdimaṅgalam on the southern bank of the Ceyyāṟu in Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu in Palkuṉṟak-kōṭṭam, in Ćeyaṅkoṇṭacōḻamaṇṭalam, and that he had assigned all the lands in Pattiyappāṭi (which was as per 304 and 305, the original name of the settlement village) as well as in some other villages together with a number of items of income from these villages, to fifty-two Bhaṭṭars (i.e. Brāhmaṇas), as *sarvamānya*. Interestingly one of the levies was named *Vallāḷadēvar kāṇikkai* which was evidently a new levy imposed during this king's time to augment the revenue from his possessions.

The other two epigraphs while referring to the establishment of the Brāhmaṇa settlement by Vallappa-

229 W. Coelho, *op.cit.*, p. 213, quoting *A.S.I.R.*, 1909-10, p. 158.
230 Derrett, *op.cit.*, p. 146.

teṉṉāyakar, record the grant of lands by two parties. According to 304 dated Śaka 1262, Vikrama, Makara-śu. 4, Sunday, Uttiraṭṭāti corresponding exactly to January 21, 1341, Poṉṉulāṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ Campantāṉṭār, the *koyil-kēṭku* (manager ?) of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Uṭaiya nāyaṉār, gifted his *maṭappuṟam* village of Matiyālayan-pūṇṭi after retaining for him 1200 *kuḻi* of *naṉcey* land, 500 *kuḻi* of *puṉcey* land and one house-site in the habitation area of the village, to the Bhaṭṭars of Rūpanārāyaṇa-caturvvēdimaṅgalam, as *dharmadāna* (gift for obtaining religious merit). Several persons of the village had attested this document.

305 which is very much damaged, has date particulars like Śaka 1262, Vikrama, Kumbha-śu.4, Tuesday, Aśvati corresponding to 20th February 1341, and it records the gift of some *maṭappuṟam* lands including 700 *kuḻi* in some hamlets (names damaged) within Pattiyapāṭi *alias* Rūpanārāyaṇa-caturvvēdimaṅgalam, by their owners Ārakkūruṭaiyāṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperūmaḷ and a lady stated to be the wife of Marutattūruṭaiyāṉ Ñāṉaprakāśar to Bhaṭṭars of the above village as *dharmadāna*. It may be noted that the transaction recorded in this epigraph was done 46 days after the grant of all the lands in Rūpanārāyaṇa-caturvvēdimaṅgalam as well as in several other villages mentioned in 303, to the 52 Bhaṭṭars of the settlement village. It appears that there remained the lands of the two donors of 305 and they seem to have gifted their lands in the village either by themselves or under administrative pressure, so that the entire village, without anybody else owning any part of it, became the property of the donees. This record is also attested by a large number of persons.

Amongst the remaining five, all of which are badly damaged, 302 which is extremely badly damaged is a long and important one. This was discovered recently and it is found engraved on the south wall (inside) of the third *prākāra*. The readings even though disjointed, give us an idea that the epigraph was dealing with many activities that took place in the temple, for which a break-up of expenses is given item-wise. The money for this purpose seems to have been obtained from some villages like Kuḻappākkam, Kuvaḻaippāṭi, etc. (line 2). The record refers to Vīra-Vallāḷaṉ-canti, and the festivals held in the months of Āṉi and Puraṭṭāci (line 4). The most important information supplied by this epigraph is that money was allotted for such *tiruppaṇi* (temple works) as the (building of the) *tirukkōpuram* and *tirumatil* (*prākāra*) which may be taken to refer to the fourth *prākāra* and the Vallāḷagōpura on its eastern side. The other four items (306-309) are fragmentary and damaged and they preserve parts of the king's *praśasti* and contain names of certain places.

The epigraph 301 discovered recently by us states that Ballāḷa III was staying in February 1317 at Aruṇasamudra, i.e. Tiruvaṇṇāmalai which was his capital of his Hosaḷa-maṇḍala. It also furnishes the very important information that Vāṇakappāḍi-viṣaya was yielding perhaps annually, 10,000 *niṣkas*, and it was in his kingdom (i.e., Tamiḻ-nāṭu) yielding 100,000 *niṣkas*, which prove that the numerical figures suffixed to the names of towns, districts, and kingdoms in epigraphs of this period refer to the total annual cash income yielded by these territorial units and not to the number of people, or to the number of families or to the number of villages contained in them. Tiruvaṇṇāmalai seems to have continued the southern capital of this king for long, where he is said to have resided in A.D. 1318, 1328, 1341, 1342 and 1343.[231] But no other epigraph of his, dated after A.D. 1317 has been met with here, till we come to A.D. 1341 to which year three epigraphs dealt with above belonged. The latter ones make mention of the king but they were put up by the general Vallappa-teṉṉāyakar, who is stated to be the younger brother of *Mahāpradhāṉaṉ* (Chief Minister) Tāta or Tāti Ciṅke- or Ciṅkeya-teṉṉāyakar. The presence of Vallappa-teṉṉāyakar at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in A.D. 1341 shows that there was military activity then at the place. Vallappa-teṉṉāyakaṉ (Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka of the Kannaḍa epigraphs) is said to be the nephew of Ballāḷa III, and he is said to have wielded the greatest power in the Hoysaḷa kingdom.[232] Even in A.D. 1309 he was a lieutenant of the king and an important one at that.[233] He was given certain special previleges by the king which enabled him

231 W. Coelho, *op.cit.*, p. 239.
232 *Ibid.*, p. 241.
233 J.D.M. Derrett, *op.cit.*, p. 148.

to issue records in his name without reference to the king, and several such records belonging to late 1320's are found in the Malur taluk.[234] With his help, Ballāḷa III was able to have a peaceful time in A.D. 1339 at Vīra-Vijaya-Vīrūpākṣapura.[235]

"That he never proclaimed independence is known from an inscription dated A.D. 1342 which mentions the supremacy of Ballāḷa."[236] He continued to serve under Ballāḷa IV also which is known from a royal order dated August 1343 issued jointly in the name of the king and Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka.[237]

We come to know from 301 that an enclosure wall (*tirumatil*), evidently of the fourth *prākāra* was being built in A.D. 1317. It is reasonable to suppose, as we have done above on more occasions than one, that the Vallāḷa-gōpuram on the eastern side of the *prākāra* was constructed during this time. The prosperous condition of the country then is indicated by the donation of 33,000 *poṉ* made by the king to the temple, as per the same epigraph. This represents the largest gift so far known made by a donor. This epigraph also furnishes two lists of villages totalling to 66, largest number known from a single epigraph from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, from which the amount of 33,000 *poṉ*, mentioned above, was obtained.

From 303, we know about a few new epithets borne by Ballāḷa III, in A.D. 1341, about his important general Vallappa-teṇṇāyakar, about the creation of an *akaram* with 52 Bhaṭṭars by the *teṇṇāyakar*, and about a new tax named *Vallāḷatēvar kāṇikkai*. The remaining two epigraphs (304 and 305) are only supplementary to the above as they register further grants of lands by two other parties, most probably under pressure from the *teṇṇāyakar*.

234 W. Coelho, *op.cit.*, p. 241.
235 Derrett, *op.cit.*, p. 170.
236 Coelho, *op.cit.*, p. 241.
237 Derrett, *op.cit.*, p. 173.

Vijayanagara Period

There are more than 150 epigraphs belonging to the Vijayanagara period at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. This huge number testifies to the interest shown in the temple by the Vijayanagara kings and their feudatories as well as to the growing importance of the temple.

The Saṅgamas

During the last two decades of the rule of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III, South India experienced a great political upheaval brought about by the Muslim invasions from Delhi. His empire extending from Hampi in the Bellary district to Rāmēśvaram in the south was put to great strain by these invasions. However, Ballāḷa III, as stated above, used his sagacity, valour and administrative experience to great advantage in preserving the only Hindu kingdom that survived the Muslim inroads into the south after about A.D. 1327.[238] In this task he enlisted the willing co-operation not only of his relatives and feudatories but also of subordinate officers. Among the latter, five brothers *viz.*, Harihara, Kampaṇa, Bukka, Mārappa and Muddappa, who were the sons of a certain Saṅgama who in later years was considered to have belonged to the Yadu race, figured prominently. Their place of origin and the community to which they belonged were not known. But from the epigraphical evidence, we come to know that they may have belonged to a place in the neighbourhood of modern Hampi in the Bellary district of the Karnataka State. Though the community to which they belonged is not known, that they were Kannaḍa people has been established in recent years. Having entered the administrative service under Ballāḷa III, they strove hard to assist their sovereign in all sincerity and unswerving loyalty. In the years of A.D. 1330's, Ballāḷa III gave these brothers some special privileges to issue records independently and to bear some of the titles like *Bhāṣage tappuvarāyaraganḍa* etc. Harihara and Bukka, of these brothers, distinguished themselves as good administrators, supported their emperor in a solid way. Gradually the power and influence of these brothers increased and they became popular in all the four directions of the empire. Ballāḷa III having become engrossed in stemming the tide of the alien invasions and in preserving the last

238 P.B. Desai and others, *A History of Karnāṭaka*, p. 304.

Hindu kingdom of South India could not help the Saṅgama brothers growing in strength. In fact their support was much needed by the Hoysaḷa king in his noble mission. Owing to the fact that his son Virūpākṣa Ballāḷa IV was incapable of taking up his father's mantle, Ballāḷa III had to rely heavily on the Saṅgama brothers. They, however, served him loyally till he died sometime in A.D. 1343 and also his son Ballāḷa IV. According to some late Kannaḍa literary works of Vīraśaiva inspiration, Harihara established his independent rule in A.D. 1336. There are stories included in them which proclaim that this happened due to the blessings of the sage Vidyāraṇya of the Śṛṅgēri Śankarācārya-maṭha.

However, the epigraphical evidence attests to the fact that though Harihara and Bukka became very powerful even while they served under Ballāḷa III, they established themselves as rulers of the erstwhile Hoysaḷa empire only in A.D. 1346. This is deduced from a stone inscription [239] in Śṛṅgēri, dated in that year which registers an extraordinary gift of land to a pontiff of the *maṭha* there, by Harihara in the company of his four brothers, a prince and a close relative, to celebrate the event of his having conquered the land between the eastern and western oceans. It is of interest to note that this inscription pays homage to the sage Vidyātīrtha and the gift is said to have been made to his disciple Bhāratī-tīrtha. Thereafter, while Harihara and Bukka looked after affairs of the southern and central part of the kingdom, the other three brothers were entrusted with the rulership of the territories in the other three directions. During a period of about a decade or more, they had administered the kingdom with Dōrasamudram, Ānēguṇḍi, Virūpākṣapura etc. as the seat of the central government. This was the case as long as Harihara I was alive i.e., till A.D. 1356. It appears that Bukka I built a capital in the vicinity of the modern Hampi (formerly called Hampe, a Kannaḍa variant of the Sanskrit Pampā) which came to be variously called as Vidyānagara (perhaps after the sage Vidyā-tīrtha also called Vidyā-saṁkara), Virūpākṣa-pattana (perhaps after the presiding deity of Hampi or after Ballāḷa IV whose original name was Virūpākṣa Ballāḷa) and Vijayanagara (perhaps to commemorate the extraordinary event of the brothers becoming the rulers). However, the last mentioned name stuck firmly not only to the capital but also to the empire which shone with a rare splendour for over two centuries since its foundation by the Saṅgama brothers. Bukka I ruled as the sovereign from A.D. 1356 to A.D. 1377 when his son Harihara II became his successor. These two kings were devoted not only to the sage Vidyāraṇya who became the pontiff of the Śṛṅgēri-maṭha after Bhāratī-tīrtha but also to the Śuddha-śaiva teacher named Kriyāśakti who was their *rāja-guru*. These sages were extremely learned and wise, and they strove hard to propagate the *Vēdas*, *Upaniṣads* and the *Śāstras* and supported and guided their royal disciples to preserve and promote the Hindu tradition, learning and culture.

Though Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was a place of importance in many respects and served as a second capital for Ballāḷa III, neither Harihara I nor Bukka I seems to have involved themselves directly in the affairs of the place or in that of the temple. This is known from the absence of epigraphs of these two builders of the Vijayanagara empire in the collection of epigraphs from the temple of the place. But the very large number of epigraphs of Bukka I's son and other relatives found in the temple abundantly prove the abiding interest that this dynasty had for this region and its temple.

Kampaṇa II, the establisher of Vijayanagara rule in Tamiḻnāṭu.

Amongst Vijayanagara epigraphs found in the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai the earliest ones belong to Kampaṇa II, the son of Bukka I, and they not only reveal the keen interest that this prince displayed towards the temple but also the fact of his having firmly entrenched himself here as the ruler.

Harihara I or Bukka I seems to have appointed Kampaṇa II to administer the tract in the North Arcot district. This may have happened in A.D. 1352 because the earliest so far known inscription of this prince discovered at Āvūr near Tiruvaṇṇāmalai is dated September 24, 1352 (*A.R.E.*, 267 of 1919).

It is necessary to clear two doubtful points about

239 *E.I.*, VI, Sr. I, pp. 190-91, 347-48.

Kampaṇa II before proceeding further. One pertains to his being called Kumāra Kampaṇa instead of calling him simply as Kampaṇa II. Almost all his epigraphs found in Tamiḻnāṭu and Karnāṭaka mention him only as the *kumāra* or son of Vīra-Bukkaṇa-oḍeyar or uṭaiyār.[240] All other sons of Bukka I are also called as *kumāra* of his. Very rarely, certain inscriptions repeat the word *kumāra* in such passages as *śri-Vīra-Bukkaṁṇa-uḍaiyara kumāra śrī-Vīra Kumāra-Kampaṇa-uḍaiyār*. This is obviously a mistake. So, to call him Kumāra K.. npaṇa as if *Kumāra* was a special title of his is a misnomer. Secondly, it was considered previously that Kampaṇa II was ruling independently in Tamiḻnāṭu. This is not borne out by epigraphs of his time, a great majority of which, while referring to Bukka I's reign states that Kampaṇa II did this work or that work in his reign.[241]

"About 132 inscriptions of Kampaṇa II, found scattered over the districts of Chittoor, Chingleput, North and South Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Salem, Coimbatore and Ramanathapuram, attest to his conquest and rule in the Tamiḻ country"[242]. His queen Gaṅgādēvī's *Madhurāvijayam* and Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍimā's *Śāḻuvābhyudayam* are two main literary sources which furnish information on Kampaṇa II's activities in this part of South India. His presence in A.D. 1352 in the North Arcot district is attested by the inscription at Āvūr referred to above. But an inscription from the Kōlār area informs us that Bukka I appointed him as viceroy of the Mulbāgalrājya and entrusted him with the task of extending the Vijayanagara rule in the Tamiḻ country. This epigraph is dated February 8, 1356.[243]

His important achievements in Tamiḻnāṭu were, (1) his conquest of Campuvarāya territory comprising the districts of North and South Arcot, (2) occupation of Kāñcī which was for a time the capital of the chiefs of this family, (3) the destruction of the Sultānate of Madurai, (4) the restoration of normal life of the people which was violently disturbed by the Muhammadan rulers of Madurai and (5) the revival of worship and other activities in the Hindu temples.

As regards the date of the conquest of the Campuvarāya territory by Kampaṇa II, there is difference of opinion amongst scholars. It appears that even in A.D. 1359 the territory called Rājagambhīra-rājya was under the rule of Bukka I.[244] An epigraph (325) found recently at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai is dated Śaka 1283 (A.D. 1361) and refers to the reign of Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka I. This suggest that he was in power here then. But according to a recent study the final conquest of the territory was made by Kampaṇa II in November 1363.[245] A word may be said about Rājagambhīra-rājyam. It is said that Rājagambhīra was a title of Rājanārāyaṇa Campuvarāya and his stronghold was Paṭaivīṭu also known as Rājagambhīra-malai. But according to the *Madhurāvijayam*, Kampaṇa II laid siege over the mountain called Rājagambhīra where Campa had hidden himself and that finally the latter came out from it, fought a sword-fight with Kampaṇa and died (Canto IV). In fact, the range of mountains to the north and north-west of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai goes by the name of Rājagambhīraṉ-malai and this is what is referred to in the poem and in the epigraphs. The mountain and the adjoining regions ruled over by the Campuvarāya chief may have been named after the chief's title. The other territories in the South Arcot district etc. ruled over by this chief which were also taken over by Kampaṇa II bore other names.[246]

After establishing himself in the Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam, Kampaṇa II turned his attention to the Pāṇṭimaṇṭalam with Madurai as its capital where the rule of the Muslim Sultāns was continuing. The date of Kampaṇa's invasion and conquest of this territory is again a controversial point amongst the historians of the Vijayanagara rule in Tamiḻnāṭu.[247] R. Sewell suggested that this may have taken place in August 1364.[248] Some

240 See below Kampaṇa II's inscriptions from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and also *S.I.I.*, IX, Pt. II, No. 413; *E.C.*, IX, Hk. 157; *M.A.R.*, Cintāmaṇi 74; etc. The *Madhurāvijayam* also calls him only as Kampa-mahīpāla, etc. and not as Kumārakampa.

241 A. Krishnaswami's view in this regard is correct (*The Tamil country under Vijayanagar* (1964), p. 67) but it is not because of the fact that "all his epigraphs mention him as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*", but because of the fact that a majority of epigraphs of his time mention him as the son of Bukka I.

242 *T.C.U.V.*, p. 8.

243 *Ibid.*, p. 7, quoting *E.C.*, X, Kōlār 222.

244 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 194.

245 *T.C.U.V.*, p. 19.

246 *Contra*. see *T.C.U.V.*, p. 20.

247 *Ibid.*, pp. 22 ff. for a discussion of various views on the subject.

248 *H.I.S.I.*, pp. 194, 196. This was followed by T.V. Mahalingam and others.

other scholars have said that Madurai was taken by Kampaṇa II in A.D. 1371. But A. Krishnaswamy following N. Venkataramanayya, is, however, definite that Kampaṇa conquered Madurai in April, 1371[249], although a sustained and careful examination of epigraphs of Kampaṇa's time will be necessary to prove this date conclusively.

"During the Muslim invasions of Tamiḻnāṭu and the rule of Muslim Sultāns of Madurai, many temples had been plundered and left uncared for. Irrigation works were neglected and this neglect would have certainly resulted in famines. Brāhmins were persecuted and prevented from performing sacrifices ; cows were slaughtered and the cultivation of fine arts completely given up. It was this disturbed social, religious and economic conditions that Kampaṇa II tried successfully to set right."[250] A number of inscriptions of his time bear ample testimony to these acts of Kampaṇa II.

In his hectic activities Kampaṇa was assisted by several loyal officers and feudatories. They included Sōmappa-daṇṇāyaka, Mārappa-nāyaka, Āneguṇḍi Viṭṭappar, Gōpaṇārya and Cāḻuva Maṅku.[251] Of these, Gōpaṇa was instrumental in restoring the image of Śrī-Raṅganāthasvāmi which was removed to Tirupati during the Muslim invasion of Śrīraṅgam, to the temple at the latter place.[252] On account of many such *dhārmic* deeds Kampaṇa II was hailed as the saviour by the peace-loving, pious and god-fearing Tamiḻ Hindus. Kampaṇa's last known epigraph is from Tiruppullāṇi (*A.R.E.*, 114 of 1930) and it is dated October 2, 1374. Then comes the inscription from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (332) dated December 17, 1374, of the time of Kampaṇa's son Jammaṇa referring to his gift of lands for the purpose of reciting the *Vēdas* during the Rājavipāṭan-canti in the temple for the *śrāddha* ceremony of Kampaṇa II. So, he might have died on some day between these two dates ; and this happened during the life time of his father.

Nine inscriptions of Kampaṇa II's time are available in our collection (325-331, 333 ?, 339 ?). They range in date from A.D. 1361 to 1369. Except 327 (dated January 23, 1365 when the day was Thursday, not Monday as in the epigraph), which registers a gift of a lamp each to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyiṉār and to the goddess Uṇṇāmulai nācciyār for which 64 cows and two bulls were endowed by a certain (Pōkkaya) uṭaiyar, son of Pāṉaiy(?) Mārappa Uṭaiyar, the rest of the epigraphs relate to land transactions. Two epigraphs, one very fragmentary (333) and another (339) containing two Sanskrit verses in the Grantha script of the 14th century, may also be assigned to this king's time.

A variety of land transactions :

325, (dated September 13, 1361), registers a gift of land together with a number of items of income, as *sarvamānya iṟaiyili* (tax-free), and as *tirumālaippuṟam* made by Śrīman-Mahāpratāni Cōmappar, to Maṇṭalapurucar Irāmacantratēvar, the son of Viracciyar Āṭkoṇṭāṉ of Perumparrappuliyūr, for providing daily 600 red-lilies to the god of the temple.

Another *sarvamānya iṟaiyili* land transaction is the subject-matter of 329 (dated A.D. 1367). The conferment of tax-free land was made by the *nāṭṭār* of Ćiṅkamūlaipparru on three persons named Ilakkiccināyiṉār *alias* Aruppāḻatēvar and his sons Taṉma Puḻutiṉaipperumāḷ and Taṉma Tiruvampalamuṭaiyār, the latter two being called as *Vittuvāṉkaḷ* (i.e. learned men). A number of items of income are also included in the gift.

From 326 (dated July 2, 1363), we learn that the members of the different groups such as Maṭattil Mutalikaḷ, Māhēśvaras, ... Mutaliyār, Tēvakaṉmi, Kōyilkaṇakku, Kaikkōḷars of the two streets, Vīrabhadrar and Tiruvakampaṭiyar, assembling at the Viṇṇavaṭīran-tirumaṇṭapam of the temple, sold some lands to Aṇṇāmalaiyaṉ Ōṭēṉtiya Celvar with specified annual returns in kind and cash, apparently to be paid to the temple. The sale of land is said to be of the category of *kāṇi-āṭci* with the rights to sell, mortagage etc. accompanying it. A similar *kāṇi-āṭci* land transaction is met with in 328 (dated November 11, 1367). Here the assembly is said to have consisted of Mutalikaḷ, Śrīmāhēśvarar, Sthānajana, Kōyil-kēḷkku-mutaliyār, Tēvakaṉmi, and Kōyil-kaṇakku, and the place of their assemblage was the same Viṇṇavaṭīraṉ-tirumaṇṭapam. They had assigned some lands

249 *T.C.U.V.*, p. 38.
250 *T.C.U.V.*, pp. 41 ff.
251 *Ibid.*, pp. 49. ff.
252 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 198, *s.v.*, A.D. 1371.

to Tēvakaḷnāyaṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-nampi, one of the *tēvakaṉmi* of the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, with a stipulation of annual returns in kind and cash to be paid by him evidently to the temple. A third example of the *kāṇi-āṭci* type of land transaction is furnished by 330 (dated A.D. 1368). Herein is stated that since the land under reference remained uncultivated from the day it was gifted as *tēvatāṉam*, it was now sold under this category so as to derive incomes in kind and cash annually according to the stipulations made therein. As the inscription is damaged, the details about the seller and the purchaser of the land are lost. 331 registers a *kāṇi-āṭci* land transaction concluded on January 22, 1369 between the temple administrators of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai such as those known from the previous records and also Taḷiyār Campantāṇṭār, and Kaṇṇāramutam Perumāḷ Vīravēṭiya-nampi, one of the *tēvakaṉmi* of the temple. The land was sold for 30 *paṇam* and the purchaser should, as in the case of other examples referred to above, pay annually the stipulated amounts in cash and kind.

Kampaṇa's officials figuring in these records :

Śrīman-mahāpratānan Cōmappar of 325 (A.D. 1361) is no doubt the same who figures in a number of epigraphs of Kampaṇa II's time, such as *A.R.E.*, 397 of 1919, 13 of 1903, 250 of 1901, etc. In 327 (A.D. 1365), one Pokkaya-uṭaiyar is the donor and he is stated to be the son of Pānaiy(?) Mārappa uṭaiyar. It is not known if this Mārappa is identical with Mārayya-nāyaka of the epigraph from Māṭampākkam (*A.R.E.*, 268 of 1919).

Some important points noticed in the epigraphs :

An assembly of individuals and bodies including Maṭattu Mutalikaḷ, Māhēśvarar, Mutaliyār, Tēvakaṉmi, Kōyil-kaṇakku, Kaikkōḷas of the two streets, Vīrabhadrar and Tiruvakampaṭiyar was in charge of the sale of lands to purchasers who were ordained to pay annually certain specified amounts in cash and kind to the temple (326).

A *maṇṭapa* named Viṇṇavaṟīran-tirumaṇṭapam is referred to in three epigraphs (326, 328, 331). A certain Taḷiyār Campantāṇṭār[253] figures in 331 (A.D. 1369). He may in all likelihood be the same as the one referred to in some hymns of the *Tiruppugaḷ* by Aruṇagirināṭar. Some new taxes were levied during this period, like *makkaḷ pērāl koḷḷum mutal* as in 325, etc. (See Appendix on tax-terms).

Jammaṇa, son of Kampaṇa II.

During the viceroyalty of Kampaṇa II in Tamiḻnāṭu Bukka I seems to have only occasionally camped here (*A.R.E.*, 324 of 1911, A.D. 1374). This was apparently due to the fact that this region was very well administered by Kampaṇa II. His son Jammaṇa seems to have assisted his father when the latter was alive. An inscription[254] from Eyil in the Gingee taluk in the South Arcot district dated Saumya (A.D. 1369), refers to his rule. Jammaṇa was in this region for some more time. This is attested by an inscription[255] also from Eyil. The two records mentioned above show that he was in the Gingee area then. The latter record is in the year Ānanda (A.D. 1374). After his father's demise, some time in November of 1374, he seems to have moved to the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai area. An inscription (332) of his in our collection dated Śaka 1296, Ānanta, Dhanu-śu. 13, Sunday, Rōhiṇī, regularly corresponding to December 17, 1374, registers a grant of land as *sarvamānya iṟaiyili* to the god of the place to provide for the payment to a person (a Brāhmaṇa) employed to recite the *Vēdas* before the god during the Rājavibhāṭan-canti instituted by Jammaṇa as part of the *śrāddha* ceremony[256] of his father. Subsequently in A.D. 1375 he was ruling in east Mysore (*E.C.*, X, Ct. 94). It indicates his transfer from Tamiḻnāṭu to Mysore. After this date Jammaṇa is not heard of. What happened to this prince later on is not known.

253 It is locally believed that this Campantāṇṭār was instrumental in the building of the Campanta Vināyaka shrine situated to the south of the Ṛṣigōpura.
254 *Top.list.*, I, p. 171, No. 351 ; *A.R.E.*, 227 of 1906.
255 *Ibid.*, p. 170, No. 348; *A.R.E.*, 224 of 1906.
256 See *S.I.I.*, VIII, 163 (A.D. 1389) for a reference to this ceremony.

His only inscription at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai has been referred to above. Its importance lies in the fact that it refers to the gift of land as *śrāddhāṅga* of the *śrāddha* of Kampaṇa II. (342 calls the gift as *śrāddha-vṛtti*). *Śrāddha* is not a funeral rite, but it is a ceremony performed periodically, after the funeral rites are over, on the 29th day, 45th day etc. It is not known to which day's ceremony the epigraph in question refers. If the record in question relates to the ceremony held on the 29th day (*ūna-māsika* ceremony) after the death of Kampaṇa II, then his death may have taken place on November 19, 1374. It is interesting that Jammaṇa instituted a service of chanting of the *Vēdas* by a person (Brāhmaṇa) in the temple on this occasion.

Reign of Harihara II.

Harihara II, the son of Bukka I succeeded to the Vijayanagara throne some time after February, 1377[257], and he was the first ruler to assume full imperial titles. A few months after this, in June of the same year, his rule in and around Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was acknowledged (334). Thereafter he was visiting Tamiḻnāṭu now and then, as known from some epigraphs. As instances we may cite the following epigraphs.[258] They are 335 of our collection (A.D. 1378-79) ; *A.R.E.*, 27 of 1905 from South Arcot district (A.D. 1378) ; *A.R.E.*, 205 of 1912 from Chingleput (A.D. 1380); *A.R.E.*, 122 of 1921 from North Arcot (A.D. 1381) ; *A.R.E.*, 222 of 1910 from Chingleput (A.D. 1396) ; and *A.R.E.*, 671 of 1904 from Chingleput district (A.D. 1400). Apparently his visits to Tamiḻnāṭu were more frequent than his father's. Harihara II, or Bukka I, appears to have appointed Viruppaṇṇa, the son of the former as viceroy of the Tamiḻ country after the death in 1374 of Kampaṇa II, although for about a year after that year Jammaṇa seems to have been temporarily in charge of the Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam. Another son of Harihara II, *viz.*, Bukka II, is also known from some epigraphs discovered from the Tanjore district (*A.R.E.*, 253 of 1894). Our Tiruvaṇṇāmalai collection, too, includes one or two epigraphs of this prince about whom we shall see later on.

Two inscriptions of Harihara II (334, 335) are in our collection. The earlier one dated June 30, 1377, registers the order relating to the wages and privileges of Perraperumāḷ, the son of Maṇṭalapurucar Vīraciṅkatēvar, who served as the watchman (*tirumeykāvaḷ*) at the *gōpura* entrance of Vīra Vallāḷaṉ-tiruvācal. This is the earliest so far known reference to this *gōpura* in the temple, which is even now called as the Vallāḷa-gōpura. The other record which is much damaged preserves the year Kālayukta and the month Kumbha (A.D. 1379) registered a gift of a *nuntā* lamp, other details being lost.

Reign of Viruppaṇṇa II in Tamiḻnāṭu.

This prince was Harihara II's son by Mallādēvī, according to the Ālampūṇṭi plates[259] in which he is called as Virūpākṣa (I). But in lithic records of Tamiḻnāṭu he is called Viruppaṇṇa-uṭaiyar, the son of Ariyaṇṇa or Ariyappa-uṭaiyar. The copper-plate grant mentioned above states that he conquered the Tuṇḍīra, Cōḻa and the Pāṇḍya countries for his father. H. Krishna Sastri infers from this that "the conquest and occupation of the South by Kampaṇa II was disputed and the Vijayanagara supremacy ignored subsequent to the death of Kampaṇa II."[260] Viruppaṇṇa's inscriptions are found mostly in the North and South Arcot districts, and also in places outside this region.[261]

Nine epigraphs of Viruppaṇṇa's time are available in our collection. Of these, 336, dated May 25, 1380, is from the ruined temple called Toṇḍārkōyil which is west-facing, in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai town. It registers a sale of land for 15 *paṇam* by the assembly of individuals and bodies already met with in the epigraphs of Kampaṇa II, which had assembled in the same Viṇṇavatīraṉ tirumaṇṭapam, to Kaṇṇāramutapperumāḷ Vīravētiya-nampi. This is a *kāṇi āṭci* type of transaction. This sale was for the specific purpose of worship and repairs to be done to the temple of Toṇṭarkaṇāyanār

257 *H.I.S.I.*, pp. 200-201.
258 See *H.I.S.I.*, under the year mentioned against each.
259 *E.I.*, III, pp. 224-30.
260 *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1907-08, foot-note.
261 *Top.List.*, III, p. 1298, No. 547 is from Tanjore and it is attributed here to Viruppaṇṇa II, the prince in question, but Sewell is not sure of this attribution (*H.I.S.I.*, p. 202).

(i.e., the present Toṇḍārkōyil) which went into ruins, and which had lost its previous endowment.

The next inscription 337 which is badly damaged bears the Śaka year 1303 corresponding to A.D. 1381-82. It registers a *kāṇi āḻcci* transaction of some property (details lost) by the assembly consisting of the same groups of people as we have noticed earlier. The purport of the record seems to be that the proceeds from the transaction were to be used for the conduct of the Tiru Uttarāyaṇat-tirunāḷ at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. 338 is dated November 9, 1386 and it relates to the gift of a *nuntā* lamp to the god by a servant of the king, and endowing of 32 cows and a bull for the purpose by him. The epigraph 341 with date particulars corresponding to June 22, 1388 contains a royal order exempting the temple *tānattār* from paying various items of articles in cash and kind that they used to give to the king. 342 of which the date particulars correspond to June 1, 1389, contains the royal order exempting the collection of *rakṣā-bhōgam* (i.e., *pāṭikāval*) from a village gifted by Jammaṇa, stated to be the elder brother of Viruppaṇṇa, as *śrāddha-vṛtti* in honour of Kampaṇa II, and the reinstitution of the Vēda-chanting service daily by a person.

The epigraph 343 with date particulars corresponding to October 8, 1389 registers a sale of two villages for 25 *paṇam* by the state to Ilakkiccanayinār Aṟappāḷatēvar who, after this assignment became entitled to all the rights pertaining to the land and who should pay annually to the temple the stipulated quantities of paddy and cash. The last inscription (344) which is extremely badly damaged contains the name of the year Prajāpati and on the basis of palaeography it is equated to A.D. 1391-92 and thus assigned to Viruppaṇṇa's period.

Points of interest from the epigraphs :

From 336, we come to know that the assembly of the various groups mentioned in it was in charge of temples other than the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār temple and they used to transact business by assembling in the Viṇṇavaṭīraṉ-tirumaṇṭapam which served as the assembly hall for them. It also reveals that the Toṇṇdārkōyil was in ruins on the date of the record in question and that it was for the purpose of rebuilding and reintroduction of worship in it that the land was sold to Kaṇṇāramutapperumāḷ Vīravētiya-nampi. It is not known whether the temple was rebuilt and if so when it was done. It is also interesting to note that the temple was allowed to remain for some period, how long there is no means to know about it, in its ruined condition and without worship being offered to the god in it.

The conduct of Tiru Uttirāyana festival in the temple is known from 337. From 338 we come to know that a servant calling himself as *aṟamaṉaiyilēṉ* (i.e., belonging to the palace) of Viruppaṇṇa-uṭaiyar was the donor of a lamp. His name Kaṇṇāttai and the group *Kaṭatti* to which he belonged are noteworthy. It is difficult to know if he came from the Mysore area or he was a local man, employed in the service at the local palace of the ruler. Some items of incomes and free services due to the king were exempted from payment by the *tāṉattār* of the temple by the ruler as per 341. Noteworthy amongst them are the *uluppai* (presentation of articles to royally and honourable people) and *ūḻiyam* (rending of free labour to the masters), which occur for the first time here. 342 is interesting in that here Viruppaṇṇa calls Jammaṇa respectfully as his *aṇṇan* (i.e., elder brother) and reorganises in A.D. 1389 the rendering of a sacred service in the temple instituted by Jammaṇa fifteen years earlier in A.D. 1374 (332).

The inscription 343 is interesting in that while it registers a *kāṇi āṭci* type of land transaction, this phrase is not used in it.

Bukka II, the son of Harihara II.

As shown above, the latest record of Viruppaṇṇa's rule in and around Tiruvaṇṇāmalai is dated A.D. 1391. But he continued to remain in the North Arcot district till A.D. 1399 (*A.R.E.*, 106 of 1921). Then our collection includes a couple of epigraphs (345, 346) of the time of Bukka II, another son of Harihara II and the brother of Viruppaṇṇa II. Bukka II seems to have been in Tamiḻnāṭu at least from A.D. 1381 (*A.R.E.*, 253 of 1894). But he was in east Mysore in the next year (A.D. 1382) as per *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 154. He continued to be there in A.D. 1386 also (*E.C.*, X, Bn. 139), while his son Ōbaladēva seems to have lived somewhere in the Chingleput district in A.D. 1387 (*A.R.E.*, 342 of 1909). Bukka II was being shifted from place to place in 1388 and after. His rulership on behalf of his father in A.D. 1402 in the Māyavaram area (Tanjore district) is

attested by an epigraph from Vaḷuvūr (*A.R.E.*, 422 of 1912). In A.D. 1403 he was in North and South Arcot districts (*A.R.E.*, 257, 117 of 1919 ; 293 of 1910).

Harihara II, as stated above, was the emperor all along, and Bukka II was serving under him. But the emperor died on August 16, 1404[262], leaving the empire in charge of his sons Bukka II, Devarāya I and Virūpākṣa who struggled amongst themselves for the succession to the throne.[263] It seems that Bukka II became king after the death of his father. But, for a short while between 5 and 27 of October 1404 Virūpākṣa was considered the king (*E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 13, 196) and he bore the imperial titles, like "sovereign of the whole kingdom" and "sitting on the throne of Vijayanagara" (*E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 11 ; *E.I.*, XV, 13). But he was thrown out from the throne by Bukka II some time before July, 1405.[264] Thereafter he was supreme and his rule in North Arcot district, in Mysore, Tiruchirapalli district, Chingleput district etc.,[265] is known from epigraphs. Virupākṣa was not heard of after this.

His younger brother Dēvarāya I is known to have served him in a subordinate capacity in the Chittoor district in May, June and August, 1405 (*A.R.E.*, 313, 320 of 1922). This prince continued to assist Bukka II in A.D. 1406, in the Chittoor area (*A.R.E.* 319, 321 of 1922). "Bukka II died some time between August and November, 1406, and he was succeeded by Dēvarāya I who was crowned king of Vijayanagara on November 5, 1406."[266]

Of the two inscriptions of Bukka II, both dated in A.D. 1402 when he was serving as viceroy of his father, one (345) contains date particulars corresponding to March 19, 1402, and it registers an order, made by the assembly of the different groups of people, already referred to above, assembling in the hall called Kāṅkēyarāyaṉ tirumaṇṭapam, instituting the service of dancing to be performed in front of the shrine of the god in the temple and making provisions for it.

The other epigraph (346), which is very much damaged and so some particulars from its date portion are lost and some others are doubtful, is assigned to the time of Bukka II on palaeographical grounds. Accordingly the Christian equivalent of the date is taken to be May 7, 1402, assuming that the Śaka year was 1324 and the cyclic year was Citrabhānu and the month was Vṛṣabha as the *tithi, vāra* and *nakṣatra* agree only for this month. It registers most probably a sale of land by four or five persons to one Perraperumāḷ, the son of Vīra-Kaṅkatēvar.

Some points of interest from these records :

345 reveals the interesting information that on the date of the record, performance of dancing in front of the god, accompanied by the playing on the *mattaḷam*, probably the same as *mṛdaṅga*, was in vogue. This epigraph also informs us that there was an assembly hall called Kāṅkēyarāyaṉ tirumaṇṭapam, which was different from the Viṉṉavaṉīraṉ tirumaṇṭapam, of earlier records. This Kāṅkēyarāyaṉ hall was most probably the one erected by Kāṭava Kumāran (see page . . . .). The other record contains the interesting name Teṉṉanaimuḷutumuṭaiyāṉ.

Tēvarāya I, son of Harihara II.

Under Tēvarāya I, the Tamiḻ country was looked after by more than one son of his, such as Harihara III and Bhūpatirāya also called Bukka III or Vijaya-Bukka.

In spite of the fact that Tēvarāya's sway extended over the entire Tamiḻ country, only a couple of epigraphs of his time are available in our collection (347 and 348). The particulars of date of 347 are regular and correspond to January 5, 1414. It refers itself to the rule in this part of Vijaya-Bhūpati-rāya, the son of Tēvarāya, and registers a gift of a *nuntā* lamp to the god by Aṉṉatāta, the son of Cavuṇṭappuṭaiyar, who was a *Mahāpratānar* of Bhūpati-rāya. The other epigraph (348) with regular date particulars corresponding to December 7, 1418 was also issued in the reign of the same prince and records an order granting the traditional privileges to the Kaikkōḷars of the two streets.

262 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 207, and note 1.
263 *Ibid.*
264 *Ibid.*, p. 208.
265 *Ibid.*
266 *Ibid.*

Interesting points from these epigraphs :

The epigraph 347 furnishes a couple of noteworthy points. Firstly it contains a Sanskrit verse in Grantha script at the end giving the gist of the content of the record. Secondly, this verse gives the details of the donor's family. He is called a Vāsiṣṭha, i.e., belonging to the Vasiṣṭha-gōtra and his father was Cauṇḍapa called Cavuṇṭapputaiyar in Tamiḻ (text line 4). It is to be noted that the *sūtra* and *śākhā* of Cauṇḍapa are not given here. This Cauṇḍapa seems to be identical with Cauṇḍapācārya of Vasiṣṭha-gōtra who was entrusted with the work of commenting on the sacrificial ritual as followed in the school of Āpastamba, by Bukka II.[267] If this is so, then the donor of our record whose real name is not given but is called as *Annadātā* which means the 'giver of food' belonged to a distinguished family, and that this gave him the elevated position of *Mahāpratāna* under Bhūpati-rāya.

348 is interesting in that according to the Government of the times there was no *iṭaṅkai* and *valaṅkai* distinction at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Probably on account of the observance of the distinction, the Kaikkōḷars of the two streets, considered to belong to the *iṭaṅkai* group, were not allowed to enjoy certain traditional privileges like conch, staff, elephant, flywhisk and other items which were enjoyed by the people belonging to the *valaṅkai* group. According to the order contained in the epigraph in question these privileges were restored to the Kaikkōḷars.

Bukka III or Vijaya-Bukka, the son of Tēvarāya I.

As has been stated above, on or before September 21, 1422, Bukka III succeeded to the throne of Vijayanagara. As a viceroy of his father, he is known to have done certain acts in Tamiḻnāṭu including those mentioned in the two epigraphs of his father's reign from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (347, 348). A few other epigraphs of his rule, on behalf of his father, in Tamiḻnāṭu may be noticed (none is from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai). One of them is from Salem (*A.R.E.*, 658 of 1965, A.D. 1410) ; some others from Chittoor, South Arcot, and Tanjore are known.[268] He was on the throne of Vijayanagara for a few months only and seems to have died some time in A.D. 1423.

Vīra-Pratāpa-Tēvarāya or Gajavēṭṭai-kaṇṭa-Tēvarāya.

Bukka III or Vijaya-Bukka was succeeded by his son and heir to the throne, Tēvarāya II. A couple of earliest inscriptions from the Mysore country dated February 10 and 25, 1423 (*E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 14 ; Sb. 565) refer themselves to the rule of this king. It is, therefore, likely that he ascended the throne some time before February 10, 1423.

Altogether there are six inscriptions (349 to 354), ranging in date from A.D. 1432 to 1443 of this king's time in our collection. Interestingly they make mention of him only and no ancestor of his is mentioned. In all of them except the fragmentary epigraph 354 he is called Vīra-Pratāpa-Tēvarāya. In all of them, except 350 and 353 he is given the titles of *Mahāmaṇṭalēśvaraṉ, Harirāyavibhāṭaṉ, Bhāṣaikkuttappuvarāyarkaṇṭaṉ, Mūvarāyarkaṇṭaṉ, Kaṇṭanāṭu koṇṭu koṇṭanāṭu kuṭātāṉ*, and *Catussamudrātipati* (with the variant of *pūrva-dakṣiṇa-paccima-uttara-catussamudrātipatī*). In some of them the title *kacavēṭṭai kaṇṭaruḻiya* occurs. In 353 the higher titles of *Irācātirāca*, and *Irācaparamēśvara* coupled with *gajavēṭṭai kaṇṭu aruḻiya* are given to him but the other titles are conspicious by their absence, although in 350 the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, is given along with the other usual ones.

According to the Satyamaṅgalam plates dated June 26, 1424, Dēvarāya, the son of Vijaya, ruling from Vijayanagara made a gift of a village near Viriñcipuram in the North Arcot district. This grant says that he had a younger brother named Pratāpa-Dēvarāya.[269] This has given rise to a discussion amongst scholars whether Dēvarāya of this grant who must be Dēvarāya II had a brother of the same name. In the text of the grant, verse 21, which mentions this matter seems out of place. In

267 S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History* (1919), pp. 3-4, 53-54.
268 *H.I.S.I.*, pp. 210-213.
269 Not Prauḍha-Pratāpa Dēvarāya, as mentioned in *H.I.S.I.*, under A.D 1424, on p. 214.

view of the doubtful nature of the presence of the verse here and in view of the fact that in this epigraph and in the Triplicane plates (*E.I.*, XIII, 1) where two Dēvarāyas are stated to be brothers, whereas in almost all other epigraphs of Dēvarāya II's time only one Dēvarāya is mentioned we need not think Dēvarāya II had a brother also bearing the same name.[270]

His period is marked by a trend of irregular and unlawful activities amongst people, that too amongst those in charge of temples, which had to be corrected by official intervention.[271]

This king has been referred to in several inscriptions found in North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Tanjore, Salem, Trichinopoly, Ramnad and Coimbatore districts from A.D. 1424 onwards, but his earliest record in our collection dates only from A.D. 1432 (349).

Land and other gifts :

The *tāṉattār* of the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai gave some land and two houses to a certain person according to 349 dated March 5, 1432. The grantee was asked to pay annually certain amount into the temple treasury in lieu of the assignment.

350 of which the particulars of date are irregular, but may be equivalents of July 24, 1437 if the Wednesday given there is taken as correct, registers the gift of seven villages on the orders of the king to the *tāṉikar* to provide for a service, named after Gaurātēvi avvai, in the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

A sale of land probably by the *tāṉattār* for the purpose of raising a flower garden to provide garlands to the god and goddesses of the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai is recorded in 351. Its date particulars are not regular but may be equated to June 26, 1439, if the *tithi* Pūrṇimā is taken as correctly given because on this date the *nakṣatra* and day are different.

352 also registers a sale of land for providing offerings to the god and the goddess of the temple and for rearing a flower garden for supplying flowers to the same deities.

353 of which the date particulars would be all right if the Śaka year was 1364, and in which case the equivalent would be January 6, 1443, records an interesting royal order to the effect that the people in the different villages mentioned must pay a visit to the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and stay there for ten days from the day of flag-raising during a certain festival, failing which each absentee should pay a certain amount as fine.

Some interesting points from the epigraphs :

A noteworthy information supplied by 349 relates to two beautiful names of persons ; one of them is Tirumalaicuṟṟiyōrāyiramuṭaiyār and the other is Ōṅkāratēvaṉ. A comparatively long list of taxes is also found here. 350 furnishes the name of an important lady called Gaurātēvi avvai in whose name a service was instituted in the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and for which seven villages were granted on the orders of the emperor himself. Who this Gaurātēvi was is difficult to know.

In 352, a certain Uṇṇāmulai nayiṉār figures and he is stated to be the son of Sampantāṇṭār. It is not unlikely that the latter was the same as the one who figures in 331 (A.D. 1369) where he is called Taḷiyār Campantāṇṭār.

353 furnishes us with a very interesting matter in which the emperor himself was interested. According to the inscription at the time of the function of flag-hoisting by one of the four *nāyaṉmārs* at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, the people of the Paṭaivīṭu district must be present there and continue to remain for ten days thereafter. If this was not obeyed by any one, he should pay a fine of 120 *poṉ* a year to the treasury of the palace. A royal edict of this kind compelling people of a region to attend a festival in a temple is very rarely met with in inscriptions. The imposition of a high amount of *poṉ* as fine on an individual for failure to observe the edict is indeed a rare phenomenon in Indian epigraphy.

Mallikārcuna-makārāyar, the son of Gajavēṭṭai kaṇṭaruḷiya Vīra-Pratāpa-Tēvarāya II.

It is suggested that Mallikāccuna, the son and successor of Vīra-Pratāpa-Tēvarāya II, ascended the throne on May 24, 1446, the day on which his father died.

270 *E.I.*, XV, 16. R. Sewell is half inclined this way but states that this matter requires further examination to clear the doubt. (See *H.I.S.I.*, pp. 214-15 and the introduction to table on p. 400).
271 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 216.

A word about his appellation and titles may be said before we proceed further. There are two records (355 and 356) of Mallikāccuna in our collection. In 355, he is given the simple title of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran*. In the other record (356) he gets the titles *Arirāyavipāṭaṉ*, *Bhāṣaikkuttappuvarāyarakaṇṭaṉ* and *Catussamudrādhipati* besides the simple title mentioned above. In some records of his son Iracacēkararāyar, e.g., 358, Mallikāccuna is called, after the usual titles, as Gajavēṭṭai kaṇṭaruḷiya śrī-Vīra-Pratāpa Tēvarāya-Mallikāccuṉa-irāyar. This must be the phrase describing him in many of his records and in many records of his successors. This phrase simply means "Mallikārcuna-irāyar, the son of Gajavēṭṭaikaṇṭaruḷiya Vīra-Pratāpa-Tēvarāya". We know it for certain that Pratāpa Tēvarāya II bore the title *Gajavēṭṭaikaṇṭaruḷiya*, and his name itself was Vīra-Pratāpa Tēvarāya. It was the practice amongst some members of the royal dynasties to prefix to their names, the names of their parents, so as to clearly indicate that they were the sons of so and so. Mallikāccuna too appears to have adopted this practice. Hence to say that he bore also the name of Vīra-Pratapā-Tēvarāya and the title of *Gajavēṭṭaikaṇṭaruḷiya* which was a distinctive title of Pratāpa-Tēvarāya II does not seem to be correct. Mallikāccuna, however, had the name of Immaḍi Dēvēndra or Dēvarāya.

During the period of Pratāpa Tēvarāya II the empire was put to strain by frequent wars with the Bāhmanī Sultāns as well as by the revolt of a feudatory chief or two. This weakness became pronounced in the time of Mallikāccuna. Though epigraphs of his time are found all over his empire, they are not many. This is particularly true of the Tamiḻ country. While in earlier periods a ruler's representatives in this part of the empire were his sons or grandsons, Mallikāccuna seems to have entrusted the administration to the members of the Cāḷuva family. We have seen above that Kampaṇa II had one Cāḷuva Maṅku as an officer under him who carried out his orders. But under Mallikāccuna Cāḷuva chiefs were behaving as if they were independent. For instance in A.D. 1455 Cāḷuva Tirumala is said to have remitted some taxes in Tanjore (*I.A.*, XX, 390) and Cāḷuva Narasiṁha is said to have gifted a village near Tirupati in the same year (*A.R.E.*, 253 of 1904). In the next year we see Cāḷuva Tirumala making many gifts to the temple at Śrīśailam (*Top. List.*, Kurn. 489-H). These examples show at once the decline of the power of the sovereign and the consequent increase of authority and influence of the Cāḷuvas.

Soon after his accession, in A.D. 1447 Mallikāccuna's rule in the Tamiḻ country was threatened by the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara of Orissa. In several inscriptions of Tamiḻnāṭu of this period references are made to the great disturbance caused by the invasion of Oṭṭiyaṉs i.e., the army of Orissa. This disturbance is named as *Oṭṭiyaṉ kalapai* in them. According to a literary work in the A.D. 1447 confrontation Mallikāccuna was able to drive out the Oṭṭiyaṉs.[272] However, Mallikārcuna later became lazy and indifferent in attending to the state matters.[273] This opportunity was seized by the king Kapilēśvara to attack Vijayanagara and also to occupy Kāñcī. The destruction and loss caused by the Oṭṭiyaṉs during this war are given in detail in some seven inscriptions[274], all dated A.D. 1470-71 discovered around Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot district. The invasion was led by Kapilēśvara's son Haṁvīra, and this is borne out by the inscription at Muṉṉūr[275] in the South Arcot district, which refers to an endowment and service made to the temples there, called "Hamivīrabhōgam". Regarding the exact period of the *Oṭṭiyaṉ kalapai* according to A. Krishnaswami, it must have happened between November 18, 1463 and June 7, 1464.[276] The same scholar is of the opinion that the Orissan occupation of the Tamiḻ country was for only a short duration, and this was due to the fact that Mallikārcuna's viceroy Cāḷuva Narasiṁha was engaged otherwise. Soon after the latter came into the scene, the Orissan forces had to retreat, for, inscriptions of A.D 1465 and after refer themselves to the rule of Mallikārcuna, the one from the Varadarāja temple at Kāñcī (*S.I.I.*, IV, 360) dated November 3, 1465 is noteworthy in this regard. In rehabilitating several temples and institutions destroyed

272 *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 65.
273 *T.C.U.V.*, p. 108.
274 *A.R.E.*, 1 of 1905 ; 111 and 213 of 1935 ; 87 of 1936 ; 262 of 1937 ; 4 of 1919 ; 8 of 1922.
275 *A.R.E.*, 51 of 1919.
276 *T.C.U.V.*, pp. 111-112.

by the Orissan soldiers who were attracted by the immense wealth of the temples, Cāḷuva Narasiṁha and his subordinate Annamaracaya played a great role.[277]

Mallikārcuna died in A.D. 1465 and as the regent for his one-year-old child, Virūpākṣa III his brother was placed on the throne. As stated above, Cāḷuva Narasiṁha was for some years administering the Tamiḻ country with power. His power increased after the death of Mallikārcuna.

Only a couple of epigraphs (355, 356) of Mallikārcuna are included in our collection. Of these, 355 with date particulars exactly corresponding to December 30, 1451 registers a gift of two *nuntā* lamps to the goddess Uṇṇāmulai nācciyār by Ōpala-paṇṭitar and he endowed 64 cows and two bulls for the supply of ghee for the lamps. The other epigraph (356) the date particulars of which do not yield an exact equivalent but may be equated to July 8, 1453, records a deed of settlement, by a certain *ceṭṭi* of Paṭaivīṭu in favour of Periyamaṭattu mutaliyār, of some land and garden, after informing the *Mahājanas* of Uṇṇāmulai nācciyārakaram.

An interesting point to be noted in 355 is that both the donor and his father are given the title of *paṇṭitar*. The father of the donor Ponnampala-paṇṭitar is said to be a *vaityam*, i.e., one belonging to the medical profession. Putting these things together we may say that a medical man was called *paṇṭitar* at the time when the epigraph was engraved. It may be said that this practice was continued over the centuries, because even today persons practising native medicines in villages and towns are called *paṇṭitars*.

Virūpākṣa III, the son of Pratāpa-Tēvarāya II.

He was another son of Tēvarāya II, and he became king in Śaka 1388 as per the Śrīśailam copperplate grant (*E.I.*, XV, p. 17). Inscriptions referring to his rule dated in A.D. 1471 are found in some places in South Arcot (*A.R.E.*, 416 of 1921), in Chingleput (*A.R.E.*, 9 of 1911), and in North Arcot (*A.R.E.*, 120 of 1921). In the next year too he was in the above-mentioned places. Our collection contains only one epigraph of his (359) dated A.D. 1482. However Cāḷuva Narasiṁha was the most powerful governor of the Vijayanagara empire. A number of inscriptions dated between A.D. 1463 and 1485 in Tamiḻnāṭu, of the time of Virūpākṣa, refer themselves to him and his officers, which means he was the ruler in fact in this country. But an inscription (*A.R.E.*, 188 of 1902) dated A.D. 1472 from Villiyanūr in the Pondicherry territory, makes mention of both Virūpākṣa and Narasiṁha. This is an evidence to show that Cāḷuva Narasiṁha accepted Virūpākṣa as his king, but keeping the interest of the empire and the Tamiḻ country in his heart and to preserve them from disintegration and ruination he took up the leadership on his shoulders and successfully accomplished the task of keeping them intact, and therefore became the saviour of his country,[278] second in importance to Kampaṇa II who achieved a great and important task of superior quality, a century earlier.

Virūpākṣa III was no more in A.D 1485, and it is said on the authority of Nuniz that of his two sons the elder son murdered his father and was in turn murdered by his younger brother named "Padearo" (Prauḍhadēvarāya).[279] In this confusion, Cāḷuva Narasiṁha was made king by the nobles. According to Sewell this may have occurred after July 29, 1485 and November 1, 1486, on which date he bore full imperial titles as per the Sītakallu inscription (*E.C.*, XII, Tm. 54).[280] In this matter, an inscription of Rācacēkara's time to be discussed presently throws a welcome light (362, dated July-August A.D 1486). In it Cāḷuva Narasiṁha figures as a subordinate of the prince. It shows clearly that only after August 1486 Cāḷuva Narasiṁha should have ascended the throne. What happened to prince Rācacēkara thereafter is not known.

Virūpākṣa III's inscription (359), which is badly damaged and contains irregular date particulars, though its date is July-August 1482 being the equivalent of Śaka 1404, Siṁha in the record, seems to register a *kāṇi āṭci* type of land sale transaction with the usual

277 *T.C.U.V.*, pp. 113-114.
278 *Ibid.*, p. 129.
279 He is probably the one referred to as the overlord of Cāḷuva Saṅgama in an inscription from Trichinopoly district (*A.R.E.*, 593 of 1902).
280 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 230.

stipulation of amounts of things in cash and kind to be paid to the temple treasury. This epigraph gives the king all imperial titles.

Rācacēkara-irāyar, the son of Mallikārcuna-irāyar :

Rājacēkara was a son of Mallikārcuna, and very little information about him is available from epigraphy. But our collection contains five inscriptions of his (357, 358, 360, 361, 362) ranging in date from A.D. 1479 to 1486. While noticing *A.R.E.*, 4 of 1896, under A.D. 1468, Sewell says that Rācacēkara was then about five years old,[281] that is he was born about A.D. 1463. So he must be sixteen years old when 357 and 358 was issued and twentythree years old when 360 was issued. Except in 357 and 360 of the which the beginning is damaged and so the passage contained therein is lost, in the remaining three epigraphs the prince is called as the son of Mallikārccuṉa-irāyar who is given not only the usual high titles but also significantly the tilte of *Gajavēṭṭai kaṇṭaruḷiya Vīra-Pratāpa Dēvarāya* which was the name and title of Mallikārccuna's father Pratāpa Tēvarāya II, and used here to show Mallikārccuna was the son of that Tēvarāya.

Another noteworthy point met with in these epigraphs is that except in 357 and 360, in the rest, the person transacting the business which is recorded there was Kaṭṭāri Cāḷuva Cāḷuva Nṛsiṁhayadēva-mahārājar possessing the titles *Mahāmaṇḍalēcuraṉ*, and *Mētinīmīcurakaṇṭa* (358), which were conferred usually by the kings on viceroys. Cāḷuva Narasiṁha, according to the three records in question, appears to have sided with Mallikārccuna's son Rācacēkara who was at this time, though young, ruling over the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai region. Narasiṁha was as stated above considered himself to be a subordinate of Virūpākṣa also as known from an epigraph from the North Arcot district (*A.R.E.*, 48 of 1887) dated 1482 and an epigraph from the South Arcot district of the same year (*A.R.E.*, 198 of 1904). An inscription from the North Arcot district dated April 14, 1483 (*A.R.E.*, 309 of 1902) makes mention of "Dēvarāya, son of Mallikārccuna" of Vijayanagar whom Sewell would like to identify with the prince Rācacēkara.[282] The above details show that both Virūpākṣa and prince Rācacēkara were ruling over Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam in the period to which our epigraph belonged, and that Cāḷuva Narasiṁha was assisting both. But as has been stated above, this viceroy who was a subordinate under prince Rācacēkara-irāyar in July-August 1486, seems to have usurped the throne of Vijayanagar, after setting aside this prince who was not heard of subsequently.

Gift of land etc. :

The fragmentary record 357 contains partial date particulars which correspond to January 7, 1479. It registers a sale of a village according to *kāṇipparru kaṇiyāṭci* arrangement. 358, of which the passage containing some of the details of date are lost but which should belong to June-July 1479, registers a grant of a village as well as tax incomes from some other lands made by Nṛsiṁhayadēva-mahārājar, to provide for the repair works in the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyiṉār. The gift is stated to have been made by him on the day when the asterism Aṉuḷam (Skt. Anuṣa) which was his native asterism.

Inscription 360 is much damaged and the passages containing the name of the king and particulars of date are lost, as also many other passages in other places. It has been, however, assigned to prince Rācēkara-irāyar's time on the basis of its location amongst other inscriptions of the prince under discussion now. Further, taking the cyclic year, though written in a peculiar way, as Śubhakṛt, its date would fall in August-September 1482, when the prince may have continued to rule here. The inscription seems to record an order made by the officer Kāṇikkāṭiṭaikkūṭṭar seated in the hall called Urupanārāyaṇaṉ maṇṭapam in front of the door-way of the god Aṇṇāmalaiyār, that certain articles like coconut etc. used to be given to some persons, need not be given.

The badly damaged 361 of which the details of date are lost but assigned to A.D. 1482 on account of the Śaka 1404 preserved partly, registers some gift to provide for a service one each for the god and the

281 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 226.
282 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 229.

goddess made by Cāḻuva Naraciṅkayyatēva makā irāca uṭaiyar, probably on the day when Aṉiḻam asterism was current, which as stated above was Narasiṁha's native asterism.

The other epigraph (362), also much damaged, of which the particulars of date are irregular but could be equated to July-August, 1486, registers a similar gift as met with, in the previous one. Here, however, the details pertaining to the gift are available, and they were certain items of tax incomes due to certain temples, which were transferred to one Virāvētiya-nampi who was entrusted with the work of conducting a special service each for the god and goddess of the temple, probably on a day when the asterism Aniḻam was current.

Points of interest noticed in these epigraphs :

In three (358, 361, 362) of the four records the gift recorded there related to the conduct of special service in honour of Cāḻuva Narasiṁhayatēva on the day of his native asterism Anuṣam (358). It is noteworthy that in one or two of them the gift consisted of transfer of incomes which were due to some temples, to the person who was to conduct the service mentioned above.

The new temples mentioned in the epigraphs are : Tirukkāmīcuramuṭaiya nayiṉār and Perumāḷ Vīṟṟiruntaperumāḷ (358) ; Karaikaṇṭīcuramuṭaiya nayiṉār and a Viṣṇu temple (name lost) (361) ; and Cattīśuramuṭaiya nayiṉār and Ulakaḻanta perumāḷ Cikkaṇa-viṇṇakaram of Ulakaḻantacōḻapuram (362). It is interesting to note that in each epigraph a Śiva temple and a Viṣṇu temple are mentioned. This confirms the prescription in the texts on temple rituals and building that in villages and towns there should be temples dedicated to both these gods.

Cāḻuva Narasiṁhayatēva bore the title Kaṭṭāri Cāḻuva, which was also borne later on by Kṛṣṇatēvarāya and his successors.

The existence of a hall named Urupanārāyaṇaṉ maṇṭapam at the doorway of the god Aṇṇāmalaiyār is revealed by 362. But its identification is difficult. From this epigraph we also come to know of an officer (*atikāriyār*) named Kāṇikkāṭiṭaikkūṭṭar.

In one or two of the epigraphs in question a number of taxes including a few new items are mentioned.

The Cāḷuvas

After Cāḷuva Narasiṁha became the emperor of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1485-86, and till A.D. 1509 when the celebrated Tuḷuva Kṛṣṇadēvarāya ascended the throne there was confusion in matters relating to the succession of rulers, their period of rule, and their mutual relationship. This is due mainly to the paucity of records bearing on the matters, absence of clear-cut references in the Muhammadan chronicles and the same name Narasiṁha being borne by all the successors of Cāḷuva Narasiṁha. Three Narasiṁhas followed Cāḷuva Narasiṁha. They were (1) his son Narasiṁha II, (2) the second usurper[283] Narasā of the Tuḷuva family ; and (3) his son Vīra-Narasiṁha who was the half-brother of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

Cāḷuva Narasiṁha, the emperor of Vijayanagara :

As the emperor, Cāḷuva Narasiṁha is known to have camped in Tamiḻnāṭu. He was in the Chingleput area on April 29, 1487 (*A.R.E.*, 648 of 1919 ; 235 of 1902) ; and in the South Arcot district on July 27, 1488 (*A.R.E.*, 308 of 1921). A limited number of his inscriptions have been found in Tamiḻnāṭu but none at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai where we have only the records issued by Cāḷuva Narasiṁha as viceroy of Rācacēkara-rāyar between A.D. 1479 and A.D. 1486, dealt with above (357-358, 360-362). But we know that after his victory against the Bāṇa of Madurai he probably visited Madurai and Rāmēśvaram as stated in the *Śāḷuvābhuyadayam.*

The same work states that he had also visited Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Kumbhakōṇam and Śrīraṅgam.[284] At Narasiṁha's death, he was succeeded by the elder of his two sons ; but he was murdered by an enemy of Narasā Nāyaka, named Timmarasa. But Narasā Nāyaka put the younger son named Tammadēva or Tammayya[285] on the throne with the name Immaḍi-Narasiṁha who was recognised as king on January 27, 1493 in an inscription from Mysore. Narasā Nāyaka, however, kept all the powers in his hands.[286]

Immaḍi Narasiṁha, the son of Cāḷuva Narasiṁha.

The collection of epigraphs from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai does not include any epigraph definitely attributable to Cāḷuva Immaḍi Narasiṁha or to Tuḷuva Narasā Nāyaka, the *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagara empire although the badly damaged epigraph 374 in Sanskrit language and Grantha script of about the 16th century may be tentatively attributed to the former on the basis of the name of the ruler Narasiṁhadēva-bhūpati mentioned in it. The reason for this is not far to seek. On behalf of the nominal emperor, Narasā Nāyaka had to go to different parts of the empire to quell one rebellion or the other ; and in the Tamiḻ country he had to subdue the revolting

283 *Ibid.*, p. 48 where the discovery of this usurper is attributed to R. Narasiṁhachar.
284 *T.C.U.V.*, p. 128.
285 Tammadēva or Tammayya is equated to Dharmadēva. (*H.I.S.I.*, p. 231). Tamma in Kannaḍa means 'younger brother'. This prince was the younger of the two brothers, and so the people would have affectionately called him as 'Tammayya'. Interestingly this word was first Tamilised into Taṉmaya and susbsequently Sanskritised into Dharmarāya occasionally. (*L.K.C.V.H.*, p. 49).
286 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 231; *L.K.C.V.H.*, p. 68.

subordinates and a Pāṇḍya ruler. These activities naturally should have occupied most of his time. So neither he nor his master had any occasion to visit the area around Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

The damaged inscription 373 with date particulars corresponding to August 9, 1502, does not refer to any of the above-mentioned rulers, but refers itself to a certain Kōṭṭai Māyaṇa irācā and records the employment of a certain person as *tiruviḷakkuk kuṭi* (a person entrusted with the work of supplying ghee for a lamp) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nayiṉār by an agent of the chief. The importance of this epigraph lies in the fact that on this date the Vijayanagara rule over the area was in eclipse so that the local chief Māyaṇa could issue a record with no reference to any superior. The identification of this chief and the *kōṭṭai* (fort) is difficult.

The Tuḷuvas

Tuḷuva Narasā Nāyaka was a great general, notable minister and a clever strategist who was instrumental in keeping the Vijayanagara empire intact against several odds during the rule of the last Cāḷuvas. After the murder of Cāḷuva Immaḍi Narasiṁha in A.D. 1505, Narasā Nāyaka became the *de jure* ruler of the empire and seemed to have exercised his imperial authority for a short period thereafter. Though he was active in many places, no epigraphs referring to him are available in our collection.

Vīra Narasiṁha (or Immaḍi Narasā Nāyaka).

This second Tuḷuva emperor ascended the throne in A.D. 1505 and ruled till some time in 1509. Since his assumption of power was in the wake of his father's usurpation of the throne, he faced many troubles even from the beginning.

In Tamiḻnāṭu his rule was acknowledged in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (375) and in the Trichinopoly region (*A.R.E.*, 47 of 1914) in A.D. 1506, in the Chingleput district in A.D. 1508 (*E.I.*, XV, p. 231), in the Salem district on January 26, 1509 (*A.R.E.*, 408 of 1913), and at Kāñcīpuram on April 17, 1509 (*A.R.E.*, 601 of 1915). With certain irregularity the last date of his, known so far, was July 22, 1509 as known from an inscription from the South Arcot district (*A.R.E.*, 289 of 1915). In view of the fact that his successor Kṛṣṇadēvarāya according to an inscription (*A.R.E.*, 703 of 1919) was reigning in Bellary on July 26, 1509, it is known that Vīra Narasiṁha was dead before that date.[287] During the short period of four years and odd of his rule Vīra Narasiṁha tried his best to contain the Mussalmans, and the rebellious chiefs, improved the efficiency of his army, encouraged his subjects to cultivate war-like spirit, took active interest in the civil administration of the kingdom and tried to alleviate the distress of the people as much as possible as for instance the attempt to abolish the oppressive marriage tax (*kallāṇakkāṇam* ?).[288]

Nine epigraphs of our collection belong to this ruler's reign and all of them have been discovered by us recently (374 to 382). Of these 374 is very badly damaged and it is in the Grantha script and Sanskrit language. It refers itself to Śrī-Narasiṁhadēva-bhūpati who may be either the Tuḷuva king in question or anyone of the two Cāḷuva Narasiṁhas also. In the case of the others, some peculiarities are noticed in respect of the date particulars. 376 is interesting in that it was engraved first and its letters were wantonly chiselled out later. It contains the date particulars Śaka 1427, Kurōtana-Kṣaya, Meṣa-śu. (. .), Pūram and Tuesday. The *tithi* is lost and the *nakṣatra* and the day do not go together. Evidently some mistake had crept into this statement, except in respect of the Śaka year, cyclic year and the month. Perhaps due to this, the whole inscription seems to have been defaced originally. This inference is based on the fact that 375 which is engraved by the side of the above record appears to be a copy of the same except for the Śaka year 1429 wrongly given for 1427, and for the *nakṣatra* Punarpūcam which is correct here. With the Śaka year 1427, the equivalent for the date particulars agree exactly to March 31, 1506. There is some difference in contents of both the epigraph. For instance, in 376, the king is given the titles of *Mahāmaṇṭalēcuraṉ*

287 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 237. R. Sewell states that "Vīra Narasiṁha died on some day between (certainly) April 17 or (possibly) July 22, and July 26, 1509." But *F.S.V.H.*, I, p. 179, gives the limit of this king's rule "to the month of Vaiśākha of the year Śukla, (May 1509)."

288 *F.S.V.H.*, I, pp. 184-85.

Arirāyavipāṭaṉ, Pāṣaikkuttappuvarāyara-kaṇṭaṉ, Mūvarāyara-kaṇṭaṉ, Kaṇṭanāṭu koṇṭu koṇṭa-nāṭu kuṭātāṉ, Inturāya curatāṇa, Irācātirāca, Irācaparamēśvaraṉ, Pūrvatekṣaṇa-paccima-uttara-catu-camuttirātipati, Kacavēṭṭai kaṇṭaruḷiya, and *Vīrappiratāpaṉ*. In 375, however, the king, here called Immāṭi Naracā-Nāyakka, gets all the above-mentioned titles except *Irācātirāca* and *Irācaparamēśvaraṉ*. The manner of giving the date particulars in both is noteworthy. The passage reads as "Cakāttam 1427 mēl Cellā niṉra Kurōtana Camvatcarattukkuc cellum Kṣaya camvatcarattu Mēṣa nāyaṟṟu pūrvapakṣattu." It means that "the bright fortnight of the Mēṣa month of the year Kṣaya, belongs to the year Kurōtana." This statement is in explanation of the fact of counting the bright fortnight of the Mēṣa month of each year as belonging to the previous year. These are the only records known so far to make mention of this fact. In 377 *pūrvapakṣa tecami* seems to be a mistake for *pūrvapakṣa Paurṇamī*. If this correction is admissible, then the date particulars correspond to July 5, 1506. 378 contains almost the same date particulars as found in 377, but here the *tithi* is *pūrvapakṣa ēkātaci*. If the latter's *śu*. 10 is taken as correctly given, (which does not seem to be the case), then the record in question may be said to have been issued on the day next to that on which 377 was issued. But in view of the existence of the other irregularities, our inference in this regard may not be all right, although the matter of both would be taken as correctly given. The inscription 379 gives the date particulars such as Śaka (14) 30, Vipa (.), Mitunaśu.3, Thursday corresponding to June 1, 1508, but the *nakṣatra* being not given, one cannot be sure of the exactness of this equivalent. The three epigraphs 380, 381, 382, give the Śaka year 1431 coupled with the cyclic year Vipava. In fact the cyclic year corresponds only to the Śaka year 1430, as in 379 dealt with above. So, the Śaka year 1431 of the three epigraphs in question should be considered either as wrong or as current. With this emendation, the Christian equivalents of the three records would be August 10, 1508 (380), January 22, 1509 (381), and January 25, 1509 (382).

Land transactions and gifts :

376, and 375 deal with land transaction of the type of *kāṇivilaip-piramāṇam* or of the *kāṇipparṟu kāṇi āṭci* type. According to them certain villages had been sold by the *tāṉattār* of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai kōyil to a certain Reṭṭiyār with the stipulation that he should pay into the temple treasury annually without diminution certain amount of *paṇam* and paddy. 382 deals also with the same category of transaction. Here the beneficiary and places are different.

378 relates to the gift of lands as *taṉma-cātaṇam* and *caṟuvamāṉiya iṟaiyili* to . . vētiya-nampi by Mummaṭi Iraṭṭi, perhaps the same as the one figuring in 375 and 376, so that the donee looked after the conduct of a *canti* (service) each to the god and the goddess of the temple instituted in the name of the donor with the specified provisions made for the purpose.

379 registers a transaction of land of the type of *palataḷi kāṇi āṭci* to a certain person by the *tāṉattār* of the temple to meet the expenses called *maṇṭapattēvai* (providing necessary things during the occasions when the deities were kept in view for the public in a hall).

381 is an inscription recording a gift of a village probably by the king himself to a person to provide for worship and temple works to the temple of the god Iḷaiyanayiṉār (i.e., Subrahmaṇya) situated on the north street.

Points of interest noticed in the epigraphs :

From 375 and 376 we come to know of the existence of a community of people called Raṭṭiyaḷ. A chief named Mallaiyatēva mahārācar who is described as Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran and Rāyakaḷ Ciṅkarā Ārāyapanti Cōḻa-ciṅkaṉīcura kāraṇaṉ of which the meaning is not clear.

In 378 reference is made to the service to the god and goddess called *upaya cānti* and to the measure called *Viṇṇavaṟīraṇkāl*. From this record we know that *taṉma cātaṇam* and *caṟuvamāṉiya iṟaiyili* are one and the same.

379 furnishes us with an interesting matter bearing on the provisions made for keeping the deities for public view in a hall during festival days.

The incomplete inscription 380 contains a reference to streets of Pirāmaṇas (Brāhmaṇas) and to a street named Kāṅkaiyarāyaṉ tiruvīti. This street was probably one of those put up by Kāṭava Kumāran.

That there was a temple of Iḷaiya nayiṉār (i.e., Subrahmaṇya) on the north street at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai is

known from 381. This is dated January 22, 1509, while the main *gōpura* on the east is said to have been built in A.D. 1517 by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. The building of this *gōpura* may have happened after the building of the four walls. Before these walls were put up, the space within this enclosure must have been unoccupied or occupied by a street. Whether the street on the north side before the building of the outermost enclosure wall is meant in this record and that the temple to Iḷaiya nayiṉār was in it there is no means of knowing now, for there is no Iḷaiya nayiṉār temple in the present north street on the northern side of the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. The mention made here to the village named Kuṉṟamēṟiṉa-perumāḷ nallūr (Kuṉṟamēṟiṉa-perumāḷ probably referring to Iḷaiya nayiṉār) is to be noted.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya the Magnificent.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was recognised as the emperor in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai area in an epigraph dated March 21, 1910 (383) shortly after having been crowned on January 28 of the same year. His empire now embraced the whole of Southern India with a few local exceptions (there are no inscriptions of his in the Tirunelveli district).

The details of his subsequent campaigns are contained in the *Āmuktamālyada* and also in a number of inscriptions which give lists of fortresses and chiefs conquered by him. Interestingly our collection contains three such inscriptions, one already published in *S.I.I.*, VIII, 165 (= 388), and two others, one in Tamil and the other in Telugu, (389, 390) discovered recently. The first of these inscriptions is referred to in *H.I.S.I.*, page 241, under A.D. 1516. In fact, its date particulars correspond to January 5, 1517. According to this record the king was at Śrī Kāḷasti (text lines 44-47) on this date. But in the recently discovered Tamil inscription (389) which contains the same date particulars as in the above he is stated to have been at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai instead of at Śrī Kāḷasti on this date (text line 5). How could he have been simultaneously at two places ? There is evidently a mistake. This is, however, cleared by the third inscription which is in Telugu (390). The date particulars of this record correspond to January 19, 1517 and the king is stated to be at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai on this date, which was 15 days later than the day on which he was at Śrī Kāḷasti as per 388 referred to above. It is apparent that the gifts recorded in the Tamiḻ epigraphs were made, while the king was at Śrī Kāḷasti but when the matter was engraved in Tamil (389) on the north wall of the second *prākāra* the place name was changed to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, without changing *śu.* 13 into *ba.* 13 as is given correctly in the Telugu epigraph.

In the subsequent year (A.D. 1520) Kṛṣṇadēvarāya waged wars with Ismāil Shāh of Bījāpūr and defeated him. As a consequence the territory around Raichūr and Mudkal was annexed to the Vijayanagara empire. In the Tamiḻ country inscriptions of his time are found in several places, as for instance Tañjāvūr, Madurai, Salem, Ramnad, Pudukkottai and Chingleput districts, dated in the years A.D. 1522 etc. "One of them from Atti in the North Arcot district (*A.R.E.*, 299 of 1912) dated A.D. 1526 registers a grant of that village made by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya while he was encamped on the bank of the Kṛṣṇavēṇi river."[289] Inscriptions issued in his name dated A.D. 1528 are known from Chingleput and Madurai areas, and others dated in A.D. 1529 are known from Chingleput district (*E.I*, XIV, p. 168, April 15), in the North Arcot district (*A.R.E.*, 294 of 1912, June 26) and at Kāñcīpuram (*A.R.E.*, 512 of 1919, October 17). His latest inscription dated October 27, 1529 comes from the Kurnool district (*A.R.E.*, 15 of 1915). According to an epigraph from the Mysore region (*E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 39) of which the date November 11, 1529 is doubtful, refers itself to the reign of Accutadēvarāya, the brother of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya as ruling in Mysore. It is doubted if he was ruling as a sovereign or as a viceroy of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. But a copper-plate grant from Kaṭalāṭi (*E.I.*, XIV, p. 310) dated December 28, 1529 definitely states that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was dead. It is, therefore, clear that the latter died between October 27, and December 28, 1529.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was an excellent administrator. His ideas on administration are found in his books like the *Rājanīti* and the *Āmuktamālyada*. His kingdom was vast and he had no trustworthy blood relatives to assist him in the management of the state. So, he seems to have favoured the strengthening of the system of entrusting

289 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 244.

the administration of the various regions to governors or Nāyakas who had under them subordinate chiefs to look after the local affairs. This system was there earlier, but its role was increased. Thus came into existence Nāyaka families at such places as Ikkēri, Ceñji, Madurai and Tañjāvūr. As long as the king was powerful the Nāyakas were subservient. But later, when the central power weakened they began to assert their independence. In so far as Tamiḻnāṭu was concerned, a number of Nāyakas are known from inscriptions to have been in charge of the various territories. In the North Arcot district with which we are concerned, there were Rāmappa Nāyaka in Ceyyār in A.D. 1510, and one Cinnappa Nāyaka was in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai region. A number of other chiefs of this category are known from other parts of Tamiḻnāṭu (see *T.C.U.V.*, pp. 184 ff. for more details). For their services to the crown, the Nāyakas were given fiefs and privileges. According to Nuniz only when they failed to discharge their allotted duties and responsibilities, their properties were confiscated and punished.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was generally friendly to the governors and the Nāyakas. But if they showed rebellious tendencies, they were cheked. There were some troublesome Nāyakas in the Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam region. An army was sent to put them down. Subsequently the Tamiḻ country was divided into three main regions and a Nāyaka was put in charge of each of them. "The first of these divisions was that of Ceñji which extended from Nellore in the north to the river Coleroon in the south, and this was entrusted to Vaiyappa Nāyaka and his son Tupāki Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka who thus became the inaugurators of the Ceñji Nāyakship. The second division was the fertile region watered by the river Kāvēri and was entrusted to one Vijayarāghava Nāyaka who resided at Tañjāvūr. The third was the whole country south of the river Kāvēri which was assigned to Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka who made Madurai his headquaters."[290] Among the Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's governors of Tamiḻnāṭu one Cāḻuva Vīra Narasiṁha Nāyaka *alias* Cellappa was influential. He was not related to the Cāḻuva emperors. He was the son of one Taḻuvakkuḻaintāṉ Bhaṭṭa, a *Tēvakaṉmi* of the Ēkāmranātha temple at Kāñcīpuram. Cellappa seems to have become an officer under Kṛṣṇadēvarāya in A.D. 1510 (*A.R.E.*, 91 , 92 of 1908). Gradually he rose to prominence in Kāñcīpuram and in the entire Tamiḻ country. He was a loyal subordinate of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya till the latter's demise as known from an inscription from Acciṟupākkam in the Chingleput district (*A.R.E.*, 390 of 1912, 225 of 1916, 22 of 1933). He was instrumental in making Accutatēvarāya ascend the throne after the demise of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.[291]

The collection of epigraphs from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai contains twelve items belonging to the period of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Compared to the eminence and wide-spread activities of the king this number is small. Only two of them (384 and 388) were copied and published earlier. The rest have been discovered by us recently (383, 385-387, 389-393). A word about the date particulars contained in them is necessary.

1) 383 : Ś. 1432, Cukkila Paṅkuṉi 25.	If Cukkila is correctly given = March 21, 1510.	Full particulars are not given. Śaka year is wrong.
2) 384 : Ś. 1433, Pramōtūta, Tai 15,	If Pramōtūta is correct = January 11, 1511.	Full particulars are not given. Śaka year is wrong.
3) 385 : Ś. 1434, Piracāpati, Māci, . . .	Damaged. May be = January-February, 1512.	Śaka year is wrong.
4) 386 : Ś. 1436, Pāva, Māci 5.	January 31, 1515.	Full particulars are not given. Śaka year is correct.
5) 387 : Ś. 1437, Yuva	Damaged. Some date in 1515-16.	Śaka year is correct.
6) 388 : Ś. 1438, Tātu, Monday.	January 5, 1517.	*Nakṣatra* is not given.
7) 389 : Ś. 1438, Tātu, Makara-śu.13, Monday.	January 5, 1517.	*Nakṣatra* is not given. Śaka year is correct.

290 *T.C.U.V.*, p. 184.
291 *Ibid.*, pp. 200-203.

8) 390 : Ś. 1438, Dhātu, Puṣya-ba.13, Monday.	January 19, 1517.	*Nakṣatra* is not given. Śaka year is correct.
9) 391 : Ś. 1441, Vekutāṉiya, Mēṣa-śu. (. .), Uttiram, Sunday.	May be = (1) April 10, 1519. But on this day Pūram was upto .88. or (2) April 11, 1519. Uttiram was current, but the day was Monday.	Particulars are defective. Probably an instance of Mēṣa-śuklapakṣa being taken to belong to the previous year. Śaka year is wrong ?
10) 392 : Ś. (144)2, Piramāti, Mēṣa-śu. 10, Friday, Uttirāṭam.	May be = (1) April 8, 1519. But nakṣatra was Āyilyam. or (2) March 28, 1520. But the day and *Nakṣatra* were different.	Particulars are defective. Śaka year is wrong.
11) 393 : Ś. 1442, Piṟamāti, Kaṟkaṭaka-śu.13.	Damaged. Probably equal to July 10, 1519.	Śaka year is wrong.

The table given above brings out the character of the date particulars given in the epigraphs. Except in the case of 6, 7 and 8 above, the particulars given in the rest are defective. A specially noteworthy feature of a majority of them is that the Śaka and the cyclic years do not tally, the former being always a year ahead of the latter. In such cases it is usual to take the Śaka year as current. Equivalents are proposed for the date particulars on this basis. However, it is strange that documents of the period noted for its extraordinary enlightenment and high intellectual attainments were drafted with defects especially in the matter of giving the particulars of date of public transactions.

Land transactions, gifts etc. :

Among the epigraphs, the most important are 388, 389 and 390. While the former two are almost identical, the third one, in Telugu, is somewhat different from the other two in detail, especially in date particulars. This matter has been already dealt with above. Attention to their significance in giving a list of triumphant activities of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya upto date has been drawn above. The latter part of these epigraphs records the emperor's pious deeds at the temple and gifts of jewellery etc. to the deities. For detailed information about this, reference may be made to the translation of the text (pages 482-485). Here, we may only make mention of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's greatest contribution to the temple *viz.*, the building of the grand eleven-storeyed *gōpura* on the eastern side of the outer-most enclosure. Though not stated, this enclosure may also have been put up at the same time. When the other three big *gōpuras* on the other sides of this wall were put up is not known, although it is not unlikely that they were erected in the same period or a little later. For, to build such gigantic towers is possible only for emperors like Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Lesser men cannot even dream of a project like this. Next in importance to the building of the *gōpura* was the erection of the majestic 1000-pillared *maṇṭapa* by the king. Other noteworthy constructional activities of his included the construction of a tank near the above *maṇṭapa* for the summer floating festival and a bigger tank outside the town, named Tirumalaitēvi-ammaṉ-camuttiram, after a queen of the king, to supply water to the former tank.

383, 385 to 387 and 391 relate to the employment of persons as *tiruviḷakkukuṭi* by certain other people.

392 and 393 deal with a land sale (*kāṇi vilaip piramāṇam*) of the *kāṇippaṟṟu kāṇi āṭci* category, by the *tāṉattār* of the temple. The purchaser, as usual, was to pay certain specified quantities of paddy etc. to the temple annually. The last item (384) is interesting in that it registers a gift of 1000 *kuḻi* of land to Viruppāccatēvar, the son of Vīraciṅkatēvar Kōnērināyakkar made by the

tāṉattār as *kuṭai-māṉṉiyam*. It appears that the donee was made responsible for carrying the big temple umbrellas over the deities taken out in procession on festival occasions or otherwise.

Salient points noticed in the epigraphs :

Taking up the three long inscriptions of A.D. 1517 first, it is seen that they furnish some very interesting pieces of information other than those having a bearing on the king's compaigns. For instance in all the three of them two of his queens named Ciṉ-ṉ ācci ammaṉ and Tirumalaitēvi ammaṉ (with variant spellings), are mentioned in this order. It is not known if this order signifies the seniority and juniority of the queens concerned. From 388, we know that a big *gōpura* and a 100-pillared *maṇṭapa* were caused to be constructed at Kāḷasti by the king. References to the gateways named Vānavatarayaṉavācal and Uttama-cōḻaṉ-tiruvācal occur in them. While provision is made of persons for doing certain kinds of work during the service instituted in the name of the king, it is stated that two persons should recite the *Periya-Tiruppāṭṭu*. In all probability it refers to the Tamiḻ Śaiva scriptures called the *Tirumuṟai*. It is also interesting to note that two persons were employed to recite the *Vēdas* during the time of the deity being taken out in procession in a palanquin. A variety of jewellery items were donated by the king to the deities, and their details can be had from the translation of the texts of epigraphs (see pages 482-485). The reference to a gift of land as *kuṭaimāṉṉiyam* in 384, is interesting. Its explanation is given above. In 385, a member of the *Iraṭṭiyār* community is mentioned. 392 and 393 make mention of persons who belonged to the community called Kōpāla ceṭṭikaḷ of Kāñcīpuram.

Accutatēvarāya.

Accutatēvarāya ascended the throne in 1529 (see *A.R.E.*, 157 of 1924). The first epigraph referring to him, found in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, is dated A.D. 1532 (395). However a number of inscriptions dated A.D. 1529 and 1530 referring to him are found in the Chingleput and North Arcot districts (*A.R.E.*, 295 of 1917 ; 384 of 1912), as also in the Madras and Ramnad districts. His reign is acknowledged in the Pudukkōṭṭai region in A.D. 1531, besides South Arcot. He weighed himself against pearls[292] in Kāñcīpuram in A.D. 1532. He was there on May 21, 1532 (*A.R.E.*, 541 of 1919) and on January 20, 1533. That Accuta was the king in the Madurai and Ramnad areas in A.D. 1538 is known from inscriptions (*A.R.E.*, 1 of 1894 ; 121 of 1908). He was supreme all over South India in A.D. 1539, except for an area in the Tirunelveli district of Tamiḻnāṭu (*A.R.E.*, 18 of 1912). Several epigraphs containing different dates in A.D. 1542 are found at such places as Kāḷahasti (*A.R.E.*, 165 of 1922, January 29, 1542), etc., and one from Kāñcīpuram with the latest date of June 25, 1542 (*A.R.E.*, 614 of 1919). The earliest so far known date of Catāciva, is contained in an epigraph (*I.A.*, 1881, p. 63) from Bādāmi which mentions him as reigning. Thus, king Accutatēvarāya should have died between June 25 and 26, 1542.[293] His son Veṅkaṭa I also called Cikkarāya[294] may have ruled for a couple of days only[295], but he was caused to be assassinated by Calakarāju Ciṉṉa Tirumala, who was subsequently defeated and killed by Rāmarāja, who, after placing Catāciva on the throne, began to rule the empire as if he was the king.

There are altogether seventeen epigraphs belonging to his period in our collection and they range in date from A.D. 1532 to 1540. Except two items (406 ; March 3, 1539 and 407 ; August 15, 1539) of 1945-46, the rest have been discovered by us recently. They are 395 (January 17, 1532), 396 (probably = May 18, 1534 ; but the day was Monday), 397 (August 12, 1534), 398 (September 10, 1534), 399 (September, 1534), 400 (November 17, 1534), 401 (probably = January 8, 1535), 402 (March 13, 1537), 403 (October 17, 1537), 404 (probably = November 2, 1538), 405 (November 25, 1538), 408 (1539-40), 409 (May 15, 1540), 410 and 411.

As regards the date particulars given in these epigraphs, we find that a majority of them give correct equivalents and the rest are defective in one or two

292 The *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* (*Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 159), refers to this event.
293 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 249.
294 *Ibid.*, p. 248.
295 *Ibid.*, p. 248.

particulars only. Anyway compared to this aspect of the records of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's time dealt with above, this matter of the inscriptions in question has been handled well, although the reason for this superiority is not easy to know.

From the point of view of the titles, these epigraphs furnish one or two new titles not met with in the records of the earlier rulers. For instance the title of *Emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭa* (conqueror of all countries) occurs in 395 and 397 and the titles of *Tulukkaṭaḷa-vipāṭan* (destroyer of the Muhammadan army), *Tulukka mokaram* (this word is usually wrongly read as *mukām* (camp) by the epigraphist office) *tavittāṉ* (who stopped the conduct of Mokaram festival of the Muhammadans) and *Yīḻamtiraikoṇṭa* (who levied tribute from (the king of) Yīḻam i.e., Śrīlankā) occur in 409. These need not be considered empty boasts but may be taken to signify the king's actions.

The stopping of the conduct of the important festival of Mokaram by the Mussalmans was probably necessitated by the fact that they exceeded the limits of propriety and caused thus annoyance to the Hindu subjects of the kingdom. It is not known if ever Accutatēvarāya or his generals crossed The Palk Straits and waged wars with the Śrīlaṅkan kings. But as per the title found in our epigraph, skirmishes between the Vijayanagara and the Śrīlaṅkan armies might have taken place at the time when Calakarāju Tirumala's conquest of the southern Tamiḻ country and the chief of Tiruvaḍi territory, when the Vijayanagara general routed the Śrīlaṅka army and compelled that country's ruler to pay tribute to his emperor. Anyway this title is pregnant with significance and it adds to Accutatēvarāya's glory.

Land transactions and gifts :

Of the seventeen epigraphs, eleven (395, 396, 400, 402-407, 409 and 410) relate to the sale of land under the *kāṇippaṟṟu kāṇi āṭci* category by the *tāṉattār* of the temple to various persons. 397 registers the sale of five *maṭappuṟam* villages by the head of the Aṇṇāmalai-nātar Periyamaṭam. 399 registers a gift of land by an individual in honour of the king from the earnings of which certain services to the god were to be done and expenses relating to the conduct of festival to be met. Similarly 401 also deals with the institution of a certain service in the temple in honour of the king by an individual who endowed some land to meet the expenses thereof and also to meet the expenses of the first day's festival. 408 is badly damaged and so its purport is not clear ; however it appears to register some gift and refers to *vicēṣa pūcai* (special worship, line 5). 411 which is very badly damaged probably refers to certain gifts made to Pāṇṭaraṅki Viṭṭalēcurar on the occasion of a Makara-saṅkirānti day, on the banks of the Tuṅkapattirā river.

Interesting points noticed in the epigraphs :

The measure called *Ālālacuvantiraṉkāl* is mentioned in 399 and 401. In 401 references to certain food offerings like *appam* (sweet cake) and *paṇiyāram* (eatable) and to the institution of a certain service called *mukamai* are found. In 402, 403, 406, 407 and 409 individuals belonging to the community of *Nāyakkar* figure. 411 refers to the god Pāṇṭaraṅki Viṭṭalēcurar and to the Tuṅkapattiri-tīrttam.

Catācivateva-makārāya, the puppet king.

Catācivatēva-makārāya was placed on the throne by the Āravīṭi Rāmarāya on June 25 or 26, 1542 and his coronation took place a year later about the middle of A.D. 1543 (*F.S.V.H.*, I, p. 246) and his nominal rule continued upto A.D. 1576. However the empire was actually ruled by the Āravīṭi brothers, Rāmarāja up to A.D. 1565 and by his brother Tirumala from that year to A.D. 1571. Thereafter till A.D. 1576 Śrīraṅga I, the son of Tirumala was the real ruler. All of them, however, ruled, for the most part of the period, having Catāciva-makārāya as the emperor. Even after Āravīṭi Tirumala and his son Śrīraṅga I proclaimed themselves as the new emperors, a section of the people did not recognise them as the rulers and continued to owe allegiance to Catāciva till A.D. 1576 since he was the lawful king.

In so far as Catāciva's inscriptions at Tiruvaṇṇā-malai are concerned, there are eighteen of them and their dates range from A.D. 1543 to A.D. 1568. Only three of them (414, 424, 426) were copied by the Epigraphy office previously while the rest were discovered by us. Before giving the important matters contained in them, the peculiarities of their date particulars may be examined in a tabular form.

1) 412 : Cōpatti (Śōbhana), Thursday	A.D. 1543	Damaged
2) 413 : Ś. 1467, Vicuvā-vacu, Āṭi 5	May be = July 14, 1545	Full particulars are not given.
3) 414 : Ś. 1470, Kīlaka, Kaṉṉi-śu.5, Friday, Anuṣam	September 7, 1548	Exactly agrees.
4) 415 : Ś. 1472, ... , Makara-śu.5, ...	May be = January 12, 1551	Damaged.
5) 416 : Ś. 1472, Makara-śu.	May be = January 1551	Damaged.
6) 417 : Ś. 1472, Cātāraṇa, Kumpa-śu.11, Tuesday, Pūrāṭam	May be = February 17, 1551	Defective. *Nakṣatra* was Punarpūcam. The *tithi* also was only for .10 of the day.
7) 418 : . . . . . , Cātāraṇa, ... śu.10, ...	May be = A.D. 1550-51	Damaged.
8) 419 : . . . . . , Sādhāraṇa	May be = A.D. 1550-51	Damaged.
9) 420 : Ś. 1472, Virōtakari, Karkaṭaka-ba.5, Friday, Paraṇi	May be = July 22, 1551	Defective. Śaka year was 1473, the day was Wednesday and the *nakṣatra* was Uttirattāti.
10) 421 : Ś. 1477, Irākṣa-sa, Kumpa-śu. 12, Śravaṇa, Friday	May be = February 21, 1556	Defective. *Nakṣatra* was Pūcam.
11) 422 : Ś. 1480, Cittātti, Mithuna-śu.10	May be = June 14, 1559	Details wanting.
12) 423 : Ś. 1486, ... , Tanucu-śu.12, Wednesday, ...	May be = December 14, 1564	Damaged and defective. The day was Thursday and the *nakṣatra* was Kārttikai.
13) 424 : Ś. 1489, Piṟapava, Kaṟkaṭaka-ba.6, Sunday, Aśvati	July 27, 1567	Exactly agrees.
14) 425 : Ś. 1490, Vipava	May be = 1568-69	Damaged.
15) 426 : Ś. 1491, Vipava Mīna-(. .) 2, Hasta, Friday	May be = March 4, 1569	Śaka year was 1490. It is an instance of Śaka year 1491 starting after March 3, 1569.

The remaining three records (427-429) are much damaged, and the portion containing the astronomical details in them is lost. Some of the items given above are also damaged where only a few particulars of date are preserved. Amongst the better preserved instances items 3 and 13 above only give these details for which exact equivalents are available. In other cases, one or two particulars are defective. In view of this, we are not sure about the quality of giving the astronomical data in these records as compared with that of the epigraphs of the earlier reigns.

Land transactions, gifts, etc. :

415 registers a sale of five villages as *kāṇipparru kāṇi āṭci* to some one (name lost) by the Periyamaṭattu

mutaliyār, who was a member of the *tāṉattilavarkaḷ* (i.e., *tāṉattār*) of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, with the stipulation of paying certain quantity of paddy and certain amount of *poṉ* annually to the temple treasury. Inscription 416 also deals with a similar land transaction, the seller here being the entire *tāṉattilavarkaḷ*. Further, the *kāṇi āṭci* is stated to be of the first rate category (text line 3). 417 and 418, register ordinary transactions of this type. The epigraph 420 registers an ordinary sale by a *Mutaliyār* belonging to the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai maṭam of his *maṭappuṟam* land, to the temple treasury for the amount of 800 *poṉ*. 421 is a record which registers a sale of land of the *kāṇi ākṣi* type by the *tāṉattilavarkaḷ* to a certain person with the stipulation that he should meet the expenses connected with the floating festival instituted for the merit of Catācivatēva-makārāyar.

422 is an interesting record which relates to the *caṟuvamāṉiya* gift of the amount of 6 *poṉ* paid annually by the *kāṅkaḷ* who, along with the people of 56 countries, visited Nāruttampūṇṭippēṭṭai. This happened when a certain officer of Aḷiya Irāmappatēva-mārācayyaṉ was administering this area. The epigraph 414 registers a sale of land by the *tāṉattilavarkaḷ* to a Kammānāyakapāṭi to provide for the article with which to smear the body of the deity. The epigraph 423 registers an establishment of an alms house named Uṇṇāmulaiyammai-cattiram, but being much damaged, other details are lost. Epigraph 424 registers a royal order in favour of the *tēvaraṭiyār* of the west and east streets at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai instructing them not to provide certain services freely rendered all along to the officials (?), hereafter. 413 relates to the employment of three *kōṉ* families as *tiruviḷakkukuṭi*. The remission of levies obtained from the petty shopkeepers and others who came to sell their articles on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, as ordered during the time of Aruḷuntiyatēva paṇṭāram, forms the purport of 426, and this is stated to be for the merit of Cevvappa Nāyakkar ayyaṉ, evidently the Taṉjāvūr Nāyaka chief.

The epigraphs 425, 428 and 429 deal with the land transaction of the *kāṇipparṟu kāṇi āṭci* type. Of these 429 registers the sale of three villages to the minor chief Veṅkaṭarācaiyaṉ, the son of Irāmarāca Tirumalaiyatēva makārācaiyaṉ. The inscription 427 which is fragmentary and damaged, relates to the matter of arranging for worship and repair works in the (temple) of the god Vicuvanāta uṭaiya nayiṉār of a place of which the name is lost.

Noteworthy points from the epigraphs :

The Taṉjāvūr Nāyaka chief Cevappa Nāyakkar ayyaṉ figures in 426. Aḷiya Irāmappatēva mārācaiyaṉ, evidently Āraviṭi Rāmarāja, is mentioned in 422. Veṅkaṭarācayyaṉ, the son of Irāmarāca Tirumalaiyatēva makārāyaṉ figures in 429.

The communities of Kamma-nāyakka (414 and 418) and Kavari-nāyakka (421) are known from the epigraphs mentioned. From 420, we come to know that a *Mutaliyār* of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai maṭam sold a *maṭappuṟam* village to the temple for an amount of 800 *poṉ*. A floating festival was instituted for the merit of the emperor Catācivatēva-makārāyar, to provide for which lands were sold by the *tāṉattilavarkaḷ* to a certain individual, according to 421. The same body, according to 422, had said that the annual payment of 6 *poṉ* made by the *kāṅkaḷ* who visited Naruttāmpūṇṭi, was made a *caruvamāṉiyam*. They are said to be amongst those who hailed from the 56 countries.

A reference to an alms house named Uṇṇāmulaiyammai-cattiram is met with in 423, dated December 14, 1564. An interesting royal order pertaining to the exemption from providing several free services, given to the *tēvaraṭiyār* of two streets at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai is contained in 424, dated July 27, 1567. It is stated that these persons possessed this exemption during the times of the Cēras, Cōḷas and the Pāṇṭiyas and of the time of Vallāḷarāyar and his general Cōmayateṇāyakkar, and that they were forced to render the free services by Irāyapparacar.

A reference to the holding of a shandy twice a week and to a variety of items like grass, straw etc., that were sold there is found in 426. A temple of the god Vicuvanāta uṭaiya nayiṉār at a certain place (name lost) is referred to in 427.

The Āravīṭu family

Aḷiya Rāmarāja and Tirumala.

In our collection Tirumala's brother Aḷiya Rāmarāja is referred to in a single inscription (422) dated June 14, 1559 which refers itself to the reign of Catācivatēvamakārāya. In this record Rāmarāja is mentioned as Aḷiya Irāmappatēva-mārācayyaṉ in the characteristic Tamiḻ manner. Similarly Tirumala is mentioned as Irāmarāca Tirumalaitēva makārācaiyaṉ in an epigraph (429) of the time of Catācivatēva-makārāya. Obviously at the time of the issue of these records, these brothers were only "subordinates" to the emperor. Only one epigraph (430) referring itself to Tirumala as the *mahārāyar* possessing the imperial titles *Mahāmaṇṭalēśvara, Irācātirāca, Yirācaparamēśvaraṉ, Pūrva-tekṣaṇa-paccima-uttara-catu-samuttirātipati, Emmaṇṭalamumkoṇṭaruḷiya*, and *Vīrappiratāpaṉ*, is met with in our collection. It contains the astronomical details Śaka 1492, Piṟamōtūta, Makaraśu.10, Monday, Tiruvōṇam, which do not give a correct equivalent for the expired Śaka. If we consider that the Śaka year was current and the cyclic year was wrongly given, the details correspond only partially to January 16, 1570, because on that day the *nakṣatra* was Kārttikai upto .13 of the day followed by Rōhiṇī and not Tiruvōṇam. Since the people are generally familiar with the name of the cyclic year correctly, in their daily life, Pramōtūta may be correct and it is coupled with the correct Śaka year 1492. Only, there is defect in giving the other details. So, the tentative equivalent might be January 5, 1571, when the day was Friday and the *nakṣatra* was Kārttikai. On this assumption, we may say that Tirumala was ruling in January 1571. An interesting but damaged record (431) has been recently discovered at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai which without reference to any king, abruptly starts with the date particulars *viz.*, Śaka 1495, Śrīmuka, Vaikāci-ba. (. .) which roughly correspond to April-May, 1573. The omission of a reference to the king seems to indicate that the political situation then was unsettled. Probably Tirumala died about this time, and his action of putting his son Śrīraṅga I on the throne was not liked by the nobles. So, there ensued a contest between the parties who aspired to capture the throne, and therefore there was uncertainty as to who was the king. Hence the epigraph under reference coolly omitted mentioning any ruler.

However, since Tirumala seems to have ruled till A.D. 1573, this inscription may be considered along with his only epigraph mentioned above. After A.D. 1573, Tirumala was not heard of much. But according to R. Sewell, he lived upto March 8, 1578 and died only after this date.[296] He has based his view on an epigraph from the Mālūr area.[297]

The inscription of his time (430) is interesting in that it refers to his subordinate Tañjāvūr Nāyaka chief Cevvappa Nāyakkar ayyaṉ who is stated to have placed about seven villages at the disposal of his overlord Tirumalaitēva-mahārāyar, for the specific purpose of construction work in the temple.

The other inscription of A.D. 1573 (431) appears to register a gift for an endowment for (the god's) oblutions.

296 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 262.
297 *Ibid.*, quoting *E.C.*, X, Mr. 57; *M.A.R.*, 1927, No. 89.

Śrīraṅgatēva-makārāya I.

As has been stated above Tirumala put his eldest of the three surviving sons in charge of Penukoṇḍa and his youngest son Veṅkaṭa in charge of the Tamiḻ country. His capital was Candragiri. His middle son Rāma was the viceroy over the Kannaḍa province and he ruled it from Śrīraṅgapaṭṭanam. As regards the succession of Śrīraṅga I different views existed even earlier. But in all probability he ascended the throne in A.D. 1572, and that after April 24th and before July 9th of that year. For, Veṅkaṭa, his younger brother, the viceroy of the Tamiḻ country, on this date acknowledged Śrīraṅga I as his overlord.[298]

In respect of the Tamiḻ country, the Nāyaka chiefs of Ceñji, Tañjāvūr and Madurai were helpful to Śrīraṅga to some extent, although some Ceñji chiefs revolted against their overlords later on. Earliest of the Ceñji Nāyaka family was one Cūrappa Nāyaka, a contemporary of Aḷiya Rāmarāja. His successor Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka I (A.D. 1567-1578) was the contemporary of Tirumala and Śrīraṅga I, who was recognised by Kṛṣṇappa as his overlord, even in A.D. 1578.[299] Kṛṣṇappa's son was Koṇḍama Nāyaka who was a loyal feudatory of Śrīraṅga I as per an epigraph [300] of A.D. 1582, and this Nāyaka continued to be in this position even during the reign of Veṅkaṭa, the successor of Śrīraṅga I.[301] Subsequently strain developed in the relationship between a successor of Koṇḍama Nāyaka and Veṅkaṭa, the emperor, about which we shall see later.

The relationship of the Tañjāvūr Nāyaka chiefs with the Vijayanagara rulers of the 16th century was cordial. Two Nāyakas of this house, *viz.*, Cevvappa and his son Accutappa dominated the Cōḻa country, nay even the western Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam in this period. Indeed, these two chiefs appeared to have been specially devoted to the god of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, and their epigraphs found here reveal their magnificent contributions to the temple of the god. These two chiefs, father and son, were loyal feudatories of Catācivatēva-mahārāya, Rāmarāja and his brother Tirumala.[302] We have noted above an epigraph from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (430) in which the handing over of some villages to Tirumala by Cevvappa to meet the expenses connected with the temple work is the subject matter. The loyalty of these chiefs to Śrīraṅga and Veṅkaṭa was unquestioned as proved by several epigraphs.[303]

The case of the Madurai Nāyakas was also the same. May be sometimes, they delayed payment of tribute to the emperor which necessitated the latter to send a general with an army to threaten the defaulting Nāyaka and collect the tribute from him. May be in epigraphs of the Nāyakas during certain years, their overlords are not mentioned, out of inadvertence. But according to A. Krishnaswami, these are not sufficient reasons to think that these Nāyakas revolted against their Vijayanagara masters, for there are a number of epigraphs of the times from Madurai and Tirunelveli regions in which they acknowledge the supremacy of Śrīraṅga I and Veṅkaṭa.[304]

For our present study, we are not concerned with the Ceñji Nāyakas or the Madurai Nāyakas as neither of them seem to have played any role during the 16th and 17th centuries in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai region. Neither did they make any contribution to the temple with which we deal here. It is all the more stranger to know that the Ceñji chiefs who resided so near Tiruvaṇṇāmalai nor their subordinates, the Vellore Nāyakas had anything to do with the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple. The Tañjāvūr Nāyakas alone had done much to this temple, and perhaps their dominant position in this region prevented Nāyakas of other places including those of Ceñji from intruding upon it (see below).

In Tamiḻnāṭu Śrīraṅga I's epigraphs are found in the South Arcot district dated A.D. 1574 (*A.R.E.*, 355 of 1921), in the Chingleput district dated A.D. 1575 (*A.R.E.*, 383 of 1919), in the North Arcot district dated January 1576 (*A.R.E.*, 41 of 1887), in the Tirunelveli district in A.D. 1577 (*A.R.E.*, 16 of 1912), and so on. There are inscriptions of his at Kāñcīpuram dated in

298 *F.S.V.H.*, I, p. 301, quoting *A.R.E.*, 185 of 1922. Also see *H.I.S.I.*, p. 260, probably concurring with their views.
299 *T.C.U.V.*, pp. 275 ff., *A.R.E.*, 55 of 1936.
300 *A.R.E.*, 263 of 1916.
301 *A.R.E.*, 334 of 1913.
302 *T.C.U.V.*, pp. 292-93 with references to *A.R.E.*, 239 of 1927, 425 of 1929 and 380 of 1919.
303 See *T.C.U.V.*, pp. 292 ff.
304 For detailed information see *ibid.*, pp. 300 ff.

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A.D. 1578 (*A.R.E.*, 479 and 58 of 1919), and one dated October 1583 (*A.R.E.*, 586 of 1919). His inscriptions dated A.D. 1584 are known from Madras, Chingleput and South Arcot districts (*H.I.S.I.*, under A.D. 1584). One of the last epigraphs of Śrīraṅga I dated October 25, 1585 is from a place in South Arcot district (*A.R.E.*, 262 of 1916).

Three epigraphs belonging to this king's period are included in our collection (432, 434, 435). Another damaged epigraph (433) in Grantha and Sanskrit, which has not preserved either the name of the king or the date particulars may also be assigned to Śrīraṅga's time in view of the fact that it describes in detail (of course not clear) the activities of Accutappanāyaka, the Tañjāvūr chief who figures in 435 also. The first three inscriptions contain astronomical data. They are of poor quality, for two of them are defective in particulars while the third gives only two out of five or six details. The particulars and their approximate equivalents are given below.

1) 432 : Ś. 1496, Pāva, Vṛścika-śu.5, Aviṭṭam, Friday.	May be = November 11, 1574	Defective. The *tithi* was 6 and Aviṭṭam began only after.25 of the day.
2) 434 : Ś. 1498, Tātu, Kaṉṉi-ba.10, Cittirai, Friday.	May be = September 17, 1576.	Defective. The day was Monday and the *nakṣatra* was Pūcam.
3) 435 : Ś. 1507, Tāraṇa.	A.D. 1583-84	Incomplete.

These records serve as indexes to the prevailing unsatisfactory conditions of life of the people of the period. Of the four epigraphs, 432 which is incomplete registers the gift of money levied from certain number of looms and incomes from other taxes made jointly by temple treasurers Civanēca-paṇṭāram, and Āṉaiyappa-piḷḷai and the *tāṉattilavarkaḷ* to the *Mutalikaḷ* of Eḻu-pēṭṭai, etc., for the merit of Ayyaṉ Cevvappa Nāyakkar. Inscription 434 is badly damaged and so its purport cannot be made out. But it makes mention of Vāṇātarāya-paṇṭāram and Pañcanativāṇa . . nāyakkar. According to 435, several persons including Vāṇātarāya-paṇṭāram, Kiriyappaṉ, Virūpākṣi Ayyaṉ, *talattār*, etc., together resolved to exempt the articles like unguent, sandal, camphor, etc. brought to the temple from being taxed. The other epigraph (433) which is very badly damaged, seems to describe in Sanskrit verses, the works carried out in the temple by Accutappa Nāyaka.

The small number of epigraphs making mention of Śrīraṅga I and the comparatively less important matter dealt with by them go to prove that during this king's reign Tiruvaṇṇāmalai area was not looked after well by the administration although the Tañjāvūr Nāyaka chiefs, had rendered some noteworthy services to the temple in this period, about which we shall see more later when we examine the epigrahs of these Nāyakas.

Veṅkaṭapatitēva-mahārāya.[305]

The successor of Śrīraṅga I was his younger brother Veṅkaṭa, who was the viceroy of the Tamiḻ country. According to an epigraph from the Kurnool district (*A.R.E.*, 71 of 1915) dated February 9, 1586, he was ruling as king from Penukoṇḍa. The *Vīrappaya Kālaj-ñāna* states that his reign commenced on Māgha-śu.11 of the year Pārthiva corresponding to January 21, 1586. This may be taken as genuine. His elevation to the throne was not liked by some nobles, but considering his long experience in the state administration and age, the people in general accepted him as their emperor. On becoming king, he left Candragiri and went over to Penukoṇḍa. According to some he was king till A.D. 1614.[306] According to others,[307] he ruled till A.D. 1617-18. R. Sewell doubted this finding, stating that the Nellore epigraph registered in A.D. 1917-18, a grant which was made earlier by Veṅkaṭapati.[308] A newly

305 According to *F.S.V.H.*, I., p. 310, he is called Veṅkaṭa II, for the son of Accutatēvarāya, named Veṅkaṭa, who according to the same authority ruled for some time, was to be recognised as Veṅkaṭa I (*ibid.*, 238). But according to R. Sewell, this Tuḷuva prince was named Veṅkaṭādri and that he did not rule. He was not, therefore, recognised as Veṅkaṭa I for genealogical purposes, and hence the Āravīṭu Veṅkaṭa has been called Veṅkaṭa I (*H.I.S.I.*, pp. 264, 402). A. Krishnaswami, by calling this Veṅkaṭa, as Veṅkaṭa I, seems to have followed Sewell

306 *F.S.V.H.*, I, p. 326.

307 *Top. List.*, II, Nellore 263; B and V-c., I, 454.

308 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 272.

discovered epigraph from the Kumarakōyil (442) in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai is of this king and gives him all imperial titles. It is dated Śaka 1540 (for 1541), Siddhārthi, Cittirai 10, corresponding probably to April 7, 1619. This is proof enough to show that he was recognised as king by the people of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in April 1619. His period was more than twice the duration of the rule of Śrīraṅga I. The long period of stay on the saddle coupled with the intimate knowledge of the statecraft and vigorous approach to state problems, enabled Veṅkaṭapati I to achieve many things, of which the most important was the restoration of the imperial authority and rehabilitation of the ruined economy of the country.

After becoming king, the first act in which Veṅkaṭapati I, was engaged in seems to have been the recovery of the territories of the empire lost to the Muhammadans during Śrīraṅga I's rule.

In the Tamiḻ country, the Tañjāvūr Nāyakas continued to be friendly with Veṅkaṭapati I. In fact Accutappa Nāyaka's son, Raghunātha Nāyaka's services were requisitioned by the emperor for fighting the Muhammadans at Penukoṇḍa, and that this Nāyaka prince distinguished himself in the battle. The Ceñji Nāyaka seems to have fallen out with Veṅkaṭapati I, in connection with the support he gave to Liṅgama Nāyaka of Vellore who defied the authority of the emperor, when the latter bestowed upon Yācama Nāyuḍu, the son of Velugōṭi Kasturi Raṅgappa, Perumbēḍusīma, which formed part of Liṅgama's territory. Angered at this, Liṅgama sought and obtained help from several chiefs and Nāyakas and sent a big army to Uttaramallūr to take back his territory. Yācama Nāyuḍu, Veṅkaṭapati's lieutenant, though helped by a compartively smaller force, was able to rout Liṅgama's army and gained a resounding victory. This success of Veṅkaṭapati caused alarm to several Nāyakas of the Tamiḻ country who, therefore, opposed his authority. But he sent a force under the command of Māṭli Aṇanta to subdue the chiefs. Ananta and his assistants succeeded in this campaign, and most of the rebel chiefs submitted to the royal forces. But Liṅgama alone offered some resistance by shutting himself within the Vellore fort. But he was also captured by the royal army and ultimately the fort was taken, where Veṅkaṭapati I shifted the seat of his government.

For Veṅkaṭapati I's activities in Tamiḻnāṭu, the following epigraphs may be cited. One of them is from Kāñcīpuram dated A.D. 1587 (*A.R.E.*, 531 of 1919); some more dated A.D. 1588 are from North Arcot, Ramnad, Kāñcīpuram, Erode and South Arcot (see *H.I.S.I.*, under A.D. 1588); and so on. One of the latest epigraphs of his is from the North Arcot district dated A.D. 1616-17 (*A.R.E.*, 112 of 1921). About its veracity R. Sewell had expressed some doubt. He says : "It seems to require examination, as it would entirely contradict the story told by Barradas."[309] But the epigraph of this king dated A.D April 1619 (442) found at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai shows that he ruled till this year. It is interesting to note that this king was closely associated with Tamiḻnāṭu as revealed by the large number of his inscriptions met with here. This is also corroborated by the existence of seven epigraphs of his in our collection, with two more very badly damaged items which may be considered to belong to his time. Of these epigraphs only one (438) was copied previously by the Epigraphy office, the rest having been discovered by us recently (436, 437, 439-444). The astronomical data contained in seven of them are given below with their equivalents in the Christian era. It will be seen that nearly all of them suffer from one defect or the other. This feature of the epigraphs may be said to indicate that the people of the times, at least in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai region, were enjoying a haphazard life, and not a well-ordered one.

1) 436 : Ś. . . . . , ... , ... -ba.12, Rōhiṇī, Thursday.	May be = June 22, 1587, if the Śaka year was 1509, the cyclic year was Sarvajit and the month Mithuna.	Damaged. One out of six equivalents [310] is chosen.

309 *H.I.S.I.*, p. 272.

310 The other five equivalents are 1) June 18, 1590; 2) June 30, 1597; 3) June 14, 1604; 4) June 27, 1611; and 5) June 23, 1614. It is interesting to note that the preserved date particulars agree with equivalents only in the month of Mithuna of the several years mentioned above. It is, therefore, clear that the transaction recorded in the epigraph took place in that month. We have chosen A.D. 1587, for the reason that during this time Accutappa Nāyaka of Tañjāvūr who figures in the epigraph was prominent.

2) 437 : Ś. 1511, Virōti, Taṉicu-śu.15, Pūcām.	May be = December 11, 1589.	Defective. *Nakṣatra* was Mṛgaśirā, not Pūcam.
3) 439 : Ś. 1512 (for 1511) Virōti, Tanu-śu.3, Pūcam, Wednesday.	Some day in December 1589.	Irregular.
4) 438 : Ś. 1512, Vikuruti, Āṭi 8, śu.15, Uttirāṭam,Tuesday.	July 7, 1590.	Exactly agreeing
5) 440 : Ś. 1513 (for 1512), Vikuruti,Viruccika-śu. (. .), Pūcam, Friday.	Irregular May be = Some day in November 1590.	Very much defective.
6) 441 : Ś. 1516 (for 1517), Manmata, Ciṅka-śu.15, Thursday, ...	Irregular May be = August 9, 1595.	Defective. The day was Saturday, and the *nakṣatra* Dhaniṣṭhā.
7) 442 : Ś. 1540 (for 1541), Siddhārti, Citti-	May be = Wednesday, April 7, 1619.	Defective. The Śaka year was 1541. Particulars like *tithi, vāra* and *nakṣatra* are not given.
	rai 10.	

Gifts of land etc. :

Only two of the nine epigraphs register a gift of villages and money to provide for the expenses connected with the worship and offerings to the god and the goddess and certain festivals in the temple. One of them is 440, dated A.D. 1590, and this endowment was made by Vēṭṭavalam Tāṇṭava Vāṇātarāyar in the presence of the eighteen administrators. The other epigraph is 439 which registers a gift of lands and money for a similar purpose made by the group of persons belonging to fifty-six countries. They did it on the advice of one Veṅkaṭa tīkṣitar. The record is dated A.D. 1590.

Other interesting matters :

According to 436 Accutappa Nāyakkar Ayyaṉ, evidently of the Tañjāvūr Nāyaka family, had built a *maṇṭapa* on the north street, for keeping the processional images of the deities on certain occasions. At this time, he was to receive a silken cloth as a privilege. But as per this record, in place of Accutappa Nāyaka, Viruppāṣayyaṉ, the temple manager, was made to receive the cloth, probably on behalf of the chief. The order seems to have been issued by the king himself.

The epigraph 437 registers restoration as *caruvamāniya* gift of some privileges and other incomes that were formerly taken away by a certain officer, from the temple maid servants.

The order that certain persons should pay certain amounts annually, probably to the temple, issued during the period of administration of the area by Accutappa Nāyaka is contained in the inscription 438 dated July 7, 1590.

From epigraph 440 we get information about the festivals like Āvaṇi-Mūlat-tirunāḷ, the Periya-tirunāḷ held in the month of Mārkaḻi and the Paṅkuṉiyuttiram festival which lasted for eighteen days. Of these festivals Mūlat-tirunāḷ (i.e., Āvaṇi-Mūlat-tirunāḷ) was perhaps conducted on the orders of Cevvappa Nāyaka.

Conclusion.

Veṅkaṭapati I is the last Vijayanagara emperor whose epigraphs are found in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and our collection does not contain records referring to Śrīraṅga II, Veṅkaṭa II and Śrīraṅga III whose death in A.D. 1672 marks the end of the rule of the Vijayanagara kings in the Tamiḻ country.

In fact very few epigraphs of little worth have

been found at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai belonging to periods later than A.D. 1619.

The reason for this was that on account of Veṅkaṭapati I's wrong policy of installing his nephew Śrīraṅga II against the prince's wish and against the wishes of some prominent nobles of the state, a civil war broke out in the country. It was aggravated by the incapable manner of handling the affair by Śrīraṅga II as well as by the strength of his opponents of whom one Jaggarāya was the leader. This person saw to it that Śrīraṅga II and his family were done away with. But the latter's loyal supporter Yācama Nāyaka and his associates helped Śrīraṅga II's son Rāmadēva the last surviving member of the royal family to ascend the throne. This should have taken place sometime in A.D. 1619 and he seems to have ruled till A.D. 1630. During the time of Rāmadēvarāyar's rule also the civil war in Tamiḻ country continued. In this war this king was helped by the Tañjāvūr Nāyakas only, those of Gingee and Madurai being against Rāmādēva. Owing to the weakness of Rāmadēva, even the Tañjāvūr Nāyakas lost interest in him with the result that the empire became emasculated. This paved the way for the conquest of the Tamiḻ country by the Gōlkoṇḍa forces during the reigns of Veṅkaṭa II (A.D. 1630-42) and Śrīraṅga III (A.D. 1642-72).[311] No wonder when these rulers were fighting for their survival they hardly had time and resources to bestow upon the progress of the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai or upon the development of the region around it.

Though the last phase of the rule of the Vijayanagara emperors in Tamiḻnāṭu witnessed troubles and turmoils, their rule from about A.D. 1360 to about the end of the 16th century provided the people of this country with a peaceful existence and a stable and efficient government which helped greatly the sustained growth of refined activities amongst the people. The rulers took special care to preserve and promote the ancient Hindu culture, tradition, learning and religion by removing the impediments if any in the process of their doing this. "According to a literary passage the objectives of the rulers of Vijayanagara were the protection of the gods and religious faiths of the people and the advancement of their material, moral and cultural welfare."[312] Their title *arirāyavibhāṭa* (destroyer of opponent kings) probably indicates their determination to root out those alien kings who were opposed to Hindu culture and traditions. "The title *Hindu-rāya-suratrāṇa* (overlord of the Hindu kings) implies their mission of fostering the Hindu political ideals and institutions."[313] The records of the time of Bukka I and his son Harihara contain the epithets like *Vaidika-mārga-pravartaka* (promoter of the *Vedic* ideals).

In administering the country on the above lines, the rulers took personal interest and though their seat of government was at Vijayanagara (Hampi), far away from the Tamiḻ country, they used to visit this country frequently although it was placed in charge of their trusted, capable and valient sons and close relatives, who were also imbued with the same spirit of promoting the all round welfare of their subjects as their sovereigns. The innumerable inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings discovered all over the Tamiḻ country amply bear out the above observations. That Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple and the area around the place received the Vijayanagara rulers' special attention is proved by the large number of their epigraphs found here.

The people in those times depended mainly on agricultural activities. The Vijayanagara inscriptions reveal that these activities reached a high level which was never before reached. Not only the villages already in existence were developed to the maximum so as to provide enough means for the promotion of religious and cultural activities as recorded in 332 but quite a number of fallow lands were brought under cultivation as recorded in such epigraphs as 328. Naturally this increased the prosperity of the place, and as most of the land transactions were intended to bring in revenue to the temple, this institution throve very well.

There was promotion of *Vēdic* learning during this period is attested by epigraphs like 332 and 342, according to which lands were gifted as *śrāddhavṛtti* to some Brāhmaṇas for reciting the *Vēdas* everyday in front of the god during the service called Rāyavibhāṭan-canti instituted in the temple by Jammaṇa uṭaiyār, the son of Kampaṇa II in connection with the ceremony after the latter's demise. Other activities like dancing, music,

311 *T.C.U.V.*, pp. 336-37.
312 P.B.Desai, etc., *op.cit.*, p.330.
313 *Ibid.*

flower-garland making, jewellery making and putting up of new structures in the temple were patronised by the rulers and their subordinates. Of these, temple building activity reached its zenith in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. The credit of making the temple a magnificent complex goes to him, for, the grandeur that the temple now possesses is entiraly due to his building the eleven storeyed eastern-most *gōpura*, called the Rāya-gōpura as per his epigraph 388, dated January 5, 1517. This epigraph also shows that this king built the 1000-pillared *maṇḍapa* adjacent to the *gōpura*, a tank for the floating festival and dug out a tank outside the town to store water to supply the tank inside the temple. The number of other costly gifts Kṛṣṇadēvarāya made to the temple seem to indicate that the king out of his extreme devotion to the god, spent a vast amount of his wealth on the development and embellishment of the temple and the promotion of rites and rituals connected with it. As per the saying *yathā rājā tathā prajāḥ* (as the king acts, the people follow suit), the people of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai region should have been impressed not a little by this emperor's pious deeds and they should have also contributed their mite to assist him. That the movement started by this king continued unabated is known from a number of epigraphs datable to about A.D. 1570-1580 of the time of the Tañjāvūr Nāyakas, Cevvappa and Accutappa, engraved on the walls of the Rāya-gōpūra. They are in praise of the god and the *gōpura*. In fact, according to these the final finishing of the *gōpura* or its renovation seems to have been done in about A.D. 1570 and it was consecrated on November 19, 1572 as per 446. Thus the Vijayanagara rule contributed much to the development of the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and the area around it. Indeed it was a memorable period for the temple in particular.

Fragmentary epigraphs of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries.

Several stone fragments with inscriptions on them are seen fixed at various places in the temple. They formed part of full records engraved continuously on stone slabs which went into the original constructions of earlier periods, but which were dismantled during renovations or reconstructions done in the temple during later periods. The beginnings or ends of many of these fragmentary epigraphs are not preserved. So, it is not possible to assign them to any definite date or dynasty. However, on the basis of their palaeographical features they are tentatively assigned to the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries A.D. Some of them are seen to contain certain pieces of useful information and they are noted below for comparison with similar details met with in some of the full and complete inscriptions of the respective period.

Epigraphs of the 14th century :

Fifteen fragmentary epigraphs are identified as belonging to this century (310-324).

310 refers to a *māṭāpattiyam*, and also probably to the deity Dakṣiṇāmūrti. The inscription 311 was obviously a record registering a gift, made by a person after paying obeisance to the god and goddess, for the purpose of the god's oblutions and food offerings. The details of the gift are lost.

312 refers to a gift of a village probably to provide for the god Cokkanayināṟ. It also refers to a garden where trees like jack trees were grown.

In 314, there is a reference to the street named Vikkirapāṇṭiyaṉ. Vikkirapaṇṭiyaṉ is a mistake for Vikkiramapāṇṭiyaṉ and a number of milestones of this Pāṇṭiya king bearing his name are known and included in our collection.

Several names ending in *māṇikkam*, evidently the names of the *tēvaraṭiyār* of the temple are mentioned in 317. One of the names preserved in full is Campantamāṇikkam.

The 321 makes mention of the early morning service *kālacanti* (performed in the temple) which is one of the six services done in a temple.

The epigraph 324 registers a gift of a village named Nallāṇpiḷḷaiperṟāḷ (woman who gave birth to a good son) to defray the expenses connected with the worship on the day of Makara as well as the expenses for the temple work of the deity Piramīśvaramuṭaiya nayiṉār who was caused to be consecrated by Nallāṇpiḷḷaiperṟāḷ Ā. . . ṉār. Besides, a gift of village is also recorded in it, to provide for the worship of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyiṉār and for the worship of Kōpuram Iḷaiya nayiṉār. Another significant point mentioned here is that a *Pariyuṣitar* (early morning) worship was held

for the god Aṇṇāmalaiyār for which provision was made. A deity named Akkanayiṉār is referred to in this epigraph who is stated to have possessed flower gardens.

Epigraphs of the 15th and 16th centuries :

The epigraph 365 registers an order for doing oblution and offerings to the god Aṇṇāmalaiyār and Uṇṇāmulaiyammai. 366 relates to the sale of Cēntamaṅkalam or Cēntavamaṅkalam to a certain person or persons (details lost) with the stipulation that annually certain fixed quantities of paddy, pulse and oil as well as some amount of *poṉ* in cash should be given to the temple treasury. 367 contains names like Pūmāṇṭai Poṉparappiṉa māṇikkam, which were usually borne by *tēvaraṭiyārs* of those times. The single-line epigraph 368 reads *Aṇṇāmalaic civakati cērvai*, meaning that a person made obeisance in order to know the path leading to Civa at Aṇṇāmalai.

Fifteen inscriptions without mentioning the names of kings but containing the date particulars without the Śaka year have been copied from the Puravi-maṇṭapa of the temple. On the south entrance of the same *maṇṭapa*, there is an inscription of the Vijayanagara king Mallikāccunamakārāyar (335) of the date December 30, 1451. It is clear that this *maṇṭapa* must have come into existence only during the reign of this king. the epigraphs which we have referred to above, were in all probability engraved subsequent to A.D. 1451 to which Mallikāccuna's record belongs. The cyclic years that are mentioned in some of them are therefore taken as those coming after Piṟacāpati. Accordingly approximate equivalents are given for the available astronomical details of the epigraphs concerned. All of them are records registering the employment of some persons as *tiruvilakkukkuṭi* for the temple who were entrusted with the care of the sheep or cattle endowed for purpose of lamps donated by devotees, and to supply ghee for burning the lamps. These epigraphs are as follows : 463 (June 1465), 464 (june 16, 1467), 465 (May 1, 1471 or January 31, 1472 if the month was Vaikāci or Māci), 468 (January 6, 1496), 469 (February, March 1500), 471 (July 4, 1503), and 472, 474, 475, 477-480, 482, 484.

Points of interest known from these epigraphs :

In 464, mention is made of Amarakaḷ-nayiṉār. In 468 and in 478 some members of the *kōṉ* community are stated to belong to *añcūrvakai*, meaning that they originally belonged to a group hailing from five villages. References to Piṟatāṉi Tirumalai Nāyaka and his agent Malla(ya) Nāyaka are found in 472. Amarakaḷ-nayiṉār met with in 464, is mentioned again in 474.

Some of the other items contain a piece or two of information which is interesting to note. For instance 485 registers an assignment of land for his life, a wage and an allotment daily of a quantity of offering made to the deity to one Caṇṭēcura Tipayarāca for his *keṭṭiyam* service in the temple. 486 is interesting in that it is a perpetual obeisance of one Meypōkarāyaṉ who is said to be the son of one Aṇṇāmalai Appar a donor to (the temple of) the god Aṇṇāmalai Īśvara. Another very interesting record is 487. It informs us that there were fifty-two *aṭaippus* meaning probably as many *tēvaraṭiyārs* who rendered services in the temple, and that according to this inscription one more *aṭaippu* was also introduced. This *aṭaippu* was conferred on Mutti, the daughter of Karuṇai Māṇikkam Nallai. At the time of conferment of the *aṭaippu*, she was given the name of Aruṇācala Māṇikkam. She was also permitted to receive the temple *pracātam* consisting of three *nāḻi* (of rice ?) and one *tōcai* (a kind of eatable prepared out of rice and black gram) daily.

488 registers an order made by some one (not preserved), in the presence of Tiruvampalapaṇṭāram Kāḷappa mutaliyār's 18 administrative officials and servant-maids.

Inscription 481 which is found in the Cidambarēśvara temple on the Tiruvūṭal street contains astronomical details like Viya after Pārthiva, Vaiykāci 20th without mentioning the Śaka year, which might correspond to May 16, 1466 as well as to May 17, 1526. However, on grounds of palaeography the latter date is preferred here. It registers a gift of lands in Aṇṇā-nāṭu, Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu and Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu, probably for the construction of the temple mentioned above.

The Tañjāvūr Nāyakas

In the latter half of the 16th century, the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was patronised not only by the Vijayanagara emperors like Accutatēva-mahārāya and Catācivatēva-mahārāya but also by their subordinates Cinna-Cevvappa Nāyaka and his son Accutappa Nāyaka.[314] Cinna-Cevvappa was the son of Timmappa Nāyaka (referred to in *A.R.E.*, 419 of 1929) who held the post of *vācal* or door-keeper under Kṛṣṇadēvarāyar in A.D. 1519 and was an *amaranāyaka* of a part of the territory of the modern North Arcot district. According to some inscriptions he served his master in the Raichur campaign. Further Cevvappa was a *Daḷavāy* under the same emperor (*A.R.E.*, 145 of 1924). This close connection of Cevvappa with Kṛṣṇadēvarāya endeared him to Accutatēva-mahārāya, the successor of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya to the Vijayanagara throne, and he was made the *Aḍaippam* to himself by Accutatēva-mahārāya. His loyalty and capacity seem to have earned for Cevvappa a further closer relationship with his emperor Accutatēva by the former marrying the latter's queen's sister Mūrtimāmbā. According to two Telugu works the *Tañjāvūri Āndhrarājulu caritam* and the *Tañjāvūri vāri caritam*, Cevvappa obtained Tañjāvūr Nāyakship as *strīdhana* for his wife from the emperor, but according to the *Sāhitya-ratnākara*, he got it by his own valour. The Tañjāvūr Nāyakship came into existence only in A.D. 1532, by bifurcating the region around Tañjāvūr which till then was included in the Pāṇḍya country. Accutatēva-mahārāya appointed Cevvappa as the viceroy over this Nāyakship. His family continued to rule over this territory for long, and was called the Nāyakas of Tañjāvūr. Throughout, the members of this family were loyal to their suzerains. In fact Cevvappa's loyalty to his master was demonstrated by his naming his son Accutappa, after the emperor. The Vijayanagara supremacy over the Tañjāvūr Nāyakship was always accepted by this Nāyaka family and it is corroborated by the existence of a number of epigraphs of the emperors in the Cōḻa country. Besides, the inscriptions of Cevvappa invariably recognised the suzerainty of his masters, Accuta and Catāciva. Cevvappa and his son Accutappa ruled as Nāyakas from A.D. 1532 to A.D. 1600. When Cevvappa was ruling he extended "his help to Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala in his campaign against Travancore and against the Paravas of the fishery coast." There exist a number of inscriptions in the Cōḻa country dating prior to A.D. 1565, the date of the battle of Rākṣasa Taṅgaḍi referring to the allegiance owed by the Nāyaka chiefs to the emperors of Vijayanagara. This shows that Cevvappa and his son Accutappa should have rendered help to Rāmarāja during his fights with the Muhammadan enemies from the Deccan, especially at the battle of Rākṣasa Taṅgaḍi although the contemporary chronicles and epigraphs do not attest to this.

Even after the battle of A.D. 1565, the Tañjāvūr Nāyakas were loyal to Catācivatēva-mahārāya and his regent Tirumalarāya. Cevvappa was the chief from A.D. 1541 to A.D. 1560, and seems to have abdicated the throne in that year in favour of his son although he continued to live till A.D. 1580. During the period after A.D. 1560 Cevvappa Nāyaka seems to have devoted a lot of his time in rendering service to the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. His son Accutappa Nāyaka too assisted his father in this pious work. A number of inscriptions of these two Nāyakas are found on the walls of the Rāya-

314 For a detailed history of these chiefs see V. Vriddhagirisan's *The Nayaks of Tanjore*. The brief account given here is based on A. Krishnaswamy's *Tamil Country Under Vijayanagara*, pp. 256 ff.

gōpura. They are mostly in Sanskrit language and in Grantha or Telugu script. An equal number of Tamil epigraphs mentioning these Nāyakas but belonging to their suzerains' reign-period are also met with.

Cevvappa Nāyaka

The earliest epigraph of our collection to refer to Cevvappa is 426, dated March 7, 1569 of the reign-period of Catācivatēva-makārāyar. This registers a certain grant by an official for the religious merit of Cevvappa Nāyaka. The next epigraph which refers to him is 430. Its astronomical data are irregular, although the record may be assigned roughly to January 1570. This inscription is very important in that it records the handing over of some villages by Cevvappa Nāyaka to his emperor Tirumalaitēva-mahārāyar, for the specific purpose of temple construction work. We shall see presently about Cevvappa Nāyaka's own efforts in building or renovating with embellishments, of the Rāya-gōpura. He seems to be referred to again in 431 which is, however, badly damaged, though from what is preserved of its date particulars it appears to belong to A.D. 1573. He figures in 432 of which the astronomical data do not yield a correct equivalent although they may be said to correspond roughly to a date in December 1574, which is about two years later than the record mentioned above. It belongs to the Cīraṅkatēva-makārāyar. The epigraph in question, registers an order for gifting a levy on looms and a certain number of looms by Civanēcapaṇṭāram and others to some people, for the religious merit of Cevvappa Nāyaka. To the same emperor's reign belongs 434 of which the date particulars are irregular, although they may be equated to a day in September 1576. The Nāyaka chief Cevvappa figures here, but due to the damaged condition of the epigraph the details of the transaction recorded are lost. At this juncture it is necessary to examine the epigraphs engraved in the name of Cevvappa Nāyaka himself without any reference to his overlord. The most important and interesting of them is 445, which is dated Śaka 1494, Āvaṇi month which corresponds to July-August, 1572. This inscription in Sanskrit and Tamiḻ records the building of the Rāya *gōpura* in this year, by Śivanēśa and Lōkanātha, the elder and the younger brothers, under the orders of Cevvappa-nṛpa. This matter is first stated in Sanskrit by Śakti-maṅgalam Śrīnivāsa-dīkṣitar (lines 1-16). The same matter is stated again in Tamiḻ by Ellappa nayiṉār who has added the particulars that the *gōpura* was eleven-storied (lines 17-23). Kaliṅkarāyar Uṇṇāmulai nayiṉār Ellapar and Kalmaṭattu Mutaliyār have also said in Tamiḻ about the building of the *gōpura* by Cevvappa (line 24-28). Then follow in lines 29 to 38, some passages in Sanskrit in praise of the same *gōpura*.

The inscription 446, though without the Śaka year, seems in all probability to belong to the same Śaka year 1494 of 445 discussed above, in which case the astronomical data contained here *viz.*, Āṁgīrasa, Kṛttikā-śu.15 Wednesday, Rōhiṇī would yield November 19, 1572 as their equivalent. It is interesting to note that this was the day when the Kārttikai-dīpa festival fell in that year. According to the epigraph on this day golden pots were placed on the *gōpura* built in front of the god Śōṇadharaṇīdhara-nāyaka by Lōkanātha, probably on the orders of Cevvappa.

The words *trayōdaśa tala* occurring in line 5 do not seem to be correct; perhaps they are *trayōdaśa kalaśa* which means, the golden pots placed on the *gōpura* were thirteen in number. The text of the inscription which is in Sanskrit is said to have been composed by Śōṇādrinātha-guru described as a mine of good qualities (*saguṇākara*) and as immersed in the ocean of Śaivāgama. The fact that the *gōpura* was constructed by Civanēcan, Ulakanātaṉ, Āṉantakkūttaṉ and Ampalattāṭiyapuṇṇiyaṉ is mentioned in 447. While according to 445 only the first two persons were responsible for the building of the *gōpura*, it is noteworthy that as per the epigraph in question, two more persons assisted the former in this work.

The south and north walls of the Rāya-gōpura contain a number of inscriptions some of them in Tamiḻ, and others in Sanskrit. Some of the Sanskrit epigraphs are in the Telugu script and others are in the Nāgarī script. Some inscriptions in the Nāgarī script contain texts in Marāṭhī language. In some of them the names of the Nāyaka chiefs mentioned above occur. So, it is reasonable to presume that they were engraved in their time. The engraving of the records has been done in a shallow manner and the surface on which it is done is rough. So, in each of them many letters have not been preserved well. Owing to their damaged condition, the estampages of these epigraphs have not come out clearly. As a consequence it has not been possible to read

them correctly and interpret them properly.[315] Whatever could be read of these ill-preserved records has, therefore, been given, and the interpretations or translations of them attempted here are tentative. It appears that the set of epigraphs in Telugu script engraved continuously in various bays of the wall as also the set of writings in Grantha script engraved similarly, form each part of a whole record which is in praise of the glory and grandeur of the *gōpura* and also in praise of Cevvappa Nāyaka, who was responsible for its building as stated above. We are able to know from the preserved parts of the texts that they are in a good *kāvya* style employing a number of metres and possessing beautiful imageries. If we can retreive them fully, we may possibly be able to know who the composer or composers of them were.

One of the epigraphs copied from the south wall is 448, and it contains the Śaka year 150(2) only without other date particulars. This year may be equated to A.D. 1580. The record which is in Sanskrit and which is damaged in parts states that it was composed by one Gōvinda-sūri who was a constant companion of Cevvappa-bhūpa. It is known that Cevvappa Nāyaka and his son Accutappa Nāyaka had as their chief minister Gōvinda-dīkṣita, a Telugu Brāhmaṇa, who was celebrated for his vast learning, wise statesmanship and extraordinary ability in administration. This minister was also interested in architecture and other fine arts and he is credited with the building of *tāntric* oriented structures like the Mahāmagham tank at Kumbhakōṇam. It is possible that he was instrumental in the building or renovation of the Rāya-gōpura in the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. If this is so, then Gōvinda-sūri of the epigraph mentioned above was identical with Gōvinda-dīkṣita, the well-known minister of these two Nāyaka chiefs. Since he was learned in many *Śāstras* and an author of Sanskrit works it may not be unreasonable to suppose that he was mainly responsible for the composition of the texts of the Sanskrit inscriptions referred to above. Being a Telugu himself, he may have arranged for writing the texts of some epigraphs in Telugu and causing them to be engraved in the Telugu script on the walls. The epigraph in question which specifically mentions that Gōvindasūri was a constant companion of Cevvappa-bhūpa, it is probable that the latter was alive in A.D. 1580 in which year the epigraph is dated.

The incompletely deciphered epigraphs found on the south wall are 449-455 and similar epigraphs found on the north wall are 456-460. As stated above, all of these speak highly of the Rāya *gōpura* and its builder Cevvappa-nṛpa. Here it is necessary to examine the question as to what exactly is meant by the references in these records to Cevvappa Nāyaka building the *gōpura*. For, the records of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya dated A.D. 1517, of our collection, state unequivocally that he caused the building of the 1000-pillared *maṇḍapa* and also the eleven-storied *gōpura*. Can this categorical statement by an emperor repeated thrice in the same place, be brushed aside and consider that Cevvappa Nāyaka constructed the *gōpura* in A.D. 1572 as true to fact ? It is common knowledge that enormous resources are required for building the *gōpura* of such dimensions and its associated structures like the walls and the other three *gōpuras*. Such resources can be spared only by an emperor of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's stature and not by any lesser man. According to us the statements contained in the epigraphs of both the emperor and the Nāyaka appear to be true in parts. In all probability, the construction of the *gōpura* which was started in about A.D. 1517 in the time of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was not completed for years, because of its stupendous dimensions. The successors of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya were not able to continue the work steadily due to political reasons which left little room to spare resources necessary for this charitable purpose. Then there was the battle of Rākṣasa Taṅgaḍi of 1565 which caused great catastrophe to the empire. It appears that some years after this when Tirumalaitēva-mahārāya became the emperor, the idea of completing the construction of the *gōpura* was mooted. In all probability this was done by Cevvappa Nāyaka who was then the ruler in this area and who was an ardent devotee of the god of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. The idea was accepted by the king, but to defray the expenses connected with this immense work a large amount of money was required. Cevvappa Nāyaka himself seems to have offered to bear the entire cost of

315 The Epigraphy Office seems to have left them without copying on account of this difficulty, after having copied those epigraphs which are preserved better. It seems to us that many of the inscriptions can be read fully if enough time could be spent in scanning them letter by letter.

completing the work, and so he handed over some villages of his situated nearby Tiruvaṇṇāmalai to his emperor, the earnings of which were earmarked for the specific and sole purpose of the temple work. This is what seems to be intended by the epigraph 430 already dealt with above. This was issued in A.D. 1570. Two years later in July-August, 1572 (445) the *gōpura* was completed in all respects and in November of the same year the final consecration was done by placing the golden pots on the top of the *gōpura* on the Kārttikaḍīpōtsava day at the auspicious kumbha-lagna (446) which was current between 10.30 A.M. and 12.30 P.M. on that day. The work of completion of the structure also involved its embellishments like stucco decorations and mural paintings before its consecration. They are probably of a glorious nature which coupled with the deep piety associated with the whole endeavour naturally evoked great admiration from the people. The chief Cevvappa Nāyaka was elated over his achievement which was truly remarkable. His sincerity of purpose and the nature of his achievement seem to have inspired his court poets to compose the beautiful texts of Sanskrit inscriptions which were duly put on the walls of this edifice for posterity to understand and appreciate the significance of this magnificent work.

Accutappa Nāyaka

This Nāyaka was a true follower of his father and like him was loyal and devoted to his emperors Cīraṅkatēva-mahārāyar and Veṅkiṭapatitēva-mahārāyar. The earliest epigraph of our collection to refer to this Nāyaka is 435, dated A.D. 1584-85 belonging to the rule of Cīraṅkatēva-mahārāyar. Probably Accutappa Nāyaka began to show active interest in the affairs of the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai only from this year. The epigraph in question registers remission of levies on a number of articles brought into the temple. This is stated to have been ordered for the religious merit of the Nāyaka by certain persons including Vāṇātarāya-paṇṭāram who figures in 434, dated A.D. 1576 of Cevvappa Nāyaka's time. The other inscriptions containing references to this Nāyaka are (1) 436 with irregular date particulars but assignable to June 1587, (2) 433 which is badly damaged, (3) 437 also with defective date particulars but assignable to December 1589 and belonging to the time of Veṅkiṭapatitēva-mahārāyar, and (4) 438 with astronomical data exactly agreeing with July 7, 1590.

Salient points gleaned from the epigraphs referring to him :

According to 435 people who were bringing such articles as unguent, sandal, camphor, musk, rose-water, saffron, country benzoine, silk-thread, and also elephant and horse were exempted from payment of levy from the date of this record (A.D. 1584-85). Evidently, earlier, some tax was levied on these articles and it was discontinued from this date. The reason for this remission appears to be that all the listed articles were used in the worship of the deities in the temple. The remission was announced by a group of persons whose names are given. The epigraph 436 dated A.D. 1587 furnishes not only the information that the Nāyaka chief had caused a *maṇṭapa* to be built on the north street for keeping the god but also the information that he authorised his agent Viruppāṣayyaṉ to receive the privileges of the silken cloth which should be offered to the Nāyaka on that occasion. 437 dated A.D. 1587 is interesting in that although full particulars are not available due to its damaged condition, it states that certain facilities which were probably denied by a former officer to the women employed in temple work, were restored to them permanently on the orders of Accutappa Nāyaka. According to 438, dated A.D. 1590 when Accutappa Nāyaka was administering the town of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, his agent Vāṇātarāya-paṇṭāram and some one whose name is lost, ordered the payment of certain amount of *paṇam* annually as *makamai* by the *maṉṟāṭiyaḷ* (shepherds) of the East street. Vāṇātarāya-paṇṭāram of this record also figured in some earlier records of this Nāyaka and in a record of Cevvappa Nāyaka. It is, therefore, evident that he was an important assistant under both these Nāyakas.

Appendix I

Imprecatory passages in the inscriptions

It is customary in India to bless good deeds and a person doing them and to curse bad deeds and persons engaged in them. Good deeds include the chanting of a prayer to God and reciting a scriptural text as well as acts of charity for the benefit of institutions and individuals. The people doing such acts are blessed wholeheartedly and nice things are vouchsafed for them in this life as well as in the life after death.[316] The pious donors of lands, cash and other things to the temples, *maṭhas* and learned men are extolled for their philanthropy while those who covet other's property, especially the property gifted to one by others, and otherwise harm such gifts are unequivocally condemned for their misdeeds and bad thoughts, the condemnation sometimes being expressed in a very harsh manner. Even for breaking a word of promise a person is cursed in the severest possible manner, and this is done just to instil a moral fear in the minds of the person doing it.

In inscriptions[317] which generally deal with gifts to temples, religious institutions, learned men etc., we find passages containing imprecations, appended at the end with a view to deter persons with bad motive from tampering with the gifts made by pious donors. In South India the earliest so far known examples of inscriptions to contain benedictory or imprecatory portions or both in their texts belong to the 4th-5th centuries A.D.[318] While in the early days such passages were few and their contents were sober in character, as time passed on their number increased and the matter was put in an increasingly harsh manner.[319]

The inscriptions studied here also contain passages bearing on the subject. Being very fragmentary, the epigraphs of the 9th and 10th centuries of our collection have not preserved portions dealing with this subject in their texts. The same is the case with the epigraphs of the 11th century, with the difference that though some of the epigraphs are full, (*e.g.*, 30, 31, 32, of Rājēndra-cōḷas I's time) they have no appendages of this sort. Records from the late 12th century i.e., from the time of Rājādhirāja II (85, dated A.D. 1170), show this feature.

316 Such blessings are called *phala-śrutis* and they are found at the end of particular texts, scriptures or *stōtras*. For example see the *Viṣṇusahasranāma-stōtra*, verses 109 ff. (The *Mahābhārata Anuśāsana-parva, Bhīṣma-Yudhiṣṭhira-saṃvāda*); the last chapter of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (The *Rāmāyaṇa*); the *Śivakavaca-stōtra* (The *Skānda-purāṇa*, chapter 12); the *Tiruppāvai* of Āṇṭāḷ, verse 30; the hymns of the *Tēvaram*, etc.

317 Though the edicts of Aśōka are merely royal prescriptions for people's conduct and do not deal with any gifts, yet they contain the earliest so far known epigraphical evidence for the practice of appending benedictory or imprecatory statements at the end of inscriptions (*C.I.I.*, I (1925) by E. Hultzsch, pp. 22, 39).

318 *E.I.*, I, pp. 6-7.

319 In some copper-plate inscriptions from Orissa, as many as 27 imprecatory verses are given.

Several inscriptions belonging to subsequent periods also do not contain passages of this nature in their texts which treat of the subject-matter in a business like manner ; as for example out of 22 and odd epigraphs of the Pāṇḍyas of the 13th-14th centuries, only a single item has an imprecatory statement ; and similarly only one of the Hoysaḷa inscriptions, dated A.D. 1317, has in it a passage of this nature.

About 120 numbers in our collection contain imprecatory statements. An analysis of their contents reveals some interesting particulars which are given below.

Cōḻa Period

Rājādhirāja II.

(85 ; A.D. 1170). This damaged inscription is the earliest of our collection to preserve an imprecatory passage. It will be seen that the curse pronounced is one of the harshest of its kind. It means that if one had done any harm . . . . . he would be considered to have given his wives to his (enemy) . . . . . , and to have drunk the water used for washing their feet and to have eaten the remnants of cooked rice (*cōṟu*) from his eating pan.

Kulōttuṅka III.

(1) (92 ; A.D. 1188).

Here the passage contains the curse that "if any one of my family stopped this charity, he would reap the sin of one who committed sin at a place near the Gaṅgā and at Kumari."

Though one may say that this is one of the innocuous pronouncements of such curses, yet the text reveals a point or two of interest. Here the phrase 'one of my family', though it might include the donor also, apparently seems to exclude him because of the certainty that he would not think of harming the charity himself, and so the curse is imposed on a contemporary or future member of his family. Secondly, in the absence of mention of any specific item of sin committed near the Gaṅgā and at Kumari, one may take that all kinds of sin are included. And this shows the depth of veneration that the people of those times entertained in respect of these two sacred and holy places.

(97 ; A.D. 1191). It has a similar passage.

(111 ; A.D. 1203). It also has a similar passage.

(2) (93 ; A.D. 1189).

This epigraph has the following to say on the matter. It pronounces the curse that "one who changes this (i.e., the charity), would reap . . . . . of killing a tawny cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā and at Kumari . . . . "

According to this, all who tried to do harm to the charity were included ; and it is stated that they would reap the particular kind of sin, namely, the killing of a tawny cow at the two holy places.

(102 ; A.D. 1196). It contains a similar passage but a black cow is mentioned instead of a tawny one.

(3) (96 ; A.D. 1191).

The imprecatory passage of this record has two sections. The first section repeats the curse mentioned in No. (1) above. The second section states that "one who stopped this would be eating the cooked rice left over by Maturāntaka-vēḷāṉ."

The eating of the cooked rice of the opponent is a despicable act. A reference to this has been found in the inscription of Rājādhirāja II's time given above. The record in question by mentioning the opponent by name highlights the depth of enmity that existed between him and the donor.

(4) (100 ; A.D. 1195).

The relevant passage of this epigraph says that "if I failed in this, then I and my wives would eat food left over (?) in his eating pan by the enemy who has lost his wife. Besides, we would bear his sandals and would lie beneath his cot."

This is another instance of a very harsh pronouncement made against a possible encroacher upon the charity.

(106 ; A.D.1197). It has a similar passage.

(5) (109 ; A.D. 1199).

Its imprecatory passage says : "if any one misappropriates even *uṟi* (of paddy) and even one *kācu*, from the incomes thus derived (from the gift), he would be considered a *Śivadrōhi*, a beef-eater and one who incurs the sin of a man who has killed a tawny cow on the bank of the Gaṅgā and ât Kumari."

The first part of this extract is significant. It prohibits a person from misappropriating even a small quantity of (paddy) and a small amount of cash. If any one indulged in such an act he was considered a traitor to the god Śiva and a beef-eater which are amongst the

worst kinds of sins. In our collection of epigraphs this inscription is the earliest to refer to these two sins. The second part of the passage is similar to the one met with in (2) above.

(116 ; A.D. 1205). This has a similar passage.

(6) (119 ; A.D. 1205).

The first part of the passage here refers to the sins of *Śivadrōha* and beef-eating as in (5) above. But the second part is very interesting. It states that "one who stole the gift would be despised like a person holding the *kuṇṭikai* (spouted wase) to *Ćamaṇars* (i.e., the Jainas).

This passage reveals that Jainism was in vogue during this period, but the Hindus disliked them very much, and so condemned a person who rendered service to the followers of that religion.

(7) (114 ; A.D. 1205).

This is an inscription recording compact of alliance between two groups of persons. The imprecatory passage of the record states that if one of the parties to the compact concerned failed to observe the terms and conditions of the alliance, it would be considered as despicable as 'the bearers of chappals to the *Paṟaiyars*.'

It may be noted that this is the earliest epigraph of our collection to refer to the community of Paṟaiyars, and the stigma attached to the act of bearing their chappals.

(118 ; A.D. 1205). It has a similar passage but being mutilated, it has lost the name of the community. Further, it contains the additional statements of "chewing the chewing articles spat by him' and 'being under his cot.'

(8) (115 ; A.D. 1205).

The imprecatory passage says that "if I or any one of my family removed these, he would reap the sin of one who had killed a black cow at a place near the Gaṅgā and Kumari, and would have to hold the footwear and the betels of one who had lost his wife, besides remaining under his cot."

This passage is a variant of that of (4) above. Here the shame-worthy act of 'chewing the betel of one's enemy' is given as in (7) above, besides two other similar acts like 'holding the enemy's sandals' and 'remaining under his cot.'

(9) (121 ; A.D. 1207).

It has an imprecatory passage which states that "in case of transgression of this undertaking, those committing it would incur the sin of those who had committed sins on the banks of the Gaṅgā : besides, they would be deemed to have given their wives to their opponent."

Here the Gaṅgā alone is mentioned and Kumari is omitted, and the reference to the giving one's wife to his opponent is specifically mentioned.

(10) (112 ; A.D. 1207).

This epigraph says that "one who stopped this would be considered to have given his wife to a Paṟaiah."

This is harsher than the shameful act mentioned in (9) above.

(11) (128 ; A.D. 1213).

Its imprecatory passage says : "if any one misappropriates from a maximum of one *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* to a minimum of a *mā* of *poṉ*, from a maximum of one *kācu* to a minimum of one *cinnam*, and from a maximum of one *nāḻi* of paddy to a minimum of one *uṟi*, including *āḻamañci*, he would be a traitor to Śiva, a beef-eater, one who is *mōvāy pukku mulai eḻuntān* and one who is not born to a single man and a woman and he would incur the sin of one who had killed a tawny cow on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari."

This is a long passage and the conception and statement of the manner by which the person who misappropriated even the minimum of the gifted thing, in cash and kind, would be condemned by the people is extremely strong. The long phrase *mōvāypukku mulai eḻuntān* occurs for the first time here ; and it is repeated in several later inscriptions also.

Rājarāja III.

(1) (136 ; A.D. 1221).

This inscription records an allegiance to the superior by two parsons. The curse these two invoke upon themselves is : "in case we ran away from the face of the prince, we two would be considered (to have done the bad act) of giving our wives to cobblers and looking on."

Though similar to the curse of one giving his wife to the Paṟaiyars met with above (Kulōttuṅka III, No. (7)), here a graver concept *viz.*, looking on after giving the wives to the cobblers is used.

Indeed a more severe curse than this cannot be conceived for breaking the oath of allegiance.

(2) (138 ; A.D. 1227).

The relevant passage of this epigraph states that "one who destroyed this gift would acquire the sin of one who had killed a black cow on the banks of the river Gaṅgā."

(148 ; A.D. 1234). It has a similar passage. (160 ; A.D. 1241). It has a similar passage.

(3) (150 ; A.D. 1236-37).

The imprecatory passage of this epigraph is a repetition of that occurring in No. (11) of Kulōttuṅka III's reign above.

(183 ; A.D. 1236). In this record also the same curse as in 80, is repeated.

(4) (163 ; A.D. 1246).

It repeats the curse including *Śivadrōha*, beef-eating and the sin of killing a black cow on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari.

Kōp-Peruñciṅka I.

(1) (182 ; A.D. 1236).

The imprecatory passage is similar to the one found in (3) of Rājarāja III above.

(2) (185 ; A.D. 1240-41).

This is similar to (1) above, but an additional curse of 'the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa' is stated to accrue to the wrong-doer.

This is the first occurrence of this additional curse and it shows the high respect a Brāhmaṇa was given by the people of the period in question.

(3) (188 ; A.D. 1244 (?)).

Here is a passage stating the curse ". . . . . not to have been born to a single woman and single man" would befall a wrong-doer.

Rājēndra III.

(1) (175 ; A.D. 1250 ; 176 ; A.D., 1251).

These inscriptions have the common and simple imprecatory passage *viz.*, "one who changes this (gift) would incur the sin of him who had killed a tawny cow on the bank of the Gaṅgā and at Kumari."

Kōp-Peruñciṅka II.

(1) (191 ; A.D. 1245).

The passage here states that "if this was obstructed by anybody] he would be considered to have misappropriated to the last *nāḻi* of cereal, and the *ciṉṉam* of a *kācu* of a gift, and one who sells the gift-land would be deemed to have eaten beef, to have been born not to a single man and woman, to have the bad name of *mōvāy pukku mulai eḻuntāṉ* (i.e., hermaphrodite) and to have committed the sin of [killing a cow] on the banks of the Gaṅgā and at Kumari."

It may be noticed that in this epigraph the selling of the gift-land is prohibited, besides the prohibition of taking even a *nāḻi* of cereal and a *ciṉṉam* of a *kācu*, evidently from the yields of the gift-land.

(2) (196 ; A.D. 1262).

In this inscription, the relevant passage has the following : "one who changed this would incur the sin of him who killed a tawny cow on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari ; he would be considered to be a *mōvāy pukku mulai puṟappaṭuvāṉ* (i.e., hermaphrodite) and he would be the husband of his own mother."

While the first two items of the curse are known from inscriptions detailed above, the last item *viz.*, 'he would be the husband of his own mother' is occurring for the first time here. This curse should be considered as the gravest ever conceived and expressed as a strongest moral deterrant for evil-doers.

(3) (193 ; A.D. 1256).

The particular passage states ". . . . . on the banks of the Gaṅgā and would be considered to have eaten beef of the cow."

Miscellaneous epigraphs (13th century).

(1) (239).

This inscription contains the simplest form of imprecation *viz.*, "those who destroyed this compound wall as long as it stood, would have committed a crime to the Periyanāṭu."

It is noteworthy that the destruction of the wall is considered equivalent to committing a crime against the people of the entire region (Periyanāṭu) and one who committed the crime would, therefore, be equally severely punished.

(2) (217)

The grave sin, of 'being the husband of his mother' is invoked in this epigraph.

(3) (230)

It is damaged and contains parts of the passage stating the curse of killing a tawny cow on the Gaṅgā and chewing the betels of .....

(4) (222)

This damaged epigraph contains the imprecation stating that ".....bearing the sandals of ....., chewing his betel and remaining under his cot."

Hoysaḷas

Ballāḷa III.

(1) (301 ; A.D. 1317).

This epigraphs states that "one who destroyed the gift or disturbed it would incur the sin of one who had killed a Brāhmaṇa on the banks of the Gaṅgā and (also he) would be considered to be the husband of his own mother."

Miscellaneous epigraphs (14th century).

(1) (339)

This epigraph contains for the first time the passage stating : "By robbing the gift of land made by oneself or by others one is born in hell (and stays there) for 60,000 years."

(2) Several other inscriptions e.g., 323, 325, 327, 331, 341, contains the familiar imprecatory passage invoking the sin of killing a cow on the Gaṅgā on the wrong-doer. It is noteworthy that Kumari is not mentioned in them.

Vijayanagara

Vijaya-bhūpati.

(1) (348 ; A.D. 1418).

The imprecatory passage of this inscription says that "one who destroyed this act would become a *Ćivaturōki* and a traitor to the king."

For the first time the crime against the king is introduced here coupled with treachery to the god Śiva. The punishment for a traitor to the king would be extremely severe. So, this threat is invoked against a wrong-doer.

Dēvarāya II.

(1) (349 ; A.D. 1432).

The imprecatory passage says, ".....would incur the sin of.....on the banks of the Gaṅgā and of Vārayṇāsi."

The Gaṅgā river runs through Vāraṇāsi or Benares. The special mention made of Vāraṇāsi here seems to indicate that committing a sin at this place is equivalent to the committing a sin on the Gaṅgā wherever it runs through.

(2) (350 : A.D. 1437 ; 352 : A.D. 1440 ; 353 : A.D. 1443).

These epigraphs contain the familiar imprecatory passage stating that "one who harmed the gift would reap the sin of one who had killed a black or tawny cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā."

It is interesting to note that these epigraphs have not referred to Kumari. This may be due to the fact that during the Vijayanagara period Kumari was not considered as important as the Gaṅgā unlike in the earlier period when both were considered equally important and holy.

Mallikārjuna.

(1) (356 ; A.D. 1453).

This inscription contains the usual imprecatory passage referring to the sin accruing from killing a cow on the bank of the Gaṅgā.

(2) (358 ; A.D. 1479).

This epigraph contains a reference to the sin of killing a cow on the Gaṅgā. But it also refers to the 'five kinds of sins' not met with in any epigraph dealt with above. The non-mention of Kumari is noteworthy.

Rācacēkara, son of Mallikārjuna.

(1) (361 ; A.D. 1482 (?) ; 362 ; A.D. 1486).

Besides containing the usual passage referring to the sin of killing a cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā, these two epigraphs also contain the Sanskrit verse :

Dānapālanayōr = madhyē dānāc = chrēyō = nupālanam (/)*

Dānāt = svargam = avāpnōti pālanāt = acyutam padam (//)*

This means :

"Between one gifting and his protection of (other's gift), the protection (of other's gift) is better than one's gifting. (For, one) goes to the heaven by his gift while he attains, by protecting others' gift, to the place of Acyuta

(Viṣṇu) or the place from where he does not fall !"

The omission of a reference to Kumari here also is noteworthy.

Vīrūpākṣa III.

(1) (359 ; A.D. 1482).

This damaged inscription contains the imprecatory passage referring to the killing of (a cow) on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

(2) (360 ; A.D. 1482 (?)).

The relevant passage of this much-damaged epigraph says : "One who harmed this would incur the sin of having killed a black cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā, a Brāhmaṇa, his own mother, father, . . , a teacher on the . . . . ."

There are a couple of other curses mentioned but only parts of them are preserved and so, their full import cannot be made out.

Fragmentary epigraphs (15th century).

(1) (346, 357, 364, 365, 468).

All these damaged inscriptions seem to contain the usual imprecatory passage referring to the sin of killing a cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

Immaṭi Naracā Nāyaka.

(1) (375 ; A.D. 1506 ; 376 ; A.D. 1506)

These epigraphs contain the familiar and simple imprecatory passage referring to the sin of killing a cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

Vīra Naraciṅkayatēva Mahārāya.

(1) (381 ; A.D. 1509 ; 382 ; A.D. 1509).

They also repeat the familiar and simple imprecatory passage as in the above instance.

Kṛṣṇadēva Mahārāya.

(1) (383 ; A.D. 1510 ; 385 ; A.D. 1512 ; 386 ; A.D. 1515; 391 ; A.D. 1519 ;

392 ; A.D. 1520).

All these refer only to the familiar and simple imprecation of incurring the sin of killing a cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

Accutadēva Mahārāya.

(1) (395 ; A.D. 1532 ; 396 ; A.D. 1534 ; 399 ; A.D. 1534 ; 400 ; A.D. 1534 ;

401 ; A.D. 1535 ; 408 ; A.D. 1539-40 ; 413 (king's name not given) ; A.D. 1545).

All of these refer only to the sin of killing a cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

It is to be noted that the epigraphs belonging to the period from Immaṭi Naracā Nāyaka's time to the end of Accutadēva Mahārāya's time do not contain any reference to Kumari.

Catācivatēva Mahārāya.

(1) (414 ; A.D. 1548 ; 418 ; A.D. 1551 (?) ; 422 ; A.D. 1558 ; 423 ; A.D. 1564 ;

425 ; A.D. 1568 ; 426 ; A.D. 1569).

These epigraphs also refer to the sin of killing the cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

(2) (424 ; A.D. 1567).

The concerned passage says : "If any one without doing as stated above, injustly demanded *paṇam, kācu,* articles, plough, *āḷamañci* and *eccōṟu* from these villages, he would incur the sin of one who has killed a black cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā. He would also become a traitor to Śiva and to (his own) guru (i.e., the teacher)."

Tirumalaitēva Mahārāya.

(1) (430 ; A.D. 1570).

It has the passage referring to the sin of killing a black cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

Cīraṅkatēva Mahārāya.

(1) (435 ; A.D. 1584-85).

This also refers to the same sin.

Veṅkiṭapatitēva Mahārāya.

(1) (436 ; A.D. 1587 ; 437 ; A.D. 1589 ; 438 ; A.D. 1590 ; 440 ; A.D. 1590 ;

444 ; A.D. 1600 (?)).

These inscriptions refer to the sin of killing a cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

(2) (439 ; A.D. 1590).

This record, besides referring to the sin of killing a black cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā, invokes also the sin of killing the mother and father on the wrong-doer.

Fragmentary epigraphs (16 century).

(1) (483 ; 465 ; 472 etc . .).

Eighteen such fragmentary inscriptions contain the simple passage referring to the sin of killing of a cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

It may be noted that these also have omitted Kumari.

(2) (478 ; 484).

The imprecatory passages of these two items say : "they (the wrong-doers) would incur the sin of having killed a black cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā. They would also reap the sin of killing Brāhmaṇas."

(3) (486).

This inscription says that "one who (obstructs this gift) would acquire the sin of having killed a black cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā and of having killed his mother and father."

Appendix II

Terms pertaining to taxes, levies and obligations :

The administrators who were the rulers of the kingdom, or their feudatories and vassals who were in charge of smaller areas or the chiefs of the small territorial units possessed some lands in a village or a whole village or group of villages as their own, which they disposed of as they liked. On occasions they used generally to gift pieces of land and villages to individuals or institutions or for other purposes, and each category of gift was given a name. Gift to temples was called *tēvatāṉam* ; gift to the Brāhmaṇas was called *pirammatēyam* ; that given to a *maṭha* was called *maṭappuṟam* ; and that given to a flower garden was called *nantavāṉappuṟam* and so on and so forth. At the time of recording the gift, the items of revenue and other privileges which the donees were exempted from payment to the donors were specified. Such gifts were called *iṟaiyili*. It is only from these specifications one gets an idea as to the various kinds of taxes and levies that a cultivator or a tenant in a village had to pay in the past, and the privileges he had to accord to the administrators. All such details are not met with in all ancient records. In a large number of records registering gift of lands a very meagre information on this matter is only available. In some others a few items of taxes etc. are referred to. In certain other epigraphs a long list of them is given including quite a number of new imposts ; and such records are found to belong to troubled times which required a large amount of revenue to tide over the difficulties, and hence a number of new levies imposed on the people by the rulers concerned.

The inscriptions from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai deal with a variety of transactions, a good number of them relating to gifts of villages or lands (*tēvatāṉa*) to the temple made by rulers or private individuals. Some of the gifts are called *iṟaiyili* (exempt from payment of taxes).[320]

In so far as the inscriptions from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai are concerned, revenue terms begin to appear only from the 10th regnal year of Kulōttuṅka III's time (92). This and six (93, 96, 109, 115, 118 and 128) other records of his period, the last one dated in his 35th year (128) make mention of taxes. They are : *āyam* (revenue), *pāṭikāval* (tax for policing of the village), *veṭṭi* (free labour), *kumarak-kaccāṇam* (a small cess)[321], *taṟiyiṟai* (tax on loom), *taṭṭār-pāṭṭam*, (tax on goldsmits), *āḷamaṅci* (unpaid forced servant), *eccōṟu* (free food to village labourer), *kuṟṟat-teṇṭam* (fine for offences), *paṭṭit-teṇṭam* (punitive tax of the village), and *maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷ* (all other miscellaneous incomes). Besides,

320 In regard to the significance of such transaction see K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Historical sketches of ancient Dekkan*, (Madras, 1917), pp. 340 ff.
321 According to K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, II, Pt. I (1937), p. 443. T.N. Subramaniam, *S.I.T.I.*, III, Pt. II, Annexure, p. xxx, gives another meaning.

the two terms *mēl-nōkkinamaram* (growing tree) and *kīḻ-nōkkiṉa-kiṇaṟu* (dug up well) are also met with in a majority of these epigraphs in question. It is interesting to note that only ten items of taxes and dues are known from them. The reason for this paucity of tax-terms is difficult to know. Perhaps during the reign of Kulōttuṅka III the people of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and its environs were not taxed much and were enjoying a life of ease and comfort due to the general prosperity prevailing in the Cōḻa kingdom, brought about by the king's victories over the Pāṇḍyas and the Siṁhalese.

Among the epigraphs of Rājarāja III, nine ranging in date from the 7th to the 30th year, contain tax-terms (138, 147, 148, 150, 155, 158, 160, 161 and 163). They are found to be the same as found prevalent during the previous reign. The new terms that we meet with in the epigraphs in question are : *kaṭamai* (government tax to be paid in kind), *kācāyaṅkaḷ* (taxes and dues payable in cash) including *ērimīṉ* (income from tank-fish sale), *antarāyam* (local levies), *taṉiyāḷ* (perquisites to a supervisor), *poṉvari* (tax payable in gold), *variyantarāyam* (local taxes and dues), *māvaṭai* (income from fauna)[322], and *maravaṭai* (income from flora).

A fragmentary epigraph (173) attributable to this reign refers to *kuṭimai* (tenancy tax) besides *kaṭamai*.

Two inscriptions (175 and 176) of Rājēndra III's reign-period refer to terms of this kind. Of these 176 gives a list of not less than 14 terms all of them already known from the records of the previous reign, except *maṉaiyiṟai* (house tax) and *iṟaiyili* which are known for the first time.

Eleven epigraphs (182, 183, 185, 186, 188, 191, 196, 199, 200, 203, 207) of the Kāṭavarāya chiefs make mention of tax-terms. They include all the previously known terms, and also some new ones as for example *cekkiṟai* (tax on oil-press) and *maṉṟāṭikaḷ pēr kaṭamai* (tax in kind to be paid by a shepherd) (183 with a long list) ; *maṇpiṭikaḷ* (?) and *pōrkaṭamai* (?) (special tax levied during war-time) (191) ; *ānvari* (?) (tax on cows) *kāttikaippaccai* (payment in kind in the month of Kārttikai), *mātirucān* ?, *ūcivāci* (tailor's tax), *nallerutu* (good ox supplied free of cost), *naṟpacu* (good cow supplied free of cost for milk), *taccu* (tax on carpentry), *kollu* (tax on mason), *kucam* (tax on potter), *tōloṭṭu* (tax on cobbler), *vērutaṇṭam* (miscellaneous fine), and *pāṭṭam* (tax) (196), with a longer list) ; and *āḷvari* (poll tax) (199).

The epigraphs of the Campuvarāyas, and the Bāṇās too have references to such terms which are known from the epigraphs of the earlier period. But the term *kaṟpūravilai* (sale-price paid for temple lands) (236), and *puravuvari* (land tax) (255) are known for the first time from two inscriptions of the Campuvarāyas.

During the rule of the Pāṇḍyas in the Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam, they seem to have taxed the people much more than the Cōḻas and the other feudatories that exercised power over this region earlier. Out of about 30 Paṇḍya epigraphs eleven (269, 270, 276, 278-281, 287, 291, 299, 300) make mention of tax-terms. Most of them are known ones. But 280 which has a long list of these terms includes some which are known for the first time, e.g., *kāriyavārācci* (cess for superintending transactions), *pañcupili* (tax on cotton), *cantivikkiramappēr* (fee payable to village *madhyastha*), *vācalpēr* (door tax), *ilañciṉaippēr* (fee for affixing royal seal), *iṭaiyar-vari* (tax on shepherd), *iṉavari* (communal tax), *aḻakerutu* (free supply of good ox), *pacu* (free supply of cow), *pācippāṭṭam* (tax on fishing), *puñcaik-kaṭamai* (tax payable in kind for dry-lands), *tōṭṭak-kaṭamai* (tax on groves), and *kōmuṟṟa-māpēr* (revenue due to the king). One epigraph (276) refers to *nelk-kaṭamai* (tax paid in paddy), which is similar to *puñcaik-kaṭamai* etc. given above. Another epigraph (287) refers to other new terms like *kuḷavaṭai* (income from tank), *cekkāyam* (probably the same as *cekkiṟai*) *kīṟṟu* (tax on thatches), *mukampārvai* (levy for owning a mirror), *vācal-viniyōkam* (annual presents made to palace) and *koṟṟilakkai* (providing food and residence). The inscription 299 refers to *cilvari* (minor taxes) and *peruvari* (major taxes) for the first time.

It may be mentioned here that in the epigraphs of the earlier period the phrase *maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷum* or *anaittāyaṅkaḷum* is used at the end of the enumeration of the taxes, but in some of the Pāṇḍyan epigraphs dealt with above, the phrases like *cakala-prāptikaḷum* (278) and *maṟṟum pala upātikaḷ uḷpaṭa* (287, 291) are met with for the first time. Another phrase viz., *maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa cakala camutāyappirātti-yum uḷpaṭa* occurs in a 15th century fragmentary epigraph (357). It is

322 T.N. Subramaniam, *op.cit.*, p. xxxvii, gives a different meaning which *vis a vis* his meaning for *maravaṭai* on p. xxxvi, seems irreconcilable.

seen from the records of the subsequent periods that these new phrases came to be widely used then.

An examination from the point of view of tax-terms of the large number of epigraphs of the Vijayanagara times of our collection, reveals interesting pieces of information on the terms etc. We come across in them terms like *ērimīṉ-vilai* (325) probably an expanded form of *ērimīṉ* of the records of the earlier periods, and other terms to be mentioned presently which are quite new. Seventeen epigraphs[323] ranging in date from Śaka 1283 to Śaka 1408 of the Saṅgama family contain references to taxes, levies etc. Some of them are already known but the following are known for the first time from these records and they are interesting too : *makkaḷ pēral koḷḷum mutal* (dues received as obligations from citizens) (325) ; *kōṇikai, civantikai* and *kāṇikkai* (customary presents to king and other high officials) (EO 1109-1120) ; *palataḷiyil koḷḷum palapoṉvarkaṅkaḷ, nilattai nōkki koḷḷum palavarikaḷ* (varieties of receipts in gold from various temples), *pala upāti* (various dues), *viṟpaṇam* (tax on archers), *potumakkaḷ pērāl kaṭamai, paṭṭaṭai* (tax for threshing floor), *cekkukatamai* (probably the same as *cekkiṟaḻ, ilakkai* (monthly wages), *puṟavāyam* (revenue from external sources), and *palataḷi tēvatāṉattil koḷḷum palavarikaḷ* (327 which has a very long list of such items) ; *nāṭṭu-viniyōkam* (individual share payable to make up the shortage in the total revenue by the grant of exemptions by the assembly *nāṭu*), and *maṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa pala paḻavari* (old tax) *putuvari* (new tax) (330) ; *rakṣābhōgam* (same as *pāṭikāvaḷ*) (332) ; *vīrimuṭṭu* (levy for paying a soldier), *arici* (rice), *kāṇam* (share) *eṇṇai* (oil), *ney* (clarified butter), *pākku* (arecanut), *miḷaku* (pepper), *iruppukkaṭṭin kuvaṭṭu* (probably a tax for prospecting and mining iron ore), *paccaivaṭam, kaivilaipaṇam* (current price), *vaṭāram nimantam* (arrangement for the conduct of temple affairs), *uluppaiyāka koḷḷum mutal* (presents of various articles offered to respectable personages) and *pala ūḻiyaṅkaḷ* (many services rendered free) (341) ; *kāttikaipoṉ* (gold paid in the month of Kārttikai) (343) ; *rācakarattai nōkki varum paḻavari putuvari* (old and new taxes received towards taxes due to the king), *kōyil nōkki varum paḻavari putuvari* (old and new taxes due to the palace or temple), *kōpura kāṇikkai* (special levy for the construction of *gōpura*), *tirunāḷ eṇṇai* (oil for festival), *tiruviḷakku āḷ* (supply of labour for bearing temple lamp), *kācu* (coin), *aḷakkum payaṟu* (gram to be measured), *taṇṭuvānpēru* (levy to be paid to a collector), *makaṇmai* (small portion of the income or of the value of articles of merchandise collected as voluntary contribution by merchants from among themselves for some charitable purposes ; poll-tax) and *tiruttēr vaṭattu* (levy for paying drawers of chariot) . . . (349) ; *kuṭikkuvari* (same as *kuṭimai* ?), *vālāyam, iṭaitturai* (is it the same as *iṭaiyar-vari* or different ?), *maraṅkāytturai* (is it the same as *maravaṭai* ?) and *vaṇṇār-vari* (tax on washerman) (358); *poṉmutal* (is it the same as *poṉvari* ?), *kāṇikkaippēru, ācuvakkaṭamai* (tax payable by Ājīvikas) and *tirunāḷ kāṇikkai* (special levy for conducting festival) and the phrase *maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa cakalamum* (359); *cōṭi* (quit rent) and *cūlavari* (tax payable for the upkeep of a Śiva temple) (360) ; *nūlāyam* (tax on cotton thread), *cuṅkāyam* (revenue from customs or toll), *vicēṣavakai* (special levies), and *kaṭṭāyam* (cumplusory payment of dues) and the phrase *maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa . . . . uṇṭānatum* (362).

The largest number of epigraphs having a bearing on the subject belong to the Tuḷuva and Āravīḍu periods of the Vijayanagara empire. They are 36 in number[324] and they range in date from Śaka 1427 to Śaka 1516. A study of them shows a distinct change in the nomenclature of the various items of taxes, levies etc. It is also seen that many of the old levies like *pāṭikāval, taṭṭārpāṭṭam*, etc. were dropped and a certain number of new ones which were introduced for the first time at the beginning of the rule of this family continued till the last stages of the family's existence.

A fragmentary epigraph (366) of the 15th century A.D. contains references to new levies and to the use of new phrases and manner of saying. For instance, here are mentioned for the first time the terms like *āṟṟukkāl* (levy an channel from river), *ūṟṟukkāl* (levy on springs), *ēntalpirātti* (levy on ēntal income), *kiṇaṟṟu-nīr-pirātti* (levy on the use of well-water), *neti* (treasures), *niṣēpam* (buried treasure), *celapāṣaṇam* (water and rocks), *ēntal* and *tāṅkal*, all new kinds of levies not noticed earlier. Similarly the phrases *pala poṉvarkkattilākira mutal* and *pala tāṉṉiyavarkattilākira mutal* mentioned here are also new.

323 Nos. 325, 326, 328-332, 336, 341, 343, 346, 349, 352, 358-360, 362.
324 Nos. 375, 376, 378, 379, 381-383, 392, 393, 395-397, 400, 402, 403, 405-410, 414-418, 420, 421, 424, 425, 428, 429, 432, 437, 440, 441.

Besides the above-mentioned terms, other new terms met with in the records of this period are as follows : *kuḻavaṭai* (enjoyment of tank products) and *carukaṭai* (levy on collecting dry leaves) (376) ; *mēṭu* (high ground) and *paṟaittiṭar* (level ground of Paraiahs) (375) ; *āṭṭaippaṭi* (annual presents) (378) ; *ācuvatika kaṭamai* (probably *ācuvika kācu*), *maram* (tree), and *kiṇaru* (well) (379) ; *ērpaṇam* (tax on plough) and *nīrpāṭṭam* (tax on water) (381) ; *kuḻattu nīrpirātti* and *uḻaikaṭamai* (393) ; *valaikkaṭamai* (dues payable by fisherman), *piṟavaṭaippaṟṟu, tāṅkal paṟṟu, malaipparṟu* and *palapaṭṭaṭai* (402) ; *nāṭārampam and kāṭārampam* (403) ; *irāca ūḻiyam* (free service to government) and *uḻavaṭai* (tax on ploughing) (424); *kutiraivilāṭam* (tax on horses) (432) ; *mātārikkam* (monthly allowances) and *talaiyārikkam* (tax payable for village watchman) (440).

It is seen that a majority of the epigraphs belonging to the Tuḷuva and Āravīḍu times deal with the assignment of lands and villages to individuals. The assignments required in many cases reclamation of fallow lands or creation of new lands fit for cultivation. Their main concern, however, seems to have been related to the getting water supply to their lands. Hence almost all the epigraphs in question give exemption from payment, of taxes due on tanks, wells, rivers, and springs. Exemption of levies on forest products and fauna is also given because the assignees while converting unprofitable lands into lands yielding crops, required a lot of resources and a part of it was perhaps provided by the fauna and flora of the area. It appears that the assignees lived elsewhere than in the area where fresh lands were brought into cultivation. Hence, there was no arrangement like *pāṭikāval*. Professionals like goldsmith, mason, etc. were also probably not present there. Due to their absence taxes like *taṭṭārpāṭṭam, taccu, kollu*, etc. were not current in the area and hence they are not referred to in the epigraphs under discussion. Similar is the case with several other levies and obligations which are mentioned in the epigraphs of earlier periods but not referred to in the inscriptions of this period. Hence in respect of revenue terms the Tuḷuva period in so far as Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and its neighbourhood are concerned may be said to represent quite a new trend.

For the sake of easy reference a list of the inscriptions pertaining to the subject-matter discussed above is given below.

Cōḻas

Sl. Number	King	A.D.	Terms
92	Kulōttuṅka III	1188	-1) Kumarakkaccāṇam uḻḻiṭṭa āyam 2) pāṭikāval, veṭṭi uḻppaṭa 3) mēlnōkkiṇa maram, kīḻnōkkiṇakiṇaṟu
93	-do-	1189	-1) pallāyaṅkaḷ uḻpaṭa tēvatāṇam 2) maram, kiṇaṟu
96	-do-	1191	-1) āyam, pāṭikāval akappaṭa
109	-do-	1199	-1) pāṭikāval uḻḻiṭṭa āyaṅkaḷāl vanta nelluṅ kācun taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭaṅkaḷ, āḷamañci, eccōṟu, kuṟṟateṇṭam, paṭṭiteṇṭam 2) maṟṟum eppērppaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷ
115	-do-	1205	-1) taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam 2) maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷ uḻpaṭa 3) maram, kiṇaṟu
116	-do-	1205	-1) tēvatānam (nothing else is mentioned 2) maram, kiṇaṟu
118	-do-	1205	-1) marum, kiṇaṟu 2) taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam 3) maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷ uḻpaṭa

Sl. Number	King	A.D.	Terms
128	-do-	1213	-1) āyam pāṭikāval, taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, kuṟṟateṇṭam, paṭṭiteṇṭam, āḷamañci 2) maṟṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷ
137	Rājarāja III	1223	-1) pāṭikāval
147	-do-	1232	-1) pāṭikāval, varicai
148	-do-	1234	-1) kaṭamai for nancey and puncey 2) ērimīṉ uḷpaṭa kācāyaṅkaḷ 3) maṟṟuḷḷa āyam antarāyaṅkaḷ
150	-do-	1233-34	-1) maram, kiṇaṟu 2) taṟi iṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, āḷamañci, yeṟcōṟu, kuṟṟateṇṭam, paṭṭiteṇṭam 3) maṟṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷum
155	-do-	1236	-1) pāṭikāval, āḷamañci
158	-do-	1240	-1) taṟi iṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam 2) maṟṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷ
160	-do-	1241	-1) āyam, antarāyam, taṟi iṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, āḷamañci, eṟcōṟu, kuṟṟateṇṭam, paṭṭiteṇṭam, veṭṭi, taṉiyāḷ, poṉvari, ērimīṉ 2) pallāyaṅkaḷ
161	-do-	1242	-1) pāṭikāval 2) variyantarāyam
163	-do-	1246	-1) āyam, antarāyam, taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, āḷamañci, eṟcōṟu, kuṟṟateṇṭam, paṭṭiteṇṭam, māvaṭai, maṟavaṭai, veṭṭi, taṉiyāḷ, ērimīn 2) maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa pala āyaṅkaḷ
173	Fragment.	13th cent.	-1) kaṭamai, kuṭimai, āḷamañci
174	-do-	13th cent.	-1) āyam, antarāyam
175	Rājēndra III	1250	-1) āyam, pāṭikāval, taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam 2) maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷum
176	-do-	1251	-1) āyam, pāṭikāval, taṟi iṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, kuṟṟateṇṭam, paṭṭiteṇṭam, veṭṭi, taṉiyāḷ, ērimīn, poṉvari, ceṭṭikaḷ vaṇikar maṉaiyirai, māvaṭai, maravaṭai 2) maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa pala āyaṅkaḷum
Kāṭavarāyas			
182	Kōpperuñciṅka I	1236-37	-1) āyam, pāṭikāvalāl vanta nellum kācāyamum 2) maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷum
183	-do-	1236-37	-1) pāṭikāval, taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, āḷamañci, yeccōṟu, kuṟṟateṇṭam, paṭṭiteṇṭam, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, veṭṭi, taṉiyāḷ, ēri . . , ... vāṇiyar maṉaiyirai, cekkiṟai, maṉrāṭikaḷ perkaṭamai 2) maṟṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa aṉaittāyaṅkaḷum

Sl. Number	King	A.D.	Terms
185	-do-	1240-41	-1) āyam, pāṭikāvalāl vanta nellum kācāyamum 2) maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa pala āyaṅkaḷum
186	-do-	1243(?)	-1) taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, āḷamañci, eṟcōṟu, kuṟṟateṇṭam, ... , pō (?) ṟkaṭamai, 2) maṟṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa aṉaittāyaṅkaḷum
188	-do-	1244(?)	-1) veṭṭi, taniyāḷ, ... ṇṭam, āḷamañci, yeccōṟu 2) maṟṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷum
191	-do-	1245	-1) kaṭamaiyum, āyam, pāṭikāval, taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, āḷamañci, eṟcōṟu, kuṟṟateṇṭam, paṭṭiteṇṭam, . . . ceṭṭikaḷ vāṇiyar maṉaiyiṟai, cekkiṟai, poṉvari, veṭṭi, taṉiyāḷ, ērimīṉ, maṇpiṭikaḷ, pōrkaṭamai 2) maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa aṉaittāyaṅkaḷum
193	-	1256(?)	-1) āyam, antarāyam, ... , paṭṭiteṇṭam 2) maram, kiṇaṟu
196	Kōpperuñciṅka I	1262	-1) ānvari (?), kācāyam, kāttikaippaccai, mātirucān, ūcivāci, nallerutu, naṟpacu uḷḷiṭṭa anaittāyaṅkaḷum, āḷamañcittēvai taccum, kollum, kucamum, tōloṭṭum, vērutaṇṭum, cekkiṟai, maṉaiyiṟai, pāṭṭamuḷḷiṭṭaṉavum 2) maṟṟuḷḷa āyavarkaṅkaḷum
199	Kōpperuñciṅka II	1254	-1) kaṭamai, āḷvari, ... peru (?), taṟi iṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam 2) eppērpaṭṭa aṉaittāyaṅkaḷum
203	-do-	1260-61	-1) āyam, pāṭikāval 2) kācāyamuṭpaṭa aṉaittāyaṅkaḷumuḷpaṭa
207	-do-	13th c.	-1) pāṭikāval
Bāṇas			
220	-	13th c.	-1) Āyam, pāṭikāval, taṟi iṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, ...
Campuvarāyas			
236	-	13th c.	-1) kaṟpūra vilaiyāka
250	-	13th c.	-1) kaṭamai, kuṭimai
255	-	13th c.	-1) antarāyam, pāṭṭamuḷpaṭa dēvatāna iṟaiyiḻi, kācāyam, [pu]ravuvari ?
259	-	13th c.	-1) pāṭikāval and kālvaricai
Pāṇḍyas			
269	Vikkiramapāṇṭya	1244	-1) poṉvari 2) kācāyam uḷḷiṭṭa aṉaittāyaṅkaḷum 3) maram, kiṇaṟu

Sl. Number	King	A.D.	Terms
270	-do-	1246-47	-1) poṉvari uḷḷiṭṭa vari, antarāyam, āḷamañci, pāṭikāval, veṭṭi 2) marrum eppērpaṭṭa aṉaittāyaṅkaḷum
276	Emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭa Cuntara-pāṇṭiya	1269	-1) nelk kaṭamai, poṉvari, uḷḷiṭṭa veṇṭum aṉaittāya varkamum
278	Kulacēkara	1278	-1) maram, kiṉaṟu
279	-do-	1281	-1) maram, kiṉaṟu 2) Cakalaprāptikaḷum for 50 *poṉ*
280	Māra Kōnērin-maikoṇṭāṉ	1282 (?)	-1) kaṭamaiyum, antarāyamum, viniyōgamum, taruvatāna accum, kāriyavārācciyum, veṭṭippāṭṭamum, pañcupili, cantivikki-ramappērum, vācalpērum, ilāñcinaipe-rum, taṟiyiṟai, cekkiṟai, taṭṭolippāṭṭam, iṭaiyarvari, iṉavari, kuṟa. . . . , kāttikkaip-paccai, aḻakerutu pacuvum, pācippāṭṭam, maṉai-iṟai, puñcaikkaṭamai, tōṭṭakkaṭa-mai, ... māvaṭai, pāṭikāval, paṭṭiteṇ-ṭam, kuṟṟateṇṭam, kōmuṟṟamāper, tōloṭṭum, poṉvari, āyavarkam, uḷḷiṭṭavarikaḷ 2) marrum eppērpaṭṭaṉavum
281	Kulacēkara	1283	-1) maram, kiṉaṟu, māvaṭai, maṟavatai, kaṭamai, poṉvari
287	-do-	1319	-1) māvaṭai, maṟavaṭai, kuḻavaṭai, taṟi iṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, cekkāyam, kīṟṟu, mukampār-vai, vācal viniyōkam, koṟṟilakkai 2) marrum pala upātikaḷ
291	Kōn.Vikkirama-pāṇṭiya	1334	-1) māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḻavatai, taṟi iṟai,taṭṭārpāṭṭam, cekkāyam, kīṟṟu, mukam-pārvai, vācalviniyōkam, koṟṟilakkai 2) marrum pala upātikaḷum
299	Tri.Vikkirama-pāṇṭiya	1336-37	-1) kaṭamai, kuṭimai, uḷḷiṭṭa cilvari, peruvari 2) marrum . . . . .
300	-do-	1338	-1) aṉaittāyamum

The Saṅgamas

325	Bukka I's son Kampaṇa	1361	-1) makkaḷ pērāl koḷḷum mutal, ērimīṉvilai, 2) marrum kaṭamai mutalāyaṅkaḷ, sakala prāptikaḷ
326	Kampaṇa	1363	-1) poṉvari, cantivigraha 2) maram, ...

Sl. Number	King	A.D.	Terms
328	-do-	1367	-1) kaṭamai, cilvari, poṉvari, cantivikkiramam, kāttikaippoṉ, nallerutu, kōṇikai, civantikai, kāṇikkai
329	-do-	1367	-1) kaṭamai nilaṅkaḷ, palataḷiyil koḷḷum pala poṉvarkaṅkaḷ, varikaḷ, nilattai nōkki koḷḷum palavarikaḷ, pala upāti, kaṭamai, poṉvari, kāṇikkai, vācal . . . , puṉcey kaṭamai, vācal paṇam, viṟpaṇam,. . taḷi . . koḷḷum pala varikaḷ, potumakkaḷ pērāl kaṭamai, taṉ . pe . viṭṭa makkaḷ pēral pala kaṭamai, kācāyakkaṭamai, pala taṟikkaṭamai, vācal viniyōkam, nallerutu, ... vilaiyumaṟṟu vilai, to . makkaḷ pērāl viṟaku paṇam, ērimīṉvilai, ūcivāci, paṭṭaṭatai, cekkukaṭamai, ... , māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kīṟṟuvari, muka-. . . . . viṉiyōkam, ... ilakkai, veṭṭi, ... ṇṭa . . . . . ṭamai, viṉiyōkam, ... pērāl koḷḷum palavarikaḷ, āyam, puṟavāyam, palataḷi-tēvatāṉattil koḷḷum palavarikaḷ, kāṇikkai, ... makkaḷ pērāl koḷḷum palavarikaḷ, pala upātikaḷ, kuṟṟateṇṭam, ... cūla vari, ... , āḷamañci, tōṭṭapuravari, . . yil koḷḷum pala varikaḷ, . . . tēvai mikuti . . . . . koḷḷum pala mutalkaḷ, tiḷi(kī)ṟṟu vari . . . . . uḷpaṭa . . . . . carvamānya iṟai ili āka
330	Kampaṇa	1368	-1) kaṭamai, poṉvari uḷḷiṭṭa mutalukku, kāṇikkai uḷḷiṭṭa mutalum, tāṉiyavakai, eṇṇai, varicai, ērimīṉvilai, nāṭṭu viniyōkam 2) maṟṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa pala paḷavari putuvari
331	-do-	1369	-1) kāṇikkai, ko . . . . , poṉvari, cantuvikramam, cilvari
332	Jammaṇṇa s/o Kampaṇa	1374	-1) Rakṣābhōgam uḷḷiṭṭa pala upātikaḷum
336	Virupaṇṇa s/o Ariyaṇṇa	1380	-1) poṉmutal, kaṭamai, . . . poṉvari, cantuvikkiramam, kāṇikkai
341	Viruppaṇṇa	1388	-1) erutu, kiṭā, kōṇikai, virimuṭṭu, arici kāṇam, eṇṇai, ney, pākku, miḷaku, iruppukkaṭṭin kuvaṭṭu, paccaivaṭam, for kaivilai paṇam, veṭṭi vāṭāram, nimantam, taccu, āḷamañci, for kirayam uluppaiyāka koḷḷum mutal 2) maṟṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa pala ūḷiyaṅkaḷ
343	-do-	1389	-1) poṉvari, cantuvikkiramam, kāttikaipoṉ, kāṇikkai

Sl. Number	King	A.D.	Terms
349	Tēvarāya	1432	-1) Rāca karattai nōkki varum palavari, putuvari ; kōyil nōkkivarum palavari, putuvari ; kōpura kāṇikkai, ūcivāci, nallerutu, narpacu, koṇikai, civantikai, tirunāḷ eṇṇai, tiruviḷakku āḷ, kācu, aḷakkum payaru, taṇṭuvānpēru, eṇavari, makanmai, āḷamañci, tiruttērvaṭattu ..... poṉmutal, nelmutal, marrum eppērpaṭṭa sarvva varikaḷum, āḷ amañci, ūḷiyam uḷpaṭa 2) marrum eppērpaṭṭa cakala upātikaḷ
352	-	1440	-1) poṉvari, ūcivāci
358	Irājacēkararāyar	1479	-1) kuṭikku vari, paṭṭaṭai, vālāyam, iṭaitturai, pācippāṭṭam, maraṅkāytturai, vaṇṇārvari
359	Virūpākṣa	1482	-1) poṉmutal, kāṇikkaippēru, vācalppaṇam, ... kaṭamai, ācuvakkaṭamai, ... tirunāḷ kāṇikkai 2) marru eppērpaṭṭa cakalamum
360	...	1482(?)	-1) damaged, but refers to cōṭi, cūlavari, kaṭamai, makamai, mukampārvai
362	Irācacēkaratēvar	1486	-1) cōṭi, cūlavari, kācuvarkkattil uṇṭāna paṭṭaṭai, nūlāyam, cuṅkāyam ..... cekku, mukampārvai, vicēṣavakai, kaṭṭāyam 2) marrum eppērpaṭṭa .... uṇṭānatum

15th century fragments

357	-	1479	-1) māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḷavaṭai, vāḷai, karumpu, mañcaḷ, yiñci 2) marrum eppērpaṭṭa cakala camutāyappirāttiyum
366	...	15th c.	-1) ārrukkāl, ūrrukkāl, ēntal-pirātti, kiṇarrūnīr-pirātti, neti, niṣēpam, celapāṣāṇam, ēntal, tāṅkal 2) pala poṉvarkkattilākira mutal, pala tāṉṉiya varkattilākira mutal

The Tuḷuvas

376	...	1506	-1) ērinīr pirātti, kiṇarrunīr-pirātti, ārrukkāl, ūrrukkāl, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḷavaṭai, carukaṭai 2) marrum, eppērpaṭṭa cakala-camutāya prāttiyuḷpaṭa

Sl. Number	King	A.D.	Terms
375	Immaṭi Naracānāyaka	1506	-1) ēntal, tāṅkal, maṟavaṭai, kiṇaṟu, mēṭu, paṟaittiṭar, āṟṟukkāl, ūṟṟukkāl, ērirnīr-pirātti, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḻavaṭai carukaṭai, cekkoṭṭu, taṟikkaṭamai, uḷaḷkkaṭamai 2) maṟṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa cakala-camutāyappirāttiyum, maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa cakala upātiyum
378	Narasiṅkatēva	1506	-1) kaṭamai, poṉmutal, āṭṭaippaṭi, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kāṇikkai, kaṭṭāyam
379	...	1508	-1) ācuvatika kaṭamai uṭpaṭa palavakaiyilākira mutal, maram, kiṇaṟu, neti, nikṣēpam, celapāṣāṇam 2) maṟṟumuṇṭāna ..
381	Vīra-Narasiṁhadēva	1509	-1) kaṭamai, poṉmutal, āṭṭaippaṭi, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kāṇikkai, kaṭṭāyam, nallerutu, naṟkiṭā, naṟpacu, kōṇikai, virimuṭṭu, vācalpaṇam, ērpaṇam, nīrpāṭṭam 2) maṟṟum, eppēṟpaṭṭa cakala-upātiyum
382	Vīra Naracimhatēva	1509	-1) ēri nīr-pirātti, kiṇaṟṟunīrpirātti, āṟṟukkālpirātti, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḻavatai, carukaṭai 2) maṟṟum eppērppaṭṭa cakala cakala-camutāyapirāttiyum
383	Kriṣṇadēva	1509	-1) kaṭamai
392	-do-	1519	-1) ēri nīrpirātti, kiṇaṟṟu-nīr-pirātti, āṟṟukkāl, ... , māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḻavaṭai, carukaṭai 2) maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa cakala camutāyappirāttiyum
393	-do-	1519	-1) ēri nīrpirātti, kuḻattu-nīr-pirātti, āṟṟukkāl pirātti, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḻavaṭai, carukaṭai 2) maṟṟum eppēṟpāṭṭa cakala-camutāya pirāttiyum
395	Accutatēva	1532	-1) ēri-nīr-pirātti, kiṇaṟṟunīr-pirātti, āṟṟukkāl pirātti, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḻavaṭai, carukaṭai 2) maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa cakala-camutāya pirāttiyum
396	-do-	1534	-1) ēntal, tāṅkal, māvaṭai, nattam, kiṇaṟu, mēṭu, paṟaittiṭar, āṟṟukkāl, ūṟṟukkāl, ērinīr-pirātti, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḻavaṭai, carukaṭai, kāṇikkai, kaṭṭāyam, kaṭamai, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, ulaikkaṭamai, 2) maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa cakala camutāya pirātti

Sl. Number	King	A.D.	Terms
397	Accutatēva	1534	-1) . . . . . (damaged) 2) marrum eppērpaṭṭa caka . . . . .
400	-do-	1534	-1) māvaṭai, maravaṭai, cekkoṭṭu, taṟikkaṭamai, ērimīṉ 2) marrum eppērpaṭṭa cakala-camutāyappirāttiyum
402	-do-	1537	-1) māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḻavatai, [caruḵkaṭai, cekkoṭṭu, taṟikaṭamai, valaikkaṭamai, ērinīrpiḻrāttil, ārru nīr pirātti, kiṇarrunīr pirātti, paṟaittiṭar, piṟavaṭaip-parru, tāṅkalpparru, malaipparru, palapaṭṭaṭai, taraṭṭavarkam, neti, niṣṣēpam, celapāṣāṇam 2) marrum eppērpaṭṭa cakala-camutāya pirāttiyum
403	-do-	1537	-1) ēntal, tāṅkal, piṟavaṭai, marru nattam, paṟaittiṭar, ārrukkāl, ūrrukkāl, ērinīrpirātti, kiṇarru-nīr-pirātti, nāṭārampam, kāṭārampam, neti, niṣēpam, calapāṣāṇam, kuḻavaṭai, carukaṭai, kaṭamai, poṉmutal, kāṇikkai, kaṭṭā . . . , āṭṭaipaṭi, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, cekkoṭṭu, taṟikaṭamai, vilaikkaṭamai 2) marru eppērpaṭṭa cakala-camutāya pirāttiyum 3) kāṇi āṭcyāka anupavittukkoḻḻa
405	Accutatēva	1538	-1) māvaṭai, maravaṭai, cekkoṭṭu, taṟikkaṭamai 2) marrum eppērpaṭṭa cakala-camutāyappirāttiyum
406	-do-	1539	-1) Sakala camutāyappirāttiyum
407	-do-	1539	-1) Cakala camutāyappirāttiyum
408	-do-	1539-40	-1) pala nelvaṟkaṭṭil ākira mutaḻum, pala tāṉṉiyavarkattilākiramutal
409	-do-	1540	-1) ēntal, tāṅkal, nattam, ... paṟaittiṭar, ārrukkāl, ūrrukkāl, ērinīr . . . . . pirātti, neti nikṣēpam, jalapāṣāṇam, cekkoṭṭu, taṟikkaṭamai, vilaikkaṭamai 2) marrum eppērpaṭṭa cakala camutāya pirāttikaḻum uḻpaṭa
410	-do-	16th c.	-1) māvaṭai, carukaṭai, ārrukkāl, ūrrukkāl, ērinīrpirātti, neti nikṣēpam, celapāṣāṇam
414	Catāciva	1548	-1) poṉmutal, kāṇikkai, kaṭṭāyam, ārrukkāl, uttukkāl, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, cekkoṭṭu, taṟikkaṭamai 2) eppērppaṭṭa cakala upātikaḻum

Sl. Number	King	A.D.	Terms
415	-do-	1551	-1) kaṭamai, poṉmutal, kāṇikkai, kaṭṭāyam, āṭṭaippaṭi, mukampārvai, vācalpaṇam, palapaṭṭaṭai, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḷavaṭai, cekkoṭṭu, taṟikkaṭamai, vilaikkaṭamai 2) marṟum eppērpaṭṭa cakala camutāyappirāttiyum
416	-do-	1551	-1) tāṅkal, nattam, tiṭar, āṟukāl, ūṟukāl, ērinīrpāciyum, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḷavaṭai 2) . . . . . tāṉiyavaṟkattil ākira mutal, cakala camutāya pirāttiyum uḷpaṭa
417	Catāciva	1551	-1) ēntal, tāṅkal, piṟavaṭai, ārṟunīr pirātti, ērinīrpirātti, kaṭamai, poṉmutal, kāṇikkai, ... , māvaṭai, maravaṭai, cekkoṭṭu, taṟikkaṭamai, valaikkaṭamai 2) marṟum eppērpaṭṭa cakala camutāyap pirāttiyum, pala poṉ varkattilākira mutalum, pala tāṉiyavarkattilākira mutalum
418	. . .	1551(?)	-1) ēntal, tāṅkal, piṟavaṭai, natta-tiṭar, ārṟukkāl, ūṟṟukkāl, ērimīṉ, neti, nikṣēpam, jalapāṣāṇam, kaṭamai, poṉmutal, kāṇikkai, kaṭṭāyam, caṭṭicōṟu, vācalpaṇam, ... , palapaṭṭaṟai, māvaṭai, maravaṭai 2) eppērpaṭṭa cakala camutāya pirāttiyum
420	Catāciva	1551(?)	-1) ēntal, nattam, ellai, kollai, ārṟukkāl, ūṟṟukkāl, ērinīrpirātti, poṉmutal, tāniya mutal
421	-do-	1556	-1) kaṭamai, ... 2) cakala-camutāyap pirāttiyum
424	-do-	1567	-1) kāṇikkai, kaṭṭāyam, irāca ūḻiyam, ēr, āḻamañci, eccōṟu, uḻavaṭaiyum, māvaṭai
425	. . .	1568-69	-1) māvaṭai, maravaṭai, kuḷavaṭai, carukaṭai, cekkoṭṭu, taṟikkaṭamai, āḻamanci 2) marṟum eppērpaṭṭa cakala camutāyappirāttiyum uḷpaṭa
428	Catāciva	1568-69	-1) . . . . . ,ūṟṟukkāl, māvaṭai, cekkoṭṭu, taṟikkaṭamai 2) eppēṟpaṭṭa cakala upātikaḷum
429	-do-	16th c.	-1) poṉ mutal, kāṇikkai, kaṭṭāyam, māvaṭai, maravaṭai 2) marṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa cakala upātiyum
The Āravīḍus			
432	Srī Raṅgadēva	1574	-1) kutiraivilāṭam, ūcivvāci, cakalamum

Sl. Number	King	A.D.	Terms
437	Veṅkiṭapati	1589	-1) marrum uṇṭānatellām
440	Veṅkiṭapatidēva	1590	-1) cekkoṭṭu, tarikkaṭamai, mātārikkam, talaiyārikkam, māvaṭai, maravaṭaiyil kāṇkira mutalum, makamai given by 56 tecattuppalar, and its palaṅkaḷ 2) cakala camutāyattil kāṇkira mutal
441	-do-	1595	-1) cekkoṭṭu, tarikkaṭamai, mātārikkam, talaiyārikkam

SECOND PART : INSCRIPTIONS

P.R. Srinivasan

NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPTION

Words found under a Tamil abbreviated form in the inscriptions (cf. *nel, kalam* etc.) are given in italics in the text of the inscriptions. Symbols for numeral and fractions are also in italics in the text of the corpus.

stands either as the symbol of an auspicious beginning or as the symbol of an ending, being more or less equivalent to a full stop.

In some inscriptions certain terms are written both in words and symbols which seems to be a legal drafting for clarity.

LOCATION OF INSCRIPTIONS

(Plan of the temple at the end of tome II)

1. CENTRAL SHRINE

1a - *On the base of the cella (fragments, altered stones)*

Corpus no	Date	Place
1	885	S side
6	?	S side
7	?	N side
8	?	N side
9	?	N side
19	10th c.	N side
20	10th c.	S side
21	10th c.	S side
23	10th c.	N side
24	10th c.	N side
25	10th c.	S side
26	10th c.	S side
27	10th c.	N side
50	11th c.	S side

1a - *On the walls of the cella (damaged or incomplete)*

Corpus no	Date	Place
2	910	S wall
3	911	S wall
5	922	W wall
10	?	S wall
14	961	S wall
15	968	S wall
16	969	S wall
17	?	S wall

1e - *On the adjoining platform built during the 19th century (fragments)*

Corpus no	Date	Place
11	10th c.	on low wall, S side
33	10th c.	on low wall, W side
37	10th c.	on low wall, S side
48	11th c.	on low wall, S side
65	12th c.	trench, S side
179	13th c.	trench, W side
21	13th c.	trench, N side
228	13th c.	trench, S side
229	13th c.	trench, S side
231	13th c.	trench, S side
235	13th c.	trench, W side
236	13th c.	trench, N side
237	13th c.	trench, N side
241	13th c.	trench, W side
244	13th c.	trench, W side

Inside the vestibule (fragments)

Corpus no	Date	Place
12	10th c.	N wall
22	10th c.	S wall
66	12th c.	E wall
394	15th c.	E wall
498	18th c.	E wall

1c - *Inside the square room (fragment)*

Corpus no	Date	Place
49	11th c.	W wall

2. SECOND ENCLOSURE

2g. *Chapel of Bhairava*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
69	12th c.	335	1378	370	15th c.

2h. *Paḷḷiyaṟai*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
172	13th c.	245	13th c.	266	13th c.
177	1252	256	13th c.	322	14th c.
210	13th c.	258	13th c.		
215	13th c.	265	13th c.		

2i. *Chapel of Naṭarāja*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
171	13th c.	326	1363	354	1445-46
249	13th c.				

2k. *Pokkiṣam (N.E. corner of the enclosure)*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
39	11th c.	253	13th c.	306	14th c.
52	11th c.	254	13th c.	307	14th c.
76	12th c.	255	13th c.	308	14th c.
77	12th c.	257	13th c.	321	14th c.
78	12th c.	259	13th c.	374	16th c.
79	12th c.	261	13th c.	489	16th c.
174	1248	262	13th c.	490	16th c.
220	13th c.	264	13th c.	491	16th c.
250	13th c.	267	13th c.		
252	13th c.	297	14th c.		

- 2nd enclosure - South wall (external façade)

Corpus no	Date	Place	Corpus no	Date	Place	Corpus no	Date	Place
29	10th c.	W part	71	12th c.	W part	330	1368	W part
30	1030	W part	72	12th c.	W part	346	1402 ?	E part
31	1031	W part	270	1246-47	E part	392	1519	E part
32	1039	W part	280	1282	E part	396	1534	W part
43	11th c.	W part	309	13th c ?	E part	499	?	?
70	12th c.	W part	329	1367	W part	500	?	?

- 2nd enclosure - South wall (internal façade)

Corpus no	Date	Place
461	15th c.	?

- 2nd enclosure - West wall (external façade)

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
47	11th c.	281	1283	343	1389
208	13th c.	282	1284	400	1534
277	1275	288	1334-35	409	1540
278	1278	289	1329	418	1551

- 2nd enclosure - North wall (external façade)

Corpus no	Date	Place	Corpus no	Date	Place	Corpus no	Date	Place
40	1050	W part	161	1242	E part	202	1257	E part
41	1050	W part	163	1246	E part	204	1262-63	E part
112	1204	Central part	164	1246	E part	209	1278 (?)	E part
114	1205	Central part	165	1246		212	13th c.	E part
126	1211	Central part	166	1247	E part	230	13th c.	E part
127	?	Central part	167	1247		283	1287	W part
136	1221	Central part	168	1248		303	1341	E part
147	1232	E part	169	1248	E part	304	1341	E part
150	1233-34	E part	176	1251	E part	305	1341	E part
151	1234 (?)	E part	181	1236	E part	312	14th c.	W part
152	1234		182	1236-37	E part	323	14th c.	W part
155	1236	E part	184	1241	E part	331	1369	W part
156	1237		185	1240-41	E part	345	1402	W part
158	1240		196	1262	E part	365	15th c.	E part
159	1241	E part	197	1242 (?)	E part	369	15th c.	W part

Corpus no	Date	Place
371	15th c.	W part
383	1510	W part
385	1512	W part
386	1515	W part
387	1515-16	W part
389	1517	E part
390	1517	E part
391	1519	W part
397	1534	W part
398	1534	Central part
399	1534	W part
401	1535	W part
404	1538	W part
405	1538	W part
439	1590	E part
440	1590	E part
441	1595	E part
444	16th c.	W part
487	16th c.	NE corner
488	16th c.	NE corner

- 2nd. enclosure - E wall (external façade)

South Part

Corpus no	Date
91	1184
105	1196
121	1207
135	1219
160	1241
199	1254
225	13th c.
268	1242-43
269	1245-46
271	1247-48
272	1247-48
273	1256
274	1266
275	1268
276	1269
284	1301
301	1317
379	1508
402	1537
403	1537

North Part

Corpus no	Date
85	1170
93	1189
134	?
145	?
154	1236
180	13th c.
183	1236-37
186	1243 (?)
187	1244
188	1244
189	1244 (?)
190	1244 (?)
192	1245
193	1256 (?)
219	13th c.
226	13th c.
429	?

2nd enclosure - East wall, internal façade

Corpus no	Date	Place
325	1361	S part

2j - Gateway of the 2nd enclosure (Rishi gopura)

Corpus no	Date
64	12th c.
67	12th c.
137	12th c.
138	1227
139	1228
141	1231

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
146	1232	311	14th c.	344	1391 (?)
157	1239	319	14th c.	363	15th c.
178	13th c.	327	1365	367	15th c.
207	13th c.	338	1386		
310	14th c.	340	?		

3. THIRD ENCLOSURE

3b- *Palaṉi Āṇṭavar*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
194	1259	195	1258-59	416	1551

3q - *Ēkāmbareśvara*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
94	1189	191	1245	201	1256
113	1204	198	1242-43	414	1548
175	1250	200	1255		

3r - *Cidambarēśvara*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
81	1170	86	1180	148	1234
82	1170	131	?	149	1233-34
83	1170	142	1231	170	?
84	1170	144	1231 (?)	481	1526

3o - *Devasthanam*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
28	10th c. (fragment - reused stone ?)	203	1260-61	428	1568-69 (?)

3n - *Yāgaśālā (stone paving)*

Corpus no	Date
143	13th c.

3m. - ***Kāḷattīśvara***

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
368	15th c.	421	1556	486	16th c.

3j - ***Kalyāṇa maṇḍapa***

Corpus no	Date
415	1551

3h - ***Platforms***

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
54	12th c.	59	12th c.	232	13th c.
55	12th c.	60	12th c.	233	14th c.
56	12th c.	61	12th c.	320	14th c.
57	12th c.	62	12th c.		
58	12th c.	63	12th c.		

3f - ***Kitchen (Maṭapaḷḷi) (stone paving)***

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
13	961	51	11th c.	101	1195

3e - ***Ukkirāṇam***

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
298	1336	299	1336-37	300	1338

3t - ***East gateway of 3rd enclosure (Kiḷi gopura)***

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
68	12th c.	102	1196	117	1205
87	1180	103	1196	118	1205
88	1180	104	1196	119	1205
90	1183	107	1198	122	1207
92	1188	108	1199	123	1208
95	1191	109	1199	124	1210
96	1191	110	1202	128	1213
97	1191	111	1203	129	?
98	1192	115	1205	132	?
99	1192	116	1205	133	?

Corpus no	Date
140	1229
153	1235
162	1245
205	1263-64
213	13th c.
214	13th c.
216	13th c.
217	13th c.
221	13th c.
222	13th c.
238	13th c.
286	1312
377	1506
378	1506
381	1509
411	?
420	1551 (?)
422	1559
427	1568-69
437	1589
485	16th c.
493	1717

3rd enclosure - East wall

External façade

Corpus no	Date
100	1195
173	?
227	13th c.
375	1506 (?)
376	1506
380	1509
382	1509
395	1532
462	16th c.
476	16th c.

Internal façade

Corpus no	Date
279	1281
324	14th c.
357	1479
366	15th c.
408	1539-40
410	?
417	1551
425	1568-69

3rd enclosure - South wall

External façade

Corpus no	Date
239	13th c.
466	16th c.
467	16th c.

Internal façade

Corpus no	Date
302	14th c.

3rd enclosure - West wall (external façade)

Corpus no	Date
342	1389

31 - *North enclosure wall of the goddess's shrine (fragments reused)*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
73	12th c.	242	13th c.	31	14th c.
74	12th c.	243	13th c.	318	14th c.
75	12th c.	313	14th c.	337	1381
80	12th c.	314	14th c.	419	1551 (?)
240	13th c.	315	14th c.	483	16th c.

- *South enclosure wall of the goddess's shrine*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
285	1304	372	15th c.

3rd enclosure - North wall (internal façade)

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
328	1367	393	519

3rd enclosure - stone paving of the yard

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
4	921	44	11th c.	248	13th c.
18	998	45	11th c.	260	13th c.
34	11th c.	53	12th c.	263	13th c.
35	11th c.	130	13th c.	333	14th c.
36	11th c.	234	13th c.	364	15th c.
38	11th c.	246	13th c.		
42	1065	247	13th c.		

4. FOURTH ENCLOSURE

4d - *Puravi maṇḍapa (South porch)*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
355	1451	469	1500	479	16th c.
373	1502	471	1503	480	16th c.
413	1545	472	16th c.	482	16th c.
463	1465	474	16th c.	484	16th c.
464	1467	475	16th c.	496	1835
465	1471-72	477	16th c.		
468	1496	478	16th c.		

4j - *Vidyādharēśvara*

Corpus no	Date
447	1580

4s - *East gateway - 4th enclosure (Vallāḷa gopura)*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
290	1330	352	1440	362	1486
334	1377	353	1443	384	1511
341	1388	356	1453	424	1567
347	1414	358	1479	435	1584-85
348	1418	359	1482	497	1897
349	1432	360	1482 (?)		
350	1437	361	1482 (?)		

4t - *West gateway - 4th enclosure*

Corpus no	Date
332	1374

4u - *North gateway - 4th enclosure (Kaṭṭai gopura)*

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
339	14th c.(?)	423	1564

Fourth enclosure - South wall

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
89	1181	291	1334-35	473	1509
287	1319	470	1502		

Fourth enclosure - East wall

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
106	1197	406	1539	407	1539
206	?				

5. FIFTH ENCLOSURE

5a Aruṇagirināṭha

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
412	1543	443	16th c.

Stone paving yard of 5th enclosure

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
46	11th c.	388	1517

5p - ***East gateway of fifth enclosure (Rāya gopura)***

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
426	1569	446	1572 (?)	455	1570
430	1570	448	1580	456	1580 (?)
432	1574	449	1570	457	1570
433	?	450	1570	458	16th c.
434	1576	451	1570	459	1570
436	1587	452	1570	460	1570
438	1590	453	1570	492	?
445	1572	454	1570	494	1733

South wall

Corpus no	Date
495	17th c.

OUTSIDE THE TEMPLE

Temple of Bhūta Nārāyaṇa

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
211	13th c.	224	13th c.	251	13th c.

Temple of Kumāra

442

Toṇḍar kōyil

Corpus no	Date
336	1380

Kōcalai

Corpus no	Date
351	1439

Vīrakkuṭṭai st.

Corpus no	Date
431	1573

Giripradakṣiṇa

Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date	Corpus no	Date
292	14th c.	294	14th c.	296	14th c.
293	14th c.	295	14th c.		

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

Corpus no : inscription number of the present edition

EO no : EFEO, Pondicherry, unpublished estampage numbers
SII no : inscription number in *South Indian Inscriptions vol. VIII*
ARE no/1929 : inscription number in *Annual Report on Epigraphy, year 1929*
ARE no/45-46 : inscription number in *Annual Report on Epigraphy, year 1945-46*
ARE no/52-53 : inscription number in *Annual Report on Epigraphy, year 1952-53*

Early cōḻas

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
1	EO 402	Kōv-Irācakēcaripanmar = Āditya I (?)	14	885	Central shrine, south side, base.
2	SII 58	Kōp-Parakēcaripanmar = Parāntaka I	3	910	Central shrine, south wall.
3	SII 61	- do -	4	911	- do -
4	EO 4	.... ripanmar probably Parakēcaripanmar (on palaeographical ground) = Parāntaka I	14	921	III Prākāra, south side, floor
5	SII 64	Matiraikoṇṭa Kōp-Parakēcaripanmar = Parāntaka I	15	922	Central shrine, west wall.
6	EO 403	- do -	Lost	10th c.	Central shrine, south side, base.
7	EO 405 A	- do -	Lost	- do -	Central shrine, north side, base.
8	EO 407 B	- do-	Lost	- do -	Central shrine, north side, base.
9	EO 408	- do -	Lost	- do -	- do-

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
10	SII 62	Kōp-Parakēcaripanmar = Parāntaka I	Lost	10th c.	Central shrine, south wall.
11	EO 418	- do -	Lost	- do -	Platform around central shrine, south side.
12	EO 427	- do -	Lost	- do -	Central shrine, antarāḷa, north wall.
		Rāṣṭrakūṭas			
13	EO 1678	Kaṉṉaratēvaṉ	22	961 (?)	III Prākāra, *maḍapaḷḷi*, floor.
14	SII 63	- do -	Lost	C. 961	Central shrine, south wall.
		Early cōḻas			
15	SII 59	Vīrapāṇṭiyanai talaikoṇṭa Kōp-Parakēcaripanmar = = Āditya II	3	C. 968	Central shrine, south wall.
16	SII 57	- do -	4	969	Central shrine, south wall
17	SII 60	Kōp-Parakēcaripanmar, Probably = Uttama-cōḻa	Lost	10th c.	Central shrine, south wall.
18	SII 65	Kōv-Irācakēcarimanmar, Probably = Rājarāja I (on palaeographical ground)	13	998	III Prākāra, south side, floor.
		Fragmentary epigraphs in 10th century characters			
19	EO 407 A	....	11	10th c.	Central shrine, north side, base.
20	EO 400 B	....	...	- do -	Central shrine, south side, base.
21	EO 400 A	....	...	- do -	Central shrine, south side, base.
22	EO 426	....	17	- do -	Central shrine, *antarāḷa* (inside), south wall.
23	EO 405 B	....	18	- do -	Central shrine, north side, base.
24	EO 407 C	....	18	- do -	- do -
25	EO 401 A	....	...	- do -	Central shrine, south side, base.
26	EO 401 B	....	...	- do -	- do -
27	EO 406	....	...	- do -	Central shrine, north side, base.
28	EO 905	....	...	- do -	Devasthanam office portico.
29	EO 1717-18	....	...	- do -	II Prākāra, south wall, east part.
30	SII 67	Rājēndra I	18	1030	II Prākāra, south wall, west part (outside).

Early cōḻas

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
31	SII 66	Rājēndra I	19	1031	II Prākāra, south wall, west part (outside).
32	SII 68	- do -	27	1039	- do -
33	EO 421-22	- do -	Lost	11th c.	Central shrine, platform around, west side.
34	EO 3	- do -	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, south side, floor.
35	EO 24	- do -	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, south side, floor.
36	EO 2	- do -	Lost	- do -	- do -
37	EO 419	- do -	Lost	- do -	Central shrine, platform around, south side.
38	EO 5 A	- do -		- do -	III Prākāra, south side, floor.
39	EO 1653	- do -	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam* (inside), west wall.
40	EO 751-59	Rājādhirāja I	32	1050	II Prākāra, north wall, (outside), (western half).
41	SII 82	- do -	32	1050	- do -
42	EO 25	- do -	Lost	C. 1065	III Prākāra, south side, floor.

Fragmentary epigraphs in 11th century characters

43	EO 862	.....	...	11th c.	II Prārāra, south wall, west end.
44	EO 5	.....	[30]	- do -	III Prākāra, south side, floor.
45	EO 5 B	.....	...	- do -	- do -
46	EO 1	.....	...	- do -	V Prākāra, south of the Kampattu Uḷaiyaṉār temple, floor.
47	EO 705-742	.....	...	- do -	II Prākāra, west wall (outside).
48	EO 420	.....	...	- do -	Central shrine, platform around, south side.
49	EO 428	.....	...	- do -	Central shrine, *ardhamaṇḍapa*, west wall, north side
50	EO 404	.....	...	- do -	Central shrine, south side, base.
51	EO 1677	.....	...	- do -	III Prākāra, *maḍapaḷḷi*, floor.
52	EO 1553	.....		- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, west wall (inside).

Fragmentary epigraphs in the 12th century characters

53	EO 10	.....	...	12th c.	III Prākāra, south side, floor.
54	EO 12	.....	...	12th c.	III Prākāra, south side, platform with trees, south end.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
55	EO 13	.....	...	12th c.	III Prākāra, south side, platform with trees, south end.
56	EO 14	.....	...	- do -	III Prākāra, south side, platform with trees, middle.
57	EO 15	.....	...	- do -	- do -
58	EO 16	.....	...	- do -	- do -
59	EO 16 A	.....	...	- do -	- do -
60	EO 17	.....	...	- do -	- do -
61	EO 18	.....	...	- do -	- do -
62	EO 18 A	.....	...	- do -	- do -
63	EO 19	.....	...	- do -	III Prākāra, south side, platform with trees, east end.
64	EO 181	.....		- do -	Ṛṣi-gōpura, entrance, north side.
65	EO 409	.....	...	- do -	Central shrine, platform around, south side.
66	EO 425	.....	...	- do -	Central shrine, *antarāḷa* (inside), east wall.
67	EO 451 B	.....	...	- do -	Ṛṣi-gōpura, entryway, south wall.
68	EO 855-857	.....	...	- do -	Kiḷigōpura, middle portion, northern platform, base.
69	EO 1627	.....			II Prākāra, Bhairava shrine.
70	EO 863	.....	...	- do -	II Prākāra, south wall, west side.
71	EO 864	.....	...	- do -	- do -
72	EO 865	.....	...	- do -	- do -
73	EO 1129	.....	...	- do -	III Prākāra, north wall, (inside), godown to the north of Amman shrine.
74	EO 1132	.....	...	- do -	- do -
75	EO 1136	.....	...	- do -	- do -
76	EO 1535-36	.....	...	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, west wall, inside.
77	EO 1537	.....	...	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, west wall, (inside).
78	EO 1538	.....	...	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, west wall.
79	EO 1539	.....	...	- do -	- do -
80	EO 1126	.....	12	- do -	III Prākāra, north wall (inside), godown to the north of Amman shrine.
81	SII 115	Rājādhirāja II	4	1170	III Prākāra, Cidambarēśvara shrine, south wall.
82	SII 117	- do -	4	1170	III Prākāra, Cidambarēśvara shrine, south wall.

Later cōḻas

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
83	ARE 69/45-46	Rājādhirāja II	4	1170	III Prākāra, wall of the Cidambarēśvara shrine.
84	SII 119	- do -	7	1173	III Prākāra, Cidambarēśvara shrine, west wall
85	EO 78-85,	- do -	7	1173	II Prākāra, east wall, north side.
86	SII 116	Kulōttuṅka III	2	1180	III Prākāra, Cidambarēśvara shrine, south wall.
87	SII 143	- do -	2	1180	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.
88	EO 856-857	Tri. Vīrarājēndracōḻa	2	1180	Kiḷi-gōpura, middle portion, northern platform, base.
89	79/45-46	Kulōttuṅka III	3	1181	IV Prākāra, south wall (outside).
90	SII 141	- do -	5	1183	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.
91	EO 33(18)	Tri. Vīrarācēntra	6	1184	East wall, south side.
92	SII 126	Kulōttuṅka III	10	1188	Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.
93	EO 127-129	Tribhuvanavīratēvar	[11]	1189	II Prākāra, east wall, north side.
94	SII 112	Tribhuvanavīracōḻatēvar	11	1189	III Prākāra, Ēkāmbarēśvara, east wall.
95	SII 121	Kulōttuṅka III	13	1191	Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, west side.
96	SII 137	- do -	13	1191	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.
97	SII 144	- do -	13	1191	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, east side.
98	SII 125	- do -	14	1192	Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, west side.
99	SII 131	- do -	14	1192	Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.
100	EO 1097-1105	- do -	17	1195	III Prākāra, east wall (outside).
101	EO 1676	Lost	17	1195	III Prākāra, *maḍapaḷḷi*, floor.
102	SII 127	Kulōttuṅka III	18	1196	Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.
103	SII 129	- do -	18	1196	- do -
104	SII 132	- do -	[18]	1196	- do -
105	EO 33(14)	- do -	[18]	1196	II Prākāra, east wall, south side.
106	ARE 73/45-46	- do -	19	1197	III Prākāra, east wall.
107	SII 138	- do -	20	1198	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.
108	SII 122	- do -	21	1199	Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, west side.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
109	SII 123	Kulōttuṅka III	21	1199	Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, west side.
110	SII 151	- do -	24	1202	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.
111	SII 124	- do -	25	1203	Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, west side.
112	SII 75	- do -	26	1204	II Prākāra, north wall.
113	SII 114	- do -	26	1204	III Prākāra, Ēkāmbarēśvara shrine, south wall.
114	SII 106	- do -	27	1205	II Prākāra, north wall.
115	SII 128	- do -	27	1205	Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.
116	SII 130	- do -	27	1205	Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.
117	SII 146	- do -	27	1205	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, east side.
118	SII 149	- do -	27	1205	- do -
119	SII 150	- do -	27	1205	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.
120	EO 26	- do - Matiraiyum, Ḷḷamum koṇṭa	28	1206	III Prākāra, west side, floor.
121	EO 33(13)	Tri. Kulō. III	29	1207	II Prākāra, east wall, south side.
122	SII 139	- do -	29	1207	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.
123	SII 140	- do -	30	1208	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, east side.
124	SII 147	- do -	32	1210	- do -
125	EO 22	[do]	32	1210	III Prākāra, south side, floor.
126	EO 331-350	Tri. Kulō. III	33	1211	II Prākāra, north wall (outside), middle.
127	EO 351-355	.....	...	13th c.	- do -
128	SII 148	Tiripuvanavīratēvar	35	1213	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, east side.
129	EO 858	Kulōttuṅka III Mat. Ḷḷamum koṇṭa	Lost	13th c.	Kiḷi-gōpura, middle portion, southern platform, base.
130	EO 27	Kulō. III	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, south side, floor.
131	SII 118	Tri. Vīrarājēntirartēvar	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, Cidambarēśvara shrine, west wall.
132	EO 911	Mantri Bhāskara, assumed to be the minister of Kulō. III	Nil.	- do -	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, east side.
133	SII 133	- do -	Nil.	13th c.	Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.
134	EO 92, 89, 85	Lost	Nil.	13th c.	II Prākāra, east wall, north side.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
135	EO 33(6)	Rācarācatēvar III	3	1219	II Prākāra, east wall, south side.
136	SII 86	- do -	5	1221	II Prākāra, north wall.
137	EO 1587-1598	- do -	7	1223	II prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura entryway, north platform.
138	EO 438-40	- do -	11	1227	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura entryway, south platform.
139	EO 450-51	- do -	12	1228	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura entryway, north wall.
140	ARE 66/45-46	- do -	13	1229	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.
141	EO 443-44	- do -	15	1231	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura rear platform, south side.
142	EO 296-298	- do -	15	1231	III Prākāra, Cidambarēśvara shrine, north wall.
143	EO 1740	.....	...	13th c.	III Prākāra, *yāgaśālā*, floor.
144	EO 299-303	Lost	Lost	1231 (?)	III Prākāra, Cidambarēśara shrine, north wall.
145	EO 64-82	Lost	Lost	13th c.	II Prākāra, east wall, north side (outside).
146	EO 445	Rācarācatēvar III	16	1232	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura rear platform, south side.
147	SII 74	- do -	16	1232	II Prākāra, north wall.
148	EO 304-307	- do -	17	1234	III Prākāra, Cidambarēśvara shrine, south wall.
149	EO 308-309	Rājarāja III	17	1233-34	III Prākāra, Cidambarēśvara shrine, south wall.
150	SII 80	- do -	17	1233-34	II Prākāra, north wall.
151	SII 84	- do -	18	1234	- do -
152	SII 105	- do -	18	1234	- do -
153	SII 142	- do -	19	1235	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.
154	EO 135-136	- do -	20	1236	II Prākāra, east wall, north side.
155	SII 83	- do -	20	1236	II Prākāra, north wall.
156	SII 91	- do -	21	1237	- do -
157	EO 451 A	- do -	23	1239	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura entryway, north wall.
158	SII 87	- do -	24	1240	II Prākāra, north wall.
159	SII 92	- do -	25	1241	- do -
160	EO 33(8)	- do -	25	1241	II Prākāra, east wall, south side.
161	SII 96	- do -	26	1242	II Prākāra, north wall.
162	SII 152	Rājarāja III	29	1245	Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.
163	SII 85	- do -	30	1246	II Prākāra, north wall.
164	SII 94	Rājarāja III	30	1246	II Prākāra, north wall.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
165	SII 100	- do -	30	1246	- do -
166	SII 77	- do -	31	1247	- do -
167	SII 101	- do -	31	1247	- do -
168	SII 81	- do -	32	1248	- do -
169	SII 93	- do -	32	1248	- do -
170	EO 310-313	- do -	Lost	13th c.	III Prākāra, Cidambarēśvara shrine, south wall.
171	EO 1523	Tri. Rāja.	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, Naṭarāja shrine, south wall (inside).
172	EO 1629	Tri. Irāra.	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *paḷḷiyarai*, east wall, inside.
173	EO 961	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, north-east corner of Kiḷi-gōpura.
174	EO 1654	Tri. Vicaiyarājēndra	2	1248	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam* (inside), west wall.
175	SII 110	- do -	4	1250	III Prākāra, Ēkāmbarēśvara shrine, south wall.
176	SII 88	Rājēndra III	5	1251	II Prākāra, north wall
177	EO 1632	Lost	6	1252	II Prākāra, *paḷḷiyaṟai*, east wall (inside).
178	EO 446	Lost	13	13th c.	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura rear platform, south side.
179	EO 414-415	Lost	27	- do -	Central shrine, platform around, west side.
180	EO 65, 86-88	Tri. Vicai.	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, east wall, north side.
Kāṭavarāyas					
181	SII 103	Kōp-Peruñciṅka I	4	1236	II Prākāra, north wall.
182	SII 90	- do -	5	1236-37	- do -
183	EO 98-103,	- do -	5	1236-37	II Prākāra, east wall, north side.
184	SII 78	- do -	9	1241	II Prākāra, north wall.
185	SII 102	- do -	9	1240-41	- do -
186	EO 147-148	- do -	Lost	1243 (?)	II Prākāra, east wall, north side.
187	EO 115-118	- do -	13	1244	- do -
188	EO 119-122	- do -	Lost	1244	- do -
189	EO 66-73	- do - (Colanait-Teḷḷāṟṟil)	Lost	1244 (?)	- do -
190	EO 73	- do - - do -	Lost	1244 (?)	- do -
191	ARE 68/45-46	Kōp-Peruñciṅka I	14	1245	III Prākāra, Ēkāmbarēśvara shrine, south wall.
192	EO 139-140	- do -	[14]	1245	II Prākāra, south wall, north side.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
193	EO 123-126	Lost	Lost	1256 (?)	II Prākāra, south wall, north side.
194	SII 108	Kōp-Peruñciṅka I	27	1259	III Prākāra, Paḷaṉiyāṇṭi shrine, south wall.
195	SII 107	- do -	27	1258-59	- do -
196	SII 79	- do -	31	1262	II Prākāra, north wall.
197	SII 95	Kōp-Peruñciṅka II	2	1242 (?)	- do -
198	EO 295	- do -	2	1242-43	III Prākāra, Ēkāmbarēśvara shrine, west wall.
199	EO 33(4)	- do -	Lost	1254	II Prākāra, east wall, south side.
200	SII 111	- do -	12	1255	III Prākāra, Ēkāmbarēśvara shrine, south wall.
201	SII 109	- do -	13	1256	III Prākāra, Ekambarēśvara shrine, south wall.
202	SII 98	- do -	15	1257	II Prākāra, north wall.
203	EO 214-230	- do -	18	1260-61	III Prākāra, Dēvasthānam office, west side, base.
204	SII 104	- do -	20	1262-63	II Prākāra, north wall.
205	SII 120	- do -	21	1263-64	Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, west side
206	ARE 70/45-46	Lost	Lost	13th c.	III Prākāra, east wall.
207	EO 1571-1586	Kōp-Peruñciṅka II	2[.]	- do -	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura entryway, north platform, north wall.
208	SII 69	Kaṭavakūmāraṉ	Nil.	- do -	II Prākāra, west wall.
209	SII 76	Kōp-Peruñciṅka II	36	1279	II Prākāra, north wall.
210	EO 1637	- do -	Lost	13th c.	II Prākāra, *paḷḷiyaṟai*, east wall
211	EO 1639	Lost (Āṭkoṇṭāṉ)	Nil.	- do -	Bhūta-Nārāyaṇa temple, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

Bāṇas

212	SII 97	Poṉparappiṉa Makataiperumāḷ, Vāṇaṉ	...	13th c.	II Prākāra, north wall.
213	SII 134	Makataiyar perumāṉ Vāṇaṉ	...	- do -	Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, west side.
214	SII 135	Bāṇeśvaran	...	- do -	- do -
215	EO 1567-1570	Bāṇēśvara (copy of above)	...	- do -	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura entryway, north platform, west wall.
216	SII 145	Poṉparappiṉāṉ Makataiperumāḷ	...	- do -	Kiḻi-gōpura, south wall, east side.
217	SII 136	Pārarācarkaḷ nāyan (Bāṇa ?)	...	- do -	Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, west side.
218	EO 417 B	Not mentioned	...	- do -	Central shrine, platform around, north side.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
219	EO 131-33	Lost	...	13th c.	II Prākāra, east wall, north side.
220	EO 1563	Lost	...	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, north of its entrance.
221	EO 396-399	Lost	...	- do -	Kiḻi-gōpura, west side, *paṭṭi*.
222	EO 859-861	Lost	...	- do -	Kiḻi-gōpura, middle portion, southern platform, base.
223	EO 1543-1545		[2]3	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, south of entrance.
224	EO 1640	Lost	...	- do -	Bhūta-Nārāyaṇa temple, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

Campuvarāyas etc. (in characters of the 13th century)

225	EO 33(2)	Sakalalōkacakravarti Ariyaṇṇa Campuvarāyan	11	13th c.	II Prākāra, east wall, south side.
226	EO 74-81	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, east wall, north side.
227	EO 1029-1031	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, east wall, (outside).
228	EO 411	Lost	Lost	- do -	Central shrine, platform around, south side.
229	EO 412	Lost	Lost	- do -	- do -
230	EO 356	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, north wall.
231	EO 410	Lost	Lost	- do -	Central shrine, platform around, south side.
232	EO 11	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, platform with trees, south side.
233	EO 23	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, platform with trees, east side.
234	EO 29	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, south side, floor.
235	EO 413 B	Lost	Lost	- do -	Central shrine, platform around, west side.
236	EO 416	Lost	Lost	- do -	Central shrine, platform around, north side.
237	EO 417 A	Lost	Lost	- do -	- do -
238	EO 912	Lost	Lost	- do -	Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, *adhiṣṭhānā*.
239	EO 1108	Nil	Nil.	- do -	III Prākāra, south wall (outside).
240	EO 1134	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, north wall (inside), godown to the north of Amman shrine.
241	EO 414 B	Lost	Lost	- do -	Central shrine, platform around, west side.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
242	EO 1135	Lost	Lost	13th c.	III Prākāra, north wall (inside), godown to the north of the Amman shrine.
243	EO 1133	Lost	Lost	- do -	- do -
244	EO 413 A	Lost	Lost	- do -	Central shrine, platform around, west side.
245	EO 1633	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *paḷḷiyaṟai* west wall (inside).
246	EO 32	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, south side, floor.
247	EO 31	Lost	Lost	- do -	- do -
248	EO 7	Lost	Lost	- do -	- do -
249	EO 1521-1522	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, Naṭarāja shrine, east wall (inside).
250	EO 1548	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, south entrance.
251	EO 1638	Lost	Lost	- do -	Bhūta-Nārāyaṇa temple, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.
252	EO 1546-1547	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, south of its entrance.
253	EO 1551	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, north of its entrance.
254	EO 1554 A	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, north of its entrance
255	EO 1555	Lost	Lost	- do -	- do -
256	EO 1558	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *paḷḷiyaṟai*, east wall (outside).
257	EO 1559	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, north of its entrance.
258	EO 1631	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *paḷḷiyaṟai*, east wall (inside).
259	EO 1655	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam* (inside), west wall.
260	EO 28	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, south side, floor.
261	EO 1564	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, north of its entrance.
262	EO 1565-1566	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, north of
263	EO 9	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, west side, floor.
264	EO 1625	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, south of its entrance.
265	EO 1634-1635	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *paḷḷiyaṟai*, west wall (inside).
266	EO 1636	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *paḷḷiyaṟai*, west wall (inside).

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
267	EO 1656	Lost	Lost	13th c.	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam* (inside), west wall.
Pāṇḍyas					
268	EO 33(11)	Jaṭā. Tri. Vikrama	2	1242-43	II Prākāra, east wall, south side.
269	EO 33(9)	Tri. Vikrama	5	1244	- do -
270	EO 544-547	Vikrama	7	1246-47	II Prākāra, south wall (outside), eastern part.
271	EO 33(12)	Jaṭā. Vik.	8	1247-48	II Prākāra, east wall, south side.
272	EO 33(3)	Jaṭā. Tri. Vik.	Lost	1247-48	II Prākāra, east wall, south side.
273	EO 33(19)	Vīra-pāṇḍya	5	1256	- do -
274	EO 33(7)	Jaṭā. Sun. (Emm.)	15	1266	- do -
275	EO 33(10)	- do -	17	1268	- do -
276	EO 33(5)	- do -	18	1269	- do -
277	SII 70	Māṟa. Tri. Kula.	7	1275	II Prākāra, west wall (outside).
278	EO 654-658	- do -	10	1278	- do -
279	ARE 67/45-46	Kōnē. Tri. Kula.	14	1281	III Prākāra, east wall (inside).
280	EO 577-629	- do -	Lost	1282 (?)	II Prākāra, south wall
281	EO 649-653	- do -	15	1283	II Prākāra, west wall (outside).
282	SII 71	- do -	16	1284	II Prākāra, west wall.
283	EO 764-768	Māṟa. Tri. Vik.	4	1287	II Prākāra, north wall.
284	EO 33(15)	Māṟa. Tri. Em. Kul.	33	1301	II Prākāra, east wall, south side.
285	EO 1722-1725	Māṟa. Tri. (?)	35	1304	III Prākāra, Ammaṉ shrine, south wall.
286	EO 913	Kula II	Lost	1312 (?)	Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, *adhiṣṭhāna*.
287	ARE 77/45-46	Tri. Kōnē. Kul. II	5	1319	IV Prākāra, south wall.
288	SII 73	Māṟa. Tri. Kul. II	20	1334-35	II Prākāra, west wall.
289	EO 645-648	Tri. Śrīvallabha	21	1329	II Prākāra, west wall.
290	SII 162	- do -	22	1330	Vallāḷa-gōpura, south wall, east side.
291	ARE 78/45-46	Tri. Kōnē. Vik	2	1334	IV Prākāra, south wall.
292	EO 1695	- do -	Nil.	14th c.	Giripradakṣiṇa, stone slab set up in.
293	EO1696	- do -	Nil.	- do -	- do -
294	EO 1728	Vik.	Nil.	- do -	- do -
295	EO 1729	- do -	Nil.	- do -	- do -
296	EO 1727	Vikra.	Nil.	- do -	- do -
297	EO 1560-1562	Tri. Kōnē.	23	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, north of its entrance.
298	EO 1705-1708	Kōnē. Tri. Vik.	3	1336	III Prākāra, south east corner, *ukkirāṇam*.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
299	EO 1709-1714	Māṟa. Tri. Vik.	4	1336-37	III Prākāra, south east corner, *ukkirāṇam.*
300	EO 1715-1716	Kōnē. Tri. Vik.	Lost	1338	III Prākāra, south east corner, *ukkirāṇam.*
Hoysaḷas					
301	EO 33(17)	Ballāḷa III	Ś. 1239	1317	II Prākāra, east wall, south side.
302	EO 1679-1682, 1697-1704, 1599-1610, 1667-1675, 1615-1624	- do -	Lost	14th c.	III Prākāra, south wall (inside).
303	SII 99	- do -	Ś. 1262	1341	II Prākāra, north wall.
304	SII 89	- do -	Ś. 1262	1341	- do -
305	EO 785-792	- do -	Ś. 1262	1341	- do -
306	EO 1552, 1540, 1554	Lost	Lost	14th c.	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam,* north.
307	EO 1557	Lost	Lost	- do -	- do -
308	EO 1657	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam,* (inside), west wall.
309	EO 548-550	Lost	Lost	- do	II Prākāra, south wall (outside), eastern part.
Fragmentary epigraphs in 14th century characters					
310	EO 180	Lost	Lost	14th c.	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura, entrance, south side.
311	EO 433	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura, west side, store-room on the south side.
312	EO 825-828	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, north wall.
313	EO 1125	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, north wall (inside), north of the Amman shrine.
314	EO 1128	Lost	Lost	- do -	- do -
315	EO 1130	Lost	Lost	- do -	- do -
316	EO 1131	Lost	Lost	- do -	- do -
317	EO 1721	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, Amman shrine, south wall.
318	EO 1132	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, north wall (inside), godown north of the Amman shrine.
319	EO 436-437	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura, platform south side, east wall.
320	EO 20	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, south side, platform.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
321	EO 1541-1542	Lost	Lost	14th c.	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, south of its entrance.
322	EO 1630	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *paḷḷiyaṟai*, east wall (inside).
323	EO 829-831	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, north wall.
324	EO 941-943	Lost	- do -		III Prākāra, east wall (inside) north of the Kiḷi-gōpura.
		Vijayanagara			
		a) The Saṅgama Family			
325	EO 429-432	Bukka's son Kampaṇa	Ś. 1283 (?)	1361	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura, south side platform, store-room (inside).
326	EO 1525-1534	- do -	Ś. 1285	1363	II Prākāra, east of Naṭarāja shrine.
327	EO 175-179	Bukka's son Kampaṇa	Ś. 1286	1365	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura, entryway, north side.
328	EO 1109-1120	- do -	Ś. 1289	1367	III Prākāra, north wall (inside), godown north of Ammaṉ shrine
329	EO 495-527	- do -	Lost (Plavaṅka)	1367	II Prākāra, south wall (outside).
330	EO 452-487	- do -	Lost (Kīlaka)	1368	- do -
331	EO 813-824	- do -	Ś. 1290	1369	II Prākāra, north wall.
332	SII 164	Jammaṇṇa uṭaiyār, son of Kampaṇa	Ś. 1296	1374	IV Prākāra, west Kaṭṭai-gōpura, south wall, east side.
333	EO 21	Probably Bukka's son Kampaṇa	...	...	III Prākāra, south side, floor.
334	SII 153	Harihara II	Ś. 1299	1377	Vallāḷa-gōpura, north wall, west side.
335	EO 1626	Ariyappa	Lost	1378	II Prākāra, Bhairava shrine.
336	EO 1492-1520	Ariyara's son Viruppaṇṇa	Ś. 1302	1380	Toṇḍār-kōyil, north-east corner, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.
337	EO 1122-1124	Lost, probably Vruppaṇṇa	Ś. 1303	1381	III Prākāra, north wall (inside), godown north of Ammaṉ shrine.
338	EO 153-156	Harihara's son Viruppaṇṇa	Ś. 1308	1386	II-Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura, entrance, south side.
339	EO 1095-1096	....	...	14th c.	North Kaṭṭai-gōpura.
340	EO 434-435	Harihara's son Viruppaṇṇa	Lost	14th c.	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura, entrance, southern platform, east wall.
341	SII 156	Harihara's son Virūppaṇṇa	Ś. 1310	1388	Vallāḷa-gōpura, north wall, east side.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
342	SII 163	Harihara's son Virūppaṇṇa	Ś. 1310	1389	III Prākāra, west wall, east side.
343	SII 72	- do -	Ś. 1311	1389	II Prākāra, west wall.
344	EO 441-442	- do (?)	Lost	1391 (?)	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura, southern platform, west wall.
345	EO 769-774	Harihara's son Bukka	Ś. 1323	1402	II Prākāra, north wall (outside).
346	EO 528-543	Lost	Lost	1402 (?)	II Prākāra, south wall (outside), eastern part.
347	SII 159	Dēvarāya's son Vijayabhūpati	Ś. 1335	1414	Vallāḷa-gōpura, north wall, west side.
348	SII 155	- do -	Ś. 1340	1418	Vallāḷa-gōpura, south wall, west side.
349	EO 1177-1187, 1212	Vīrapratāpa Dēvarāya	Ś. 1353	1432	Vallāḷa-gōpura, north wall, west side.
350	SII 160	Vīrapra. Gaj. Dēvarāya	Ś. 1359	1437	Vallāḷa-gōpura, south wall, east side.
351	EO 1646-1652	Vīrapratāpa Tēvarāya	Ś. 1361	1439	Kōcālai, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.
352	EO 1188-1197	[do]	Ś. 1361	1440	Vallāḷa-gōpura, south wall, west side.
353	SII 157	- do -	Ś. 1364	1443	Vallāḷa-gōpura, north wall, east side.
354	EO 1524	- do -	Ś. 1367	1445-46	II Prākāra, Naṭarāja shrine.
355	EO 1149-1154	Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mallikāccunarāya	Ś. 1373	1451	Puravi-maṇḍapa, south entrance, eastern side, base.
356	SII 161	Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mallikāccunarāya	Ś. 1375	1453	Vallāḷa-gōpura, south wall, east side.
357	EO 944-947	....	Lost (Vilambi)	1479	III Prākāra, east wall (inside).
358	EO 1201-1211	Dēvarāya's son Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mallikārccuna's son Irācacēkara Makārāya	Ś. 1401	1479	Vallāḷa-gōpura, north wall, west side.
359	EO 1213-1226	Mahā. Rāja. Paramē. Vīrapratāpa Virūpākṣadēva	Ś. 1404	1482	Vallāḷa-gōpura, south wall, east side.
360	EO 1232-1238	Probably Irācacēkara mahāraya	Not given	1482 (?)	Vallāḷa-gōpura, north wall, middle.
361	EO 1227-1231	[Mallikārcunarāya's] son Irācacēkara mahāraya	Ś. 1404	1482	Vallāḷa-gōpura, north side, pilaster.
362	EO 1239-1242	- do -	Ś. 1408	1486	Vallāḷa-gōpura, south side, pilaster.

Fragmentary epigraphs in 15th century characters

363	EO 447-449	Lost	Lost	15th c.	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura, entry-way, south wall.
364	EO 8	Lost	Lost	15th c.	III Prākāra, south side, floor.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
365	EO 875-877	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, north wall.
366	EO 948-951	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, east wall (inside).
367	EO 1176	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura, entrance, lintel on top.
368	EO 182-183	Nil	Nil.	- do -	III Prākāra, Kāḷattīśvara shrine, south side.
369	EO 806-811	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, north wall.
370	EO 1628	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, Bhairava shrine.
371	EO 812	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, north wall.
372	EO 1726	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, Ammaṉ shrine, south wall.
		b) The Cāḷuva Family			
373	EO 3/4 of 1155	Not given	Ś. 1424	1502	Puravi-maṇḍapa, south entrance, west *Jamb.*
374	EO 1658	Narasiṁhadēva	Lost	16th c.	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam* (inside) south wall.
		c) The Tuḷuva Family			
375	EO 982-1011	[Mahā. etc. Kaṭṭāri Śāḷuva Immāṭi Naracā Nāyaka uṭaiyar]	Ś. 1429 (wrong for 1427)	1506	III Prākāra, east wall, (outside).
376	EO 1070-1088	- do -	Ś. 1427	1506	- do -
377	EO 387-391	Mahā. Kaṭṭāri Śāḷuva Vīra Narasiṅkayatēva mahārāyar	Ś. 1428	1506	Kiḷi-gōpura, west side.
378	EO 952-959	- do -	Ś. 1428	1506	Kiḷi-gōpura, west side, *adhiṣṭhāna.*
379	EO 33(1)	- do -	Ś. 1430	1508	II Prākāra, east wall south side.
380	EO 1012-1014	- do -	Ś. 1431	1509	III Prākāra, east wall (outside).
381	EO 967-977	- do -	Ś. 1431	1509	III Prākāra, north face of the
382	EO 1032-1037 and 1041-1069	Mahā. Kaṭṭāri Śāḷuva Vīra Narasiṅkayatēva mahārāyar	Ś. 1431	1509	III Prākāra, east wall (outside).
383	EO 844-848	Mahā. Kaṭṭāri Cāḷuva Kṛṣṇarāyar	Ś. 1432	1510	II Prākāra, north wall.
384	SII 154	Mahā. Kaṭṭāri Cāḷuva Kṛṣṇarāyar	Ś. 1433	1511	Vaḷḷāḷa-gōpura, north wall, west side.
385	EO 849-851	- do -	Ś. 1434	1512	II Prākāra, north wall.
386	EO 840	- do -	Ś. 1436	1515	- do -
387	EO 841	- do -	Ś. 1437	1515-16	- do -
388	SII 165	Mahā. Kaṭṭāri Cāḷuva Kṛṣṇarāyar	Ś. 1438	1517	Slab in front of the thousand-pillar *maṇḍapa.*

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
389	EO 247-278	- do -	Ś. 1438	1517	II Prākāra, north wall.
390	EO 279-294	- do -	Ś. 1438	1517	- do -
391	EO 838-839, 842-843	- do -	Ś. 1441	1519	II Prākāra, north wall.
392	EO 561-576	- do -	Ś. 1442	1519	II Prākāra, south wall.
393	EO 1137-1141	- do -	Ś. 1442	1519	III Prākāra, north wall (inside).
394	EO 423	- do -	Lost	...	Central shrine, *antarāḷa* (inside) east wall.
395	EO 1015-1028	Mahā. etc. Accutadēva mahārāyar	Ś. 1453	1532	III Prākāra, east wall (outside).
396	EO 488-494, 551-560	- do -	Ś. 1456	1534	II Prākāra, south wall (outside).
397	EO 799-805	- do -	Ś. 1456	1534	II Prākāra, north wall.
398	EO 852	- do -	Ś. 1456	1534	II Prākāra, north wall.
399	EO 832-837	- do -	Ś. 1456	1534	- do -
400	EO 643-656	- do -	Ś. 1457	1534	II Prākāra, west wall.
401	EO 793-798	- do -	Ś. 1456	1535	II Prākāra, north wall.
402	EO 33(16)	- do -	Ś. 1458	1537	II Prākāra, east wall, south side.
403	EO 33(111-131)	- do -	Ś. 1459	1537	- do -
404	EO 743-751	- do -	Ś. 146[0]	1538	II Prākāra, north wall.
405	EO 759-763	- do -	Ś. 1459	1538	- do -
406	ARE 71/45-46	- do -	Ś. 1460	1539	IV Prākāra, east wall.
407	ARE 72/45-46	- do -	Ś. 1460	1539	- do -
408	EO 374-377	- do -	Ś. 1461	1539-40	III Prākāra, east wall (inside).
409	EO 630-642	- do -	Ś. 1462	1540	II Prākāra, west wall.
410	EO 378-380	- do -	Lost	...	III Prākāra, east wall (inside).
411	EO 962-963	- do -	Lost	...	III Prākāra, north face of the Kiḷi-gōpura.
412	EO 1244-1245	Mahā etc. Ćatācivatēvamahārāyar	Lost Cōpatti (Śōbhakṛt ?)	1543	IV Prākāra, Aruṇagirinātha sannidhi.
413	EO 1147-48	Not given	Ś. 1467	1545	Puravi-maṇḍapa, south entrance.
414	SII 113	Mahā. Ćatācivatēvamahārāyar	Ś. 1470	1548	III Prākāra, Ēkambarēśvara shrine, south and east wall.
415	EO 681-704	- do -	Ś. 1472	1551	III Prākāra, Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa, base.
416	EO 157-174	- do -	Ś. 1472	1551	III Prākāra, Paḷaṉiyāṇṭi shrine, north side, base.
417	EO 314-324	- do -	Ś. 1472	1551	III Prākāra, east wall, (inside).
418	EO 656-680	- do -	Lost	1551 (?)	II Prākāra, west wall.
419	EO 1127	[- do -]	Lost	1551 (?)	III Prākāra, north wall (inside) godown to the north of the Amman shrine.
420	EO 357-373	Mahā. Ćatācivatēvamahārāyar	Ś. 1472	1551	Kiḷi-gōpura, west side, *adhiṣṭhāna*.
421	EO 192-213	- do -	Ś. 1477	1556	III Prākāra, Kālattīśvara shrine.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
422	EO 978-981	- do -	Ś. 1480	1559	III Prākāra, north face of the Kiḻi-gōpura.
423	EO 1089-1094	- do -	Ś. 1486	1564	IV Prākāra, north Kaṭṭai-gōpura, east wall.
424	SII 158	- do -	Ś. 1489	1567	Vallāḻa-gōpura, south wall, west side.
425	EO 381-384	[Mahā. Ćatācivatēva-mahārāyar]	Ś. 1490	1568-69	III Prākāra, east wall (inside).
426	ARE 427/1929	- do -	Lost	1569	Rāya-gōpura, south side.
427	EO 392-395	- do -	Lost	1568-69	Kiḻi-gōpura, west side, paṭṭi on the south side.
428	EO 325-330	- do -	Ś. 149[0]	1568-69 (?)	Dēvasthānam office front part.
429	EO 107-114	- do -	Ś. 14[. .]	. . .	II Prākāra, east wall, north side.

d) The Āravīḍu Family

430	ARE 421/1929	Mahā. etc. Tirumalaidēva	Ś. 1492	1570	Rāya-gōpura, south wall.
431	EO 1641-1642	Nil	Ś. 1495	1573	stone slab in the Vīrakkuṭṭai street, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.
432	ARE 423/1929	Mahā. etc. Cī. Raṅgadeva	Ś. 1496	1574	Rāya-gōpura, north wall.
433	EO 1279-1285	Śrī Raṅga	Lost	. . .	Rāya-gōpura, south wall.
434	EO 1322-1325	Mahā. etc. Cīraṅkatēva	Ś. 1498	1576	Rāya-gōpura, north wall.
435	EO 1198-1200	- do -	Ś. 1507	1584-85	Vallāḻa gōpura, north wall, pilaster.
436	EO 1248-1255	Mahā. Veṅkiṭateva	Lost	1587	Rāya-gōpura, south wall.
437	EO 906-910	Mahā. etc. Veṅkiṭatēva	Ś. 1511	1589	Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, east side.
438	ARE 426/1929	- do -	Ś. 1512	1590	Rāya-gōpura, south wall.
439	EO 914-937	Mahā. etc. Veṅkiṭapatitēva	Ś. 1512	1590	II Prākāra, north wall.
440	EO 883-904	- do -	Ś. 1513	1590	- do -
441	EO 866-874	- do -	Ś. 1516	1595	- do -
442	EO 1685-1694	- do -	Ś. 1540	1619	Kumarakōyil, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai
443	EO 1246-1247	Lost	Lost	116th c.	IV Prākāra, Aruṇagirināṭha shrine, south wall.
444	EO 848	Lost	Lost	16th c.	II Prākāra, north wall.
445	ARE 419/1929	Ćevvappa	. . .	1572	Rāya-gōpura.
446	ARE 425/1929	Nil	. . .	1572	Rāya-gōpura, south wall.

Taṅjāvūr nāyakas

447	80/45-46	Lost	. . .	1580	IV Prākāra, Vidyādharēśvara shrine, south wall.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
448	ARE 422/1929	Ćevvappa	Ś. 1502	1580	Rāya-gōpura, south wall.
449	ARE 428/1929	- do -	...	C. 1580	Rāya-gōpura, south wall, west side.
450	EO 1356-1361	- do -	...	- do -	Rāya-gōpura, south wall, east side.
451	EO 1362-1364	Lost	...	- do -	Rāya-gōpura, south wall, east side.
452	EO 1365-1370	Lost	...	- do -	- do -
453	EO 1256	Ćevvappa	...	C. 1580	Rāya-gōpura, south wall, west side.
454	EO 1265-1270	- do -	...	- do -	- do -
455	EO 1271-1278	- do -	...	- do -	- do -
456	EO 1286-1292	- do -	...	- do -	Rāya-gōpura, north wall, west side.
457	EO 1293-1296	- do -	...	- do -	Rāya-gōpura, north wall, west side.
458	EO 1336-1341	Lost	...	16th c.	Rāya-gōpura, east side.
459	EO 1342-1343	Ćevvappa	...	C. 1580	Rāya-gōpura, north wall, east side.
460	EO 1344-1349	- do -	...	- do -	Rāya-gōpura, north wall, east side.

Fragmentary epigraphs in 15th-16th century characters

461	EO 1171	Lost	Lost	15th c.	II Prākāra, south wall, inside.
462	EO 960	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, east wall, outside.
463	EO 1159	Lost	Lost (Pārttipa)	1465	Puravi-maṇḍapa, south entrance.
464	EO 1160	Lost	Lost (Veya)	1467	- do -
465	EO 1156-1157	Lost	Lost (Kara)	1471-72	- do -
466	EO 1106	...	Nil (Kurōti)	1485	III Prākara, south wall (outside).
467	EO 1107	...	Nil. (Vicuvāsu)	1485	III Prākāra, south wall (outside).
468	EO 1155-1156	Lost	Lost (Irākṣasa)	1496	Puravi-maṇḍapa, south entrance, west jamb.
469	EO 1170	Lost	Lost	1500	Puravi-maṇḍapa, south wall (inside).
470	ARE 75/45-46	...	Nil. (Tuntupi)	1502	IV Prākāra, south wall.
471	EO 1167-1168	Lost	Lost	1503	Puravi maṇḍapa, west entrance.
472	EO 1158	Lost	Lost	16th c.	Puravi-maṇḍapa, south entrance.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
473	ARE 76/45-46	...	Nil. (ćukkula)	1509	IV Prākāra, south wall.
474	EO 1143-1145	Lost	Lost	- do -	Puravi-maṇḍapa, south entrance.
475	EO 1161	Lost	Lost	- do -	Puravi-maṇḍapa, east entrance.
476	EO 1038-1040	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, east wall (outside).
477	EO 1162-1163	Lost	Lost	- do -	Puravi-maṇḍapa, east entrance.
478	EO 1164-1165	Lost	Lost	- do -	Puravi-maṇḍapa, west entrance.
479	EO 1165-1166	Lost	Lost	- do -	Puravi-maṇḍapa, west entrance.
480	EO 1168-1169	Lost	Lost	- do -	Puravi-maṇḍapa, west entrance.
481	EO 1659-1660	Lost	Lost	1526	Cidambareśvara temple, tiruvūṭal vīti.
482	EO 1142	Lost	Lost	16th c.	Puravi-maṇḍapa, south entrance.
483	EO 1121	Lost	Lost	- do -	III Prākāra, north wall (inside).
484	EO 1146	Lost	Lost	- do -	Puravi-maṇḍapa, south entrance.
485	EO 964-966	Lost	Lost	- do	Kiḻi-gōpura, north face, *adhiṣṭhāna*.
486	EO 184-191	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, Kālattīśvara shrine, south side, base.
487	EO 878-880	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, north wall, extreme east.
488	EO 881-882	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, north wall, extreme east.
489	EO 1549	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, south wall (inside).
490	EO 1550	Lost	Lost	- do -	- do -
491	EO 1556	Lost	Lost	- do -	II Prākāra, *pokkiṣam*, north wall (inside).
Epigraphs in 17th century characters					
492	ARE 420/1929	...	Nil.		Rāya-gōpura, north wall.
Epigraphs of the 18th and 19th century					
493	EO 853-854	...	Ś. 1639	1717	Kiḻi-gōpura, western threshold, northern pilaster.
494	EO 1326-1330	...	Ś. 1655	1733	Rāya-gōpura, south wall, east side.
495	ARE 81/45-46	...	Nil. (Piṟapava)		V Prākāra, south wall.

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
496	EO 1683-1684	...	Ś. 1256 (wrong for 1756), Kali 4 936	1835	Puravi-maṇḍapa.
497	EO 1243	...	Ś. 1819, Kali 4998	1897	Vallāḷa-gōpura, south wall, middle part, bottom.
498	EO 424	...	Nil.	...	Central shrine, *antarāḷa* (inside) east wall.
499	EO 1719		Nil.	...	II Prākāra, south wall.
500	EO 1720	...	Nil.	Modern	II Prākāra, south wall.

Mackenzie collection of epigraphs from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
1	Pallava	Kō-Vijaya Nantivikkira-matēvar	17		
2	Cōḻa	Vikkirama-cōḻa	10	1128	
3	Pāṇḍya	Māṟa. Tri. Kulacēkara-tēvar	36	1303-04	
4	Vijayanagara	Kṛṣṇadēvarāya	Ś. 1438	1517	
5	Miscellaneous	....	Ś. 1668	1746	

Copper-plate inscriptions from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai

Corpus no	EO SII ARE no	Name	Regnal year	A.D.	Findspot
1	EO 5 of 1984	Kṛṣṇadēvarāyar	Ś. 1435	1512	Original plate with the Manager of the Appar-svāmigaḷ maṭam.
2	EO 7 of 1984	...	Ś. 1456, Kali 4809	1534 or 1708	Original plate with the Manager of the Rudrākṣa maṭam
3	EO 6 of 1984	...	Ś. 1564 and Ceya (= Ś. 1576)	1642 or 1654	Original plate with the President of the "Twenty four Moṉai Ceṭṭiyār Caṅkam".
4	EO 8 of 1984 (*ARE*, 1952-53)	...	Ś. 1613	1692	Original was with the Devasthanam Office in 1952, but now missing.
5	EO 1 of 1984 (*ARE*, 1952-53)	...	Ś. 1710	1788	Original with the Devasthanam Office.
6	EO 2 of 1984 (*ARE*, 1952-53)	...	Ś. 1712	1790	- do -
7	EO 3 of 1984	...	Ś. 1713	1791	- do -
8	EO 4 of 1984 (*ARE*, 1952-53)	...	Ś. 1738	1816	- do -

CONCORDANCE TABLE

Concordance

with serial numbers of :

. inscriptions of the present edition quoted as :

Corpus
no

and serial numbers of :

. inscriptions published in *South Indian Inscriptions, vol. VIII*

. inscriptions surveyed and not yet published in *Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1929 ; 1945/46 ; 1952/53*

. inscriptions newly recorded by EFEO estampages respectively quoted as :

EO	SII	ARE 1929	ARE 45/46
no	no	no	no

I. Inscriptions already published in South-Indian inscriptions (Vol. VIII)

SII no.	Corpus no.	SII no.	Corpus no.	SII no.	Corpus no.
57	16	67	30	77	166
58	2	68	32	78	184
59	15	69	208	79	196
60	17	70	277	80	150
61	3	71	282	81	168
62	10	72	343	82	41
63	14	73	288	83	155
64	5	74	147	84	151
65	18	75	112	85	163
66	31	76	209	86	136

SII no.	Corpus no.	SII no.	Corpus no.	SII no.	Corpus no.
87	158	114	113	141	90
88	176	115	81	142	153
89	304	116	86	143	87
90	182	117	82	144	97
91	156	118	131	145	216
92	159	119	84	146	117
93	169	120	205	147	124
94	164	121	95	148	128
95	197	122	108	149	118
96	161	123	109	150	119
97	212	124	111	151	110
98	202	125	98	152	162
99	303	126	92	153	334
100	165	127	102	154	384
101	167	128	115	155	348
102	185	129	103	156	341
103	181	130	116	157	353
104	204	131	99	158	424
105	152	132	104	159	347
106	114	133	133	160	350
107	195	134	213	161	356
108	194	135	214	162	290
109	201	136	217	163	342
110	175	137	96	164	332
111	200	138	107	165	388
112	94	139	122		
113	414	140	123		

II. Inscriptions estampaged by the service of epigraphy and indicated in the annual reports on epigraphy (1929 and 1945-46)

A.R.E. 1929 no.	Corpus no.	A.R.E. 1929 no.	Corpus no.	A.R.E. 1929 no.	Corpus no.
419	445	422	448	426	438
420	492	423	432	427	426
421	430	425	446	428	449

A.R.E. 1945-46 no.	Corpus no.	A.R.E. 1945-46 no.	Corpus no.	A.R.E. 1945-46 no.	Corpus no.
66	140	71	406	77	287
67	279	72	407	78	291
68	191	73	106	79	89
69	83	75	470	80	447
70	206	76	473	81	495

III. New inscriptions estampaged by EFEO Pondicherry

EO no.	Corpus no.	EO no.	Corpus no.	EO no.	Corpus no.
1	46	33 (11)	268	296-298	142
2	36	33 (12)	271	299-303	144
3	34	33 (13)	121	304-307	148
4	4	33 (14)	105	308-309	149
5	44	33 (15)	284	310-313	170
5A	38	33 (16)	402	314-324	417
5B	45	33 (17)	301	325-330	428
7	248	33 (18)	91	331-350	126
8	364	33 (19)	273	351-355	127
9	263	33 (111-131)	403	356	230
10	53	64	145	357-373	420
11	232	65	180	374-377	408
12	54	66-73	189	378-380	410
13	55	73	190	381-384	425
14	56	74-81	226	385-386	140
15	57	78-85	85	387-391	377
16	58	82	145	392-395	427
16A	59	85	134	396-399	221
17	60	86	180	400A	21
18	61	88	180	400B	20
18A	62	89	134	401A	25
19	63	92	134	401B	26
20	320	98-103	183	402	1
21	333	107-114	429	403	6
22	125	115-118	187	404	50
23	233	119-122	188	405A	7
24	35	123-126	193	405B	23
25	42	127-129	93	406	27
26	120	131-133	219	407A	19
27	130	135-136	154	407B	8
28	260	139-140	192	407C	24
29	234	147-148	186	408	9
31	247	153-156	338	409	65
32	246	157-174	416	410	231
33 (1)	279	175-179	327	411	228
33 (2)	225	180	310	412	229
33 (3)	272	181	64	413A	244
33 (4)	199	182-183	368	413B	235
33 (5)	276	184-191	486	414B	241
33 (6)	135	192-213	421	414-415	179
33 (7)	274	214-230	203	416	236
33 (8)	160	247-278	389	417A	237
33 (9)	269	279-294	390	417B	218
33 (10)	275	295	198	418	11

EO no.	Corpus no.
419	37
420	48
421-422	33
423	394
424	498
425	66
426	22
427	12
428	49
429-432	325
433	311
434-435	340
436-437	319
438-440	138
441-442	344
443-444	141
445	146
446	178
447-449	363
450-451	139
451A	157
451B	67
452-487	330
488-494	396
495-527	329
528-543	346
544-547	270
548-550	309
551-560	396
561-576	392
577-629	280
630-642	409
645-648	289
643-656	400
649-653	281
654-658	278
656-680	418
681-704	415
705-742	47
743-751	404
751-759	40
759-763	405
764-768	283
769-774	345
775-784	41
785-792	305
793-798	401
799-805	397
806-811	369
812	371
813-824	331
825-828	312
829-831	323
832-837	399
838-839	391
840	386
841	387
842-843	391
844-848	383
848	444
849-851	385
852	398
853-854	493
855-857	68
856-857	88
858	129
859-861	222
862	43
863	70
864	71
865	72
866-874	441
875-877	365
878-880	487
881-882	488
883-904	440
905	28
906-910	437
911	132
912	238
913	286
914-937	469
941-943	324
944-947	357
948-951	366
952-959	378
960	462
961	173
962-936	411
964-966	485
967-977	381
978-981	42
982-1011	
1012-1014	
1015-1028	395
1029-1031	227
1032-1037	382
1038-1040	476
1041-1069	382
1070-1088	376
1089-1094	423
1095-1096	339
1097-1105	100
1106	466
1107	467
1108	239
1109-1120	328
1121	483
1122-1124	37
1125	313
1126	80
1127	419
1128	314
1129	73
1130	315
1131	316
1132 (1)	318
1132 (2)	74
1133	243
1134	240
1135	242
1136	75
1137-1141	393
1142	482
1143-1145	474
1146	484
1147-1148	413
1149-1154	355
1155	373
1155-1156	468
1156-1157	465
1158	472
1159	463
1160	464
1161	475
1162-1163	477
1164-1165	478
1165-1166	479

EO no.	Corpus no.
1167-1168	471
1168-1169	480
1170	469
1171	461
1176	367
1177-187	349
1188-1197	352
1198-1200	435
1201-1211	358
1212	349
1213-1226	359
1227-1231	361
1232-1238	360
1239-1242	362
1243	497
1244-1245	412
1246-1247	443
1248-1255	436
1256-1264	453
1265-1270	354
1271-1278	455
1279-1285	433
1286-1292	456
1293-1296	457
1322-1325	434
1326-1330	494
1336-1341	458
1342-1343	459
1344-1349	460
1356-1361	450
1362-1364	451
1365-1366	452
1492-1520	336
1521-1522	249
1523	171
1524	354
1525-1534	326
1535-1536	76
1537	77
1538	78
1539	79
1540	306
1541-1542	321
1543-1545	223
1546-1547	252
1548	250
1549	489
1550	490
1551	253
1152	306
1553	52
1554	306
1554A	254
1555	255
1556	491
1557	307
1558	256
1559	257
1560-1562	297
1563	220
1564	261
1565-1566	262
1567-1570	215
1571-1586	207
1587-1598	137
1599-1610	302
1615-1625	302
1625	264
1626	335
1627	69
1628	370
1629	172
1630	322
1631	258
1632	177
1633	245
1634-1635	265
1636	266
1637	210
1638	251
1639	211
1640	224
1641-1642	431
1646-1652	351
1653	39
1654	174
1655	259
1656	267
1657	308
1658	374
1659-1660	481
1667-1175	302
1676	101
1677	51
1678	13
1679-1682	302
1683-1684	496
1685-1694	442
1695	292
1696	293
1697-1704	302
1705-1708	298
1709-1714	299
1715-1716	300
1717-1718	29
1719	499
1720	500
1721	317
1723-1725	285
1726	372
1727	296
1728	294
1729	295
1740	143

IV Inscriptions in the surrounding area

Only underlined numbers are published

EO. no.	Corpus no	EO. no.	Corpus no.
1371-76	S.41	1439	S.18
1377	S.42	1440	S.19
1378	S.43	1441	S. 8
1379	S.45	1442	S. 7
1380	S.44	1443	S. 6
1385	S.46	1444	S. 5
1386-88	S.31	1445	S. 4
1389-92 (Top)	S.30	1446-49	S. 3
1389-92 (Bottom)	S.29	1450-56	S. 9
1393	S.32	1457-58	S.40
1394	S.28	1459	S.15
1395	S.33	1460	S.12
1396-97	S.34	1461	S.13
1398	S.35	1462	S.14
1399-1400	S.36	1463-68	S.53
1413-18	S.10	1469	S.21
1419-27	S.11	1470-71	S. 1
1430	S.23	1472-73	S. 2
1431	S.24	1474	S.16
1432	S.25	1475-79	S.48
1433	S.26	1480-81	S.20
1434-35	S.47	1643	S.39
1436	S.50	1644	S.37
1437	S.49	1645	S.38
1438	S.51	1661-1666	S.17

Photos EO

S.22	(Maṅgalam)
S.27	(Pākkam)
S.52	(maṇḍapa 7)

EARLY CŌḶA I

1

A.D. 885

EO. 402

Central shrine, south side, base. Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 .....
2 sabhaiyārum Puliyūr .....
3 ttu sabhaiyārum aṭṭakkaṭavār ...
4 kkove taṇṭikkapperru .....
5 kṣai // ೭ Kov-irācakecaripaṉmark-ku yāṇṭu 1[4]-
6 vatu Tiruvaṇṇāttu Mahātevarku [Va]yi[ra] .
7 . vāṇakovaraiyar ..... ru
8 ..... tiru .....

TRANSLATION

1 Damaged.
2-3 The *sabhaiyār* of ....., ..., and the *sabhaiyār* of Puliyūr ..... ttu, should supply.
4 having (been punished) .....
5-7 In the year 14[1] (of the reign) of the king Irācakēcaripaṉmar, [Va]yi[ra] .. vāṇakōvaraiyar .... to Tiruvaṇṇāttu Mahātēvar .....
8 Damaged.

NOTE

This fragmentary inscription contains portions of two records. It is in the 9th century characters.

2

A.D. 910

S.I.I., VIII, 58

Central shrine, south wall. (Unfinished).

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Kop-Parakecariparma-r*] kkiyāṇṭu mūṉṟāvatu Ceramāṉār Tevi[y]ār Kiḻāṇaṭikaḷ Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mā(Ma)hāte-
2 varkku [nantā] vi[ḷa]kku niśati [p*] paṭi uḻakkupaṭi erippataṟkku poṉ kuṭuttu vaittav = āṭu 96 Tiruvaṇṇāttu [maḷ] . ..

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! It is the 3rd year[2] of king Parakēcariparmar. Kiḻāṇaṭikaḷ, the wife of Cēramāṉār endowed

1 Probably = A.D. 884-85.
2 Probably = A.D. 909-10.

96 sheep by giving a *poṉ* for burning a lamp with one *uḷakku* (*of ghee*) daily to (*the deity*) Mahātēvar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. The shepherds of Tiruvaṇṇāttu . . .

---

3 A.D. 911

S.I.I., VIII, 61 **Central shrine, south wall.**

TEXT

1 . . . . [//*] Ko[p-*] Para[keca]ripanmaṟku yāṇṭu 4 - āvatu Cōḻa-nāṭṭu Neṉmali-nāṭṭu . . . . rrūr Vaṅkipuṟattu Tiruva-raṅkana . . . . . .

2 . [. . maka]ṉākiya Teṉṉavaṉ Brahmādhirājaṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahādēvaṟku nicataṁ uḷakkuppaṭi nontāviḷakk = onṟiṉukku Tiruvaṇṇāttu

3 maṉṟāṭikaḷ-vaḷi vaittav āṭu toṇṇū[ṟu] Tiruvaṇṇāttut - Tirukkōyilluṭaiya-[Kauḷśika[n] Vayiri Cemāṉaṉ [puḷnaiyāka ivaṉ kuṭiyiṟ piṟantāre iv-

4 viḷakku irakṣi[p*]pata(ṟ*)ku kaṭavar itu panmāhēśva[ra] rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1 . . . . (*It is*) the 4th year[3] of the king Parakēcaripanmar.

1-2 Teṉṉavaṉ (i.e., of Pāṇṭi-nāṭu) Brahmādhirājaṉ, the son of Tiruvaraṅkana . . . of Vaṅkipuṟam in Neṉ-mali-nāṭu in Cōḻa-nāṭu

2-3 gave 90 sheep in charge of the shepherds of Tiruvaṇṇāttu for one *nontā* lamp (*to be burnt*) with an *uḷakku* (*of ghee*) daily in (*the temple of*) Mahādēvar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

3-4 (*The continued burning*) of the lamp was left in charge of Kauśikaṉ Vayiri Cēmāṉaṉ belonging to the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāttu, and his progenies. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

---

4 A.D. 921

EO. 4 **III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.**

TEXT

1 . . . . ripanmarkku yāṇṭu patiṉāḻā-

2 . . . . malai Mahadevarkku oru nontā

3 . . . . kaḻañcu poṉṉin poliyūṭṭu .

TRANSLATION

In the 14th year[4] (*of the reign of the king*) . . . . ripanmar, ... for a perpetual lamp to (*the god*) Mahadēvar of . . . . malai (Tiruvaṇṇāmalai) . . . . . from the interest on . . . . *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ*.

NOTE

This is a fragment of a bigger record and it belongs most probably to the period of Āditya I. If so, this will be the earliest, so far known, inscription discovered at the place.

3 About A.D. 910-11.

4 About A.D. 920-21.

5

A.D. 922

S.I.I., VIII, 64

Central shrine, west wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Matiraikoṇṭa Ko[p*] - Parakecaripaṉma[r*]kku yāṇṭu 15 - āvatu

2 Vāṇakōppāṭip Peṇṇai vaṭakaraik Kāntaḷūr-nāṭṭu Viccūr uṭaiya Ā[r]-

3 kkuṉṟaṉ Aṉpe(pa)rukkaṭi Tiruvaṇ- ṇāttu Mahādēvarkku oru nontā-viḷa-

4 kkiṉukku vaitta cāvā mūvāp per-āṭu toṇṇūṟu [/*] ivai paṉmāhēśvara rak- ṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! This is the year 15[5] of king *Matiraikoṇṭa* Parakēcari- paṉmar. Ārkkuṉṟaṉ Aṉparukkaṭi of Viccūr in Kāntaḷūr-nāṭu on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai in Vā- ṇakōppāṭi, endowed 90 sheep which would neither die nor become old, for a *nontā* lamp (*to be burnt in the temple of*) Mahādēvar of Tiruvaṇ- ṇāttu.

5 This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhē- śvaras.*

6

10th c.

EO. 403

Central shrine, south side, base. Fragmentary and badly damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Maturaikoṇṭa Kop- Parake[caripan]mar .....

2 ṇṇāttu Mahātevarku . vi . vallānukku .....

3 hātevar[paṭṭa] ..... tāṉ irumu[ṭi] ....

4 vaṇ ..... k ... ittaḷi eṭuppi[tta] .....

5 tiruva[yarra] ... ṉta . śrī-Kaṇṭarātit- tar ta .....

6 .....lakku .....

7 .....

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! The king *Maturai- koṇṭa* Parakēcaripanmar .....

2 to .... ṇṇāttu Mahātēvar .....

3 .... hātēvar paṭṭa ..... tān irumuṭi ...

4 ..... caused this temple to be erected ...

5 ..... śrī-Kaṇṭarātittar .....

6-7 Damaged.

7

10th c.

EO. 405 A

Central shrine, north side, base. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 .... raikoṇṭa Kop-Parakecaripaṉ-

2 .... liyūr-kōṭṭattu Maruṅkūr-nāṭṭuc Ce-

5 About A.D. 921-22.

3 .... tevarkku nicatam aiñcu ...
4 ..... vaitta nilam Aṉṉā-ṉā-
5 .... ykkā[lu] .. ālavāykkālil kī[ḻai]-
6 ..... avvaṭakkuṭṭiyum mati[kka] /

TRANSLATION

1-3 ..... the king .. *raikoṇṭa* Parakē-caripaṉ ..... Ce .... in Maruṅkūr-nāṭu in .... liyūr-kōṭṭam ..... [to supply] daily 5

4-5 the land was ..... in Aṉṉā-nāṭu and (*it lay*) to the east ... of the deep channel.

6 Not clear.

8

10th c.

EO. 407 B **Central shrine, north side, base. Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

1 ..... ṭṭu [Va]luperaiy-nāṭṭu . lutavūr
2 ..... ṭu manṟāṭikaḷ vaḻi : Mati-raiko-
3 ..... patu āvatu Paṅkaḷa-nāṭṭu Maṅkala-
4 ..... toṉṉūṟu manṟāṭikaḷ vaḻi ...
5 ..... ṇakappāṭi Peṉṉai teṉkarai
6 ..... cī[laiḻkku kala nellāka āṉ-
7 ..... ṉom santrādityavaṟ sabhaiyom-

TRANSLATION

1 ..... lutavūr in Vaḻuperaiy-nāṭu in ..... nāṭu
2 ..... in charge of *manṟāṭikaḷ* of .... ṭu . *Matiraiko* [*nta*] .....
3 ..... in the year ..., Maṅkala .... in Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu
4 ..... 90, in charge of *manṟāṭikaḷ* ....
5 ..... [Vā]ṇakappāṭi on the southern bank of the Peṉṉai ....
6 ..... [annually] one *kalam* of paddy for cloth.
7 We, the *sabhaiyōm* [gave] to last till the moon and the sun endure .

9

10th c.

EO. 408 **Central shrine, north side, base. Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 ... raikoṇṭa kop-Para[kecari] .....
2 ... [tu] nālāvatu Tiruvaṇṇāmalai .....
3 ... [vaḻṇāttirukkum manṟāṭi Peri ....
4 ... [nontā] viḷakku uḻakkuppaṭiy ....
5 ... vapperāṭu toṉṉūṟu [/*] ivai .....
6 ... rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 In the [.] 4th year[6] [*of the reign of the king*] *Matiraikoṇṭa* Parakēcari ... .. Tiruvaṇṇāmalai .....

3-6 .. the shepherd Peri .... residing at Tiruvaṇṇāttu ..... one *uḻakku* for one lamp ..... 90 sheep ..... protected .

6 May be 24th, 34th or 44th year. So the equivalent years in A.D. may be 930-31, 940-41 or 950-51.

10

10th c.

S.I.I., VIII, 62

Central shrine, south wall.

TEXT

1 Kop-Parakecaripa[nma]k[ku] yāṇṭu . . . . . ṭai-

2 yārkku Koṅkaṉiṭṭavayal . . . . . kaṇṭa[ṉ] - vaḷi . . . .

3 nicatipaṭi viḷa[kki]ṉukku vaccav-āṭu toṇṇū[ṟu] Tiruvaṇṇāttu . . . . . .

4 ivai panmāhēśvara rakṣai [//*] Mēṟ-paṭiyāṉe . . nittal uḷakkuppaṭi tiru-nuntāviḷak-

5 k-oṉṟinukku vaicca āṭu toṇṇūṟu ivai Tiruvaṇṇāttu maṉṟāṭikaḷ-vaḷi Candrātittavaṟ [//*].

TRANSLATION

1 (*It is*) the year . . . . of king Parakēcaripanmar.

2-3 Koṅkaṉiṭṭavayal . . . . . kaṇṭaṉ made a gift of 90 sheep for (*burning*) through . . . . kaṇṭaṉ, a lamp daily with . . . . (*in the temple of*) . . .yār . . . Tiruvaṇṇāttu . . . .

4-5 This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*. The same man gave 90 sheep for (*burning*) a *tirununtā* lamp with *uḷakku* (*of ghee*) daily. (*The sheep were*) entrusted to the care of the shepherds of Tiruvaṇṇāttu till the moon and the sun endure.

11

10th c.

EO. 418

Platform around central shrine, south side. Fragmentary and much damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Kop-[Para]kecaripa-[ṉmarkku] yā . . . .

2 yurattūr Kauśikan . . . . . .

3 malai maṉṟāṭikaḷ vaḷi Cantirātittavar panmāhe . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year . . . of the king Parakēcaripaṉmar

2 yurattūr Kauśikan . . . . . .

3 This is entrusted to the care of the *maṉṟāṭikaḷ* of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai till the moon and the sun endure. (*This is to be protected by*) the *Pan-mahēśvaras*.

12

10th c.

EO. 427

Central shrine, *antarāḷa*, north wall (inside). Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 . mikkuṭutta poṉ . . .

2 Svasti śrī [//*] Parake . . . . .

3 ṇṇāmalai . . . . .

4 . kaiyār uḷakku . . . .

5 sabhaiyom ik . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 . . . *poṉ* given . . .
2 Hail ! Prosperity ! Parakē . . . . . .
3 ṉṉāmalai . . . .
4 . kaiyār *uḷakku* . . . .
5 We, the members of the *sabhai* . . . . this . . .

13

A.D. 961 (?)

EO. 1678

III *Prākāra*, *maḍappaḷḷi*, floor. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 . . . . Kaṉṉaradevarkku yāṇṭu 22 va. . . . . .
2 . . . . ḷ Mañcaṭputtūrākiya Amaṇiṇā . . . . .
3 . . . . ṉṉāmalai Āṇṭār paṇṭārattu yā . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-3 . . . . . In the 22nd year[7] of . . . . Kaṉṉaradēvar . . . . . Mañcaṭputtūr *alias* Amaṇiṇā . . . . . of the treasury of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Āṇṭār . . . . .

14

C. A.D. 961

S.I.I., VIII, 63

Central shrine, south wall. Damaged in some places.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Kaṉṉaratēvanukku yāṇṭu
2 . . vatu Tiruvaṇṇāmalai āḷvār[k*]ku [ā]-
3 . . . . . muṭaiya Tribhuvanakattara-
4 . . . . . n tayir - amutukku vaicca pacu irupatu [/*] Pan-
5 māhēśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! The year . . of Kaṉṉaratēvan.
2 In favour of (*the deity*) Āḷvār of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.
3 Tribhuvanakattar of . . . . . .
4 gift of 20 cows for providing curds to . . . . . .
4-5 (*This is*) protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

15

C. A.D. 968

S.I.I., VIII, 59

Central shrine, south wall. (Damaged)

TEXT

1 [Sva]sti śrī [//*] Vīrapāṇṭiyaṉai talai [koṇṭa] kop-Parakecaripanma[r*]ku yāṇṭu 3 - āvatu Tiru[vaṇṇāmalai] - āṇṭā[r*]kku Vā[ṇa]ṉ Maṇikaṇṭaṉ . . . . . .
2 uḷakkuppaṭi oru viḷakkukku . . . . . .

7 About A.D. 961-62.

ivai Tiruvaṇṇāttu manṟāṭikaḷ-vaḷi Ca[n]-drātittavaṟ panmāhēśvara rakṣai [//*]

Maṇikaṇṭaṉ . . . . . at the rate of one *uḻakku* (*of ghee*) for a lamp (*to be burnt in the temple of*) Āṇṭār of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

2 This (*was left*) in the charge of the shepherds of Tiruvaṇṇāttu till the moon and the sun endure. (*This is*) protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 3rd year[8] of the king Parakēcaripanmar who took the head of Vīrapāṇṭiya. Vāṇaṉ

---

16 A.D. 969

S.I.I., VIII, 57 **Central shrine, south wall.**

TEXT

1 [sti] śrī [//*] Vīrapāṇṭiyaṉ = ṟalaikoṇṭa kop-Parakecarirpan[ma*]ṟkiyāṇṭu 4 . . .

2 . [va]ṇṇāmalai āṇṭār[k*]ku Iḷāṭaippāṭi Kūṭaluṭaiya Vāḷai-kiḻā . . .

3 . [i]nnāṭṭu ceṭṭi nicatam = uḻakkuppaṭi oru viḷakkiṉukku vaccav = āṭu toṇṇūṟṟāṟu . . .

4 . [ṇā]ttu manṟāṭikaḷ vaḷi Cantrātittavaṟ panmāhēśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity (*It is*) the 4th year[9] of Parakēcaripanmar who took the head of Vīrapāṇṭiya.

2-3 (*Then*) Kūṭaluṭaiya Vāḷai-kiḻā . . . of Iḷāṭappāṭi who was the *ceṭṭi* of this region gave 96 sheep for (*burning*) a lamp with one *uḻakku* (*of ghee*) daily (*in the temple of*) [Tiru]vaṇṇāmalai Āṇṭār.

4 (*The sheep were*) left in charge of the shepherds of [Tiruvaṇ]ṇāttu till the moon and the sun endure. (*This is*) protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

---

17 10th c.

S.I.I., VIII, 60 **Central shrine, south wall. (Much damaged and incomplete).**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Kop-Parakecaripanmaṟku yāṇṭu . . . vatu Tiruvaṇ-

2 ṇāmalai - āḻvārkku Perumāṉaṭikaḷ tē-viyār Peru . [teviḷyār vi-

3 ḻak-koṉṟiṉukku vaicca āṭu toṇṇūṟu . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*The*) year . . . . of king Parakēcaripanmar.

1-3 Peru[n]tēviyār, the wife of Perumāṉaṭikaḷ, endowed 90 sheep for a lamp to (*the deity*) Āḻvār of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

---

8 Probably A.D. 968-69.

9 Probably A.D. 969-70.

18[10] A.D. 998
S.I.I., VIII, 65 III *Prākāra*, south side, floor. (Unfinished).

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Kov-Irācakecariman-
2 marki yāṇṭu 13-
2 āvatu Vāṇakov-araiyar Kuṇamantaṉ Kuṟumpako-
3 lālaṉ Vayiramekaṇār koṭukkaṉ Cir-
3 ṟaṇpuliyūr-
4 nāṭaṉ Tiruvaṇṇāṭṭu tevatānap pira-
4 mateyam Puli-
5 yūrṇāṭiśa(ca)turvvetimaṅkalattu eri-
5 kku aṟamāka kuṭu-
6 tta poṉmutal irupatiṉ kaḷañcu tuḷai-
6 poṉ kāṟ pa-
7 licaiyāl āṭṭu aiṅkaḷañcu poṉ Paṅkiṉi
7 paṭṭatalaiyā-

TRANSLATION

1-2 (*It is*) the 13th year[11] of king Irāca-
2 kēcarimanmar.
2-4 Cirṟaṇpuliyūr-nāṭaṉ, the son of Vā-
4 ṇakōvaraiyar Kuṇamantaṉ Kuṟum-
4 pakōlālaṉ Vayiramēkanār, gave
4-5 (*for the repairs*) of the tank at Puli-
5 yūrnāṭicaturvētimaṅkalam, a *tēva-*
tāna piramatēyam in Tiruvaṇṇā-nāṭu
6-7 20 *kaḷañcu* of *tuḷai poṉ* (refined gold).
7 At 1/4 (*for a kaḷañcu*) as interest, out
7 of the annual interest of 5 *poṉ* (*the*
repairs were to be done) from the
7 month of Paṅkiṉi (?).

10 This is said to have been built into the floor of the 1st *prākāra* in S.I.I., VIII, no. 65.
11 About A.D. 997-98.

FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS

19

10th c.

EO. 407 A — Central shrine, north side, base. Fragmentary and very badly damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] . . . . . paṉ . . . . . .
2 [11]-āvatu . . . . . lai . . . . [ṭār]kku . .
3 varaiyar Ku[r] . . . . . ṇa teviyār Amaṉi-
4 [ā]ṇi nica . . . . . [kum]paṭi . nna . .
5 kkoṉṟiṉukku vaitta āṭu toṉ-
6 . . . . . Tiruvaṇṇāttu maṉṟā-
7 . . . . Cantrādittavalc celva . .

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! . . . . . .
2 (*the year*) 11 . . . . . to [Ā]ṇṭār of [Tiruvaṇṇāma]lai
3-4 Amaṇi[ā]ṇi, the queen of . . . . . varaiyar . . . . daily . . . . .
5 endowed 9 [.] sheep for a lamp . . . . .
6 . . . . . the shepherd of Tiruvaṇṇāttu . . . .
7 . . . . . to continue till the moon and the sun endure . . . . .

20

10th c.

EO. 400 B — Central shrine, south side, base. Fragmentary. Built upside down.

TEXT

1 . . . . . viḷakkiṉukku vaitta āṭu cāvā mūvāp pē[rā]-
2 . . . . . [ṭu] Tiruvaṇṇāttu maṉṟāṭika] vaḷi aṭuttu
3 . . . . . [mu]m aṭṭuviykkak kaṭavar itu paṉmā eśvara rakṣai :
4 . . . . . til Ciṅkapura-nāṭṭu Ceñci Malaiyaṉ Vaḷā-
5 . . . . . varkku āṭu toṇṇūṟṟāṟu ivai[y] Pūtaṉ vaḷi

TRANSLATION

1 The never-dying and never-ageing sheep endowed for the lamp . . . . . .
2 [*It*] is left in charge of the *maṉṟāṭikaḷ* of Tiruvaṇṇāttu . . . . .
3 They should cause the supply . . . . . (*This is to be*) protected by the *Paṉmā ēśvaras.*
4 Malaiyaṉ Vaḷā . . . . of Ceñci in Ciṅkapura-nāṭu . . . . . .
5 96 sheep to the . . . . [tē]var. They are in charge of Pūtaṉ . . . . .

NOTE

The slab bearing this fragmentary record is built into the bottom part of the shrine upside down indicating the rebuil-ding of the shrine at some time.

This inscription seems to contain two records each relating to the gift of lamp to the temple and endowment of sheep for the purpose. In the first record (lines 1-3) mention is made of Tiruvaṇṇāttu (i.e., Tiruvaṇṇāmalai). In the second record, the donor Malaiyaṉ Vaḷāṉ is stated to belong to Ceñci in Ciṅkapura-nāṭu. The characters are of the 10th century.

21

10th c.

EO. 400 A **Central shrine, south side, base. Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 ppe . . toṉṉūṟṟāṟu . . . . . .
2 hmateya(t)ttuc capai[yā] . . . . . .
3 vaṇṇāttu tevakarmikaḷu . . . . .
4 heśvara rakṣai [//*] yāṇṭu [mū] . .
5 peṇpiḷaippeṟuve[ṉā] . . . . .
6 virā[ta]ka . ma . . ma . .] ka . .

TRANSLATION

1 [sheep] 96 . . . . . .
2 the members of the *capai* of the [*bra*]*hmatēya* . . . .
3 the *tēvakarmikaḷ* of Tiruvaṇṇāttu . . . . .
4 protected by the [*Mā*]*hēśvaras* . Year [3]
5-6 Not clear.

22

10th c.

EO. 426 **Central shrine, *antarāḷa*, south wall (inside). Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

1 17-āvatu Tiruvaṇ . . . . . .
2 tevarkku Muttapiḷḷaiy[ā] . . . . .
3 maratikāri Śrī . n ka[ṇ] . . . . .
4 m iraṇṭu [nontā vi] . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 The [*year*] 17th, Tiruvaṇ . . . . .
2 Mūttapiḷḷaiyā[r] of the . . . . tēvar
3 . . . the officer Śrī . nkaṇ . . . . .
4 . . . two *nontā* [lamps] . . . . .

23

10th c.

EO. 405 B **Central shrine, north side, base. Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 . . . . . ṭu [1]8-āvatu Vā-ṇakappāṭi Meṟkovaḷūr-nāṭṭu At . . .
2 . . . . . ṇāmalai Mahātevar paṇṭārattu yāṅ[ka*]ḷ koṇṭu kaṭava . . .
3 . . . . . ṭāka Cantrādityaval Vīracōḻaṉ kiḻ upattiram vaḻuvāta eṇṇā
4 . . . . . kalamāka patiṉeḻukala nellum aṭṭuvomānom sabhaiyo-

TRANSLATION

1 ..... 18th year of .... At .... in Mēṟkōvaḷūr-nāṭu .....

2 The ..... we have to use after receiving it from the treasury of .... ṇāmalai Mahātēvar .....

3 ..... till the moon and the sun endure, without departing from .... under Vīracōḻaṉ ....

4 We, the *sabhaiyōm* have agreed to supply 17 *kalam* of paddy at .... *kalam* .....

24

10th c.

EO. 407 C **Central shrine, north side, base. Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 yāṇṭu 18-āvatu .....
2 Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahā .....
3 liyūṭṭu āka āṇṭo .....
4 ta [ti]ṅkaḷ a . m po .....
5 ... ki .. yāy .....
6 .... rupatiṉ ....

TRANSLATION

1 year 18 of .....
2 Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mahā .....
3 as an annual interest .....
4-6 Damaged

25

10th c.

EO. 401 A **Central shrine, south side, base. Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 [a] car paṭai[kku] .....
2 lai Mahātevar .....
3 vacūkūr-nāṭṭu Karam[pa] .....
4] Ka[ṇ]ṭappaṉākiya .....
5 paṭiyāl vaic .....
6 mūvāpperāṭu Tiru .....
7 .. māheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1 ..... to ... *paṭai* (army ?)
2 ..... lai Mahātēvar
3 ..... vacūkūr-nāṭu Karam[pa]
4 ..... Kaṇṭappaṉ *alias* ....
5 ..... because of
6 ..... nonageing sheep Tiru- .....
7 (*This is to be*) protected by the .. *Māhēsvaras*

26

10th c.

EO. 401 B **Central shrine, south side, base. Fragmentary. Built upside down.**

TEXT

1 varu .. tuvatā . [i] .....
2 . nēṉ . nontā viḷakkiṉukku .....
3 ney[yaṭṭak kaṭavar] Tiruvaṇṇā .....
4 iraṇṭu . cavaiyārum aṭṭuvippa .....
5 irupattāṟā āvatil Ciṅkapu .....
6 ṇāmalai Mātevarkku āṭu to ....

TRANSLATION

1 .....
2 I, ..., for a *nontā* lamp
3 (*they*) should supply ghee .... Tiruvaṇṇā ...
4 to be supplied by the two *cavaiyār*
5 (endowed) 9 [.] sheep in the 26th

Ciṅkapu . . . . . 6 to [Tiruvaṇ]ṇāmalai Mātēvar . . . .

27

10th c.

EO. 406 **Central shrine, north side, base. Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 . . . . vī . . . . kamā . . . . . .
2 . . . . n̲amallaṭikaḷ . . . . . .
3 . . . . nicati uriy ney . . . . .
4 . . . . ṭu poli ūṭṭu nicati . . . . . .
5 . . . . ka . tta [sabhai] . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 damaged.
2 . . . . n̲amallaṭikaḷ . . . .
3 . . . . one *uri* of ghee daily . . . .
4 . . . . interest on . . . . daily . . . .
5 . . . . . *sabhai* . . . . . .

28

10th c.

EO. 905 **Devasthanam office, portico. Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 . . . . . rum ip . . . . . .
2 . . . . . l viḷakku . . . . .
3 . . . . . luṭaiyārkaḷ . . . . .
4 . . . . . śvara rakṣai

TRANSLATION

1 Damaged.
2 . . . . . one lamp . . . . .
3 . . . . . luṭaiyārkaḷ . . . .
4 . . . . . protected by the [Mahē]śvaras . . . .

29

10th c.

EO. 1717-1718 **II *Prākāra*, south wall, east part (outside top). Two fragments, probably of one and the same epigraph.**

TEXT A

1 . . . . . nellu mukkuṟuṇi yaṟu nāḻi . . ṣabhayā . . . . .
2 . . . . . vānavum Yāgēśvaratevarkum nampi . . . . .
3 . . . . . ra . ḷā . . kkarici yirunāḻiyāka nāḷeḻukku . . . . . .
4 . . . . . kkan . . . . . .

TEXT B

5 . . . . . yum ku[nna] nelluḻakkum . . . . .
6 . . . . . llarunāḻi mūḻākkunterai . . . . .
7 . . . . . raikkālukku *nel kalam 3 kuṟuṇi* Yāgacā . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-4 . . . . . three *kuṟuṇi* and six *nāḻi* . . . . . to Yāgēśvaratēvar and *nampi* . . . . . , rice at the rate of two *nāḻi*, for seven days . . . .
5-7 . . . . . one *uḻakku* of paddy . . . . . six *nāḻi* and three *āḻakku* . . . . . one *kalam* and 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for [.] 1/8 ; for the Yāgacā[lai] . . .

EARLY CŌḶA II

30 A.D. 1030

S.I.I., VIII, 67 II *Prākāra*, south wall, west part (outside).

TEXT

1 Savasti śrī [//*] Tirumaṉṉi vaḷara iru-
nila-maṭantaiyum poṟceyap pāvai-
yuñ cīrttanic celviyuntaṉ peruntevi-
yarāki iṉpuṟa neṭutiyal lūḻiyil
liṭaituṟaiñāṭun-tuṭar vaṉavelip paṭar
Vaṉavāciyuñcuḷḷiccūḻ matiḷ Koḷḷip-
pākkaiyum naṉṉaṟkarumaraṉ Maṉ-
ṇaikkaṭakkamum porukaṭal liḻattaraic-
car ta[m*]muṭiyum-āṅkavar teviyar
roṅkeḻil muṭiyu munnavar pakkal
teṉṉavar vaitta cuntaramuṭiyum-
intiranāramum teṉ[ṟi]cai I(ḷ)ḻa maṇṭala
muḻuvatum eṟipaṭaik Keraḷaṉ
muṟaimaiyil cūṭuṅ kulataṉa-mākiya
pala[r*]pukaḻ muṭiyuñ ceṅkatir
mālaiyuñ ceṅkatirvelait tolperuṅ-
kāvaṟ palpaḻantivum ceruviṟ cinavi-
[l*] irupattorukāl-araicukaḷai kaṭṭa
Paracurāmaṉ melva[ru*]ñ [Cā]ntima-
rṟivaraṇ karuti yiruttiya cemporṟi-
runtaku muṭiyum payaṅkoṭu paḻimika
Mucaṅkiyil mutukittoḷitta Cayaciṅ-
kaṉaḻapperum pukaḷḷoṭum piṭi[yal*]
Yiraṭṭapāṭi eḻaraiyilakkamum nava-
netik kula perumalaikaḷum vikkirama
vīrac-Cakkarakkoṭṭamum mutirava-
ṭa-vallai Maturamaṇṭalamum kāmi-
ṭai-vaḷar Nāmaṇaikkoṇaiyum veñci-
laiv vīra[r*] Pañcap[pa*]ḷḷiyum pā[ca*]-
[ṭ]ai paḷaṉa Mācuṇitecamum ayarvil
vaṇkīrtti Āti-
2 nakaravaiyil Cantiran ṟolkulattinti-
[ra*]rataṉai viḻaiyamarkaḷattuk kiḻai-
yoṭum piṭittu palataṉattoḍu niṟaikula-
taṉak kuvaiyena kiṭṭaruñ ceṟimiḻai
Oṭṭaviṣaiyamum pūcura[r*]cer nal-
Kocalaiñāṭun-Taṉmapāḷaṉai vemmu-
ṉai yaḻittu vaṇṭuṟaicolait Taṇṭaput-
tiyum-Iraṇacūraṉai muraṇukat tāk-
[k*]i tikkaṉai kirtti[t*] Takkaṇa-
lāṭamum Kovintacantaṉ māviḻintoṭat
taṅkāta cāral Vaṅkāḻatecamum toṭu-
kaḷal caṅkoṭṭa[l*] Mahivāḷaṉai veñ-
camar viḻākat tañcuvittaruḷi oṇṭiṟal
liyāṉaiyum peṇṭir paṇṭāramum nittila
neṭuṅkaḷat tuttiralāṭamum veṟimalar
tirttatteṟi punal Kaṅkaiyum alaikaṭal
naṭuvuḷ palakalañ celutti Caṅkirāma-
vicaiyottuṅkapaṉmanākiya Kaṭārat-
taraicaṉai vākaiyamporu-kaṭaṟ kum-
pakkariyoṭu makappaṭutturimaiyil
piṟakkiya perunetip piṟakkamum ārt-
tavaṉ naka(r)ṉakar poṟroḻil vāca(l)lil
vi[c*]cātira[t*]toraṇamum mo[y*]ttoḻil
puṉai[ma]ṇi[p*]putava[mu]m kaṉamaṇik
katavamum niṟai cīrvicaiyamum tu-
ṟai[ni]r paṉṉaiyum naṉmalai[yū]raiyil
toṉmalaiyūrum āḻkaṭal lakaḻcūḻ Māyi-
ruṭiṅkamum kalaṅkāvalviṉai Yilaṅkā-

cokamum kāppoṟu niṟaipunal Māppap[p]āḷamum kāvala[m*]puricai M[e]vali-
paṅkamum viḷappattūṟuṭai Vaḷaippattūṟu[m*] kalaittakkor pukaḷ talaitTakkolamum ti[ṟ]tamāval vi[ṉai] Mātamaliṅkamum kā(ka)lāmuti[r*] kaṭuntiṟal lilāmuritēcamum toṭuka[ṭa]l kāva(ka)l kaṭu muraṭ Kiṭāramum māpporu taṇṭāṟ koṇṭa kopparakecaripanmarāṉa uṭaiyār śrī-Rājentracōḷatevaṟku yāṇṭu [1]8-āvatu Maturāntaka-vaḷanāṭṭu Āṭaiyūr-nāṭṭu Āṭaiyūr Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyar tirumuṟṟatte Śrī-Rājentracoḷaṉ cālai uṇṇa Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Śaṇḍēśvarateva(r)riṭai koṇṭa poṉ nāṟpatiṉ kaḷaṅcu koṇṭu viṟṟukkuṭutta nilamāvatu [/*] eṅkaḷūr vaṭakkiḷ erīkiḷ kiḻpār[k*]kellai paḷḷiccantam ūrpotuvāy[k]kiṭanta paṭṭikku kiḻakkum melpār[k]kellai paḷḷiccantam iṟaṅkina [ū]rpotuvāy[k*]kiṭanta paṭṭikku kiḻakkum teṉpārkkellai ūrnatta[t*]toṭum aṭainta vāykkālukku vaṭakku vaṭapār[k*]kellai Ira[vi]śvaramuṭaiya Mah[ā]devar nilam Tāṉṟippaṭṭikku teṟkum naṭuvuḷpaṭṭa perunāṉkellai nilan-taṭi yeṭṭināṟṟaṇki[ṭa]ppai nilaṉāṟumāvum iṉṉilattin melvarampā[l] vanta iraṇṭāṭikkiṇaṟu mikutikkuṟaimai uḷḷaṭaṅka iṉṉilattāl vanta iṟaiyum nikki kaṟaiyu maṟṟum mepper[p*]paṭṭitu nāṅkaḷe iṟukka[k]kaṭavomākavum eriyiluṅ kālilu nīṟk kiyntavaṇṇam nir pācca[p*]peṟuvatākavum iṉṉila muḷuvār eṅgaḷūr nattattile kuṭiyirukka[p*]pe[ṟu]vatākavum innilattāl vanta iṟai koḷḷappe[rā]tomākavu[m] ippariciṭṭi viṟṟukkuṭu[t]tom Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Caṇḍeśvaratevaṟku Āṭaiyūr ūrom [/*] innāṭṭu Āṭaiyūrnāṭṭuc Coṟiyāṉa Rājentracoḷanallūrūrom Śrī-Rājentracoḷaccālai uṇṇa Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Caṇṭēśvaratevar iṭai koṇṭa poṉ nāṟpatiṉ kaḷaṅcu koṇṭu viṟṟukkuṭutta nilamāvatu [/*] eṅkaḷūr vaṭakkileri[k]kiḻ Koṉṟaietta[t]tukku kiḻpārkkellai ivvūr Rājentracōḷa īśvaramuṭaiya Mahātevar tirunantavāṉattukkum Ampalappaṭṭikkum Mukkiyen[ṉu]m varavaikku meṟkkum teṉpārkkellai Ćeppetta[t]tukkut tuṇai nilamāka iṭṭa kiḻaṉmelāyk kiṭakkum varavaikkum vaṭakkil nālāṭiyil kiḻai varavaiil kiḻvarampukku vaṭakkum melpārkkellai vaṭakkil nālāṭiyil vaṭavarampukkum Cakkiliyaṉkuṇṭilu[k]kum perunāṉkellai [na]ttattil nāṟukālukku kiḻakkum vaṭapā[r]kkellai pocanettattukku teṉvarampukkut teṟkkum naṭuvupaṭṭa Paṉikkayamennuñ ceṟuvum oṭaiyumuṭpaṭṭat ta. . . . nāl paṭṭi oṉṟum innilattu] kiṇaṟu iraṇṭum innilattuppaṭu[m*] ūrnattattu toṭṭa[k*]kiṇaṟum innilavopāti puñcai nilamum innila muḷuvāṉ eṅkaḷūr natta[t]te kuṭi . . . . . iṟaikoḷḷa[p]peṟātomākavum innilattukku eriyilum kālilum [nir]kkinta [va]ṉ[ṇa]m nir pācca[p] peṟuvatākavum innilattāl vanta [ni]rkkiṟaiyum koḷḷa[ppeṟātomā][ka] iṟai[yili] viṟṟukkuṭutt[o]m Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Śaṇḍeśva[ra]tevaṟku Ćoṟi āṇa Rājentra-coḷanallūrūrom [/*] innāṭṭu Maicāṟṟūrom Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Ca[ṇḍēśvara]tevar iṭai koṇṭa poṉ nāṟpatiṉ kaḷaṅcum koṇṭu viṟṟukkuṭutta nilamāvatu [/*] ivvūr [Ciri]ya ūru(ṇ) [ṇi] eṉṉum paṭṭikkuk kiḻpārkkellai ū[r*] natta[t]tukku meṟkku te[ṉ] pārkkel[lai] Vañcikoṉaṉ Puliya[n*] nilattukku vaṭakku melpārkkellai Coṇan Aṇṇāvan Cāttakolamum Aṇṇāvaṉ [Va]runtaṉumuṭaiya moṭṭaceṟuvukku kiḻakkum vaṭapārkkellai Atirāmaṉ kūttāṭi nilattu[k]ku teṟkku naṭuvupaṭṭa ta[ṭi] muṉṟum inni[la]ttu[k]kuppaṭum iraṇṭaṭṭukku kiḻpār [k*] kellai [Ati]irāmaṇ kūttā[ṭi]yum ceṭṭi [U]rumiṭiyum nilattukku meṟkum teṉpārkkellai Aṇṇāvaṉ . . Vaykunta [nuñ]

ceṭṭi Urumiṭiyu nilattukku vaṭakkum melpārkkellai

6 Vañci[k*]kon Puliyan nilattukku kila[k]ku vaṭapārkkellai Vañci[k]kon Puliyan nilattukku terkkum naṭuvupaṭṭa taṭi ārum innilattukkupaṭu[m]munrām aṭṭukkuk kilpārkellai ūrpotuvāy kiṭakkum nilattu[kku*] merku tenpār[k*] kel[lai*] Ālanturai Araicaṭika[l] u]]i[ṭ*]ṭār nilattukku vaṭakku Atir[ā]man kūttāṭi u]]iṭṭār nilattu[k*]kuk kilakku va[ṭap]ār[k*] kellai ūrpotuvāy kiṭakku[m*] nilattukku terkkum naṭuvupaṭṭa taṭi aiñcum ākat taṭi patināliṇāl paṭṭi onru innilattāl vanta toṭṭakkiṇarum puñcainilamum innilattukku eriyilum kālilum nīrpācca[p*] peruvatākavum innilattāl vanta ni[r*]k kirai ko]]a[p*] perātomāka iraiilicci virrukkuṭuttom Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Śaṇḍēśvaratevarku Maicārru ū(r)rom [/*] innāṭṭu Māttūrāna Eripattikaṇṭanallūrom Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Śaṇḍēśvaratevar iṭai koṇṭa pon nārpatiṇ kalañcu koṇṭu virrukkuṭutta nilamāvatu eṅka]ūr Māma[lai]ttukku tenpār[k*]kellai terkil meṭṭu[k*]kālukkum vaṭakkil vāykkalu-[k*]ku[m*][12] vaṭakku melpār[k*]kellai Araiyakaḷātittaṇ nennum ceruvukku kilakkum vaṭapārkkellai vaṭakki-

7 l tūmpil terkil vāykkālukku terkum kilpārkkellai Vi[]ā]n nennuñ ceruvukkum Amaran kaṇṇārruk kaṭai nilattukku merkum naṭuvupaṭṭa taṭi nālināl paṭṭi onrum innilattukku eṅka]eriyilum kālilu[m*] nirkiyntavaṇṇam nir pācca[p*] peruvatākavum innilattāl vanta iraiyum nirkkiraiyum ko]]a[p*] perātomāka iraiyilicci virrukkuṭuttom Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Śaṇḍeśvaratevarkku Māttūrāna Eripattikaṇṭanallū[ro]m [/*] innāṭṭu Peṇṇai vaṭakaṛai Kuḷakkuṭi ūrom Tiruvaṇṇāmalai [Śaṇḍeśvara]-tevar(r)riṭaik koṇṭa pon eṇpatin kalañcuṅ koṇṭu virrukkuṭutta nilamāvatu [/*] eṅka]ūr melai erikil kilpārkkellai ilupaiyo[ṭu] kaṇṇāru enru per kūvappaṭum nilattukku merku tenpārkkellai iv[vū]r eriyil ninru kilakku nokki[p*] ponta peruvāykkalukku vaṭakku melpā(r)-rkellai Koṭu[pu]navanamutaṇ Cāttanulum kaṇṇārenru per kūvappaṭu[m*] nilattukku kilakkum vaṭapārkkellai palaiya ūrnattattukku vaṭakkil ūrnattattukku terkum ivvicainta perunāṇkellaiyilum naṭu[vu]]paṭṭa nila[n] taṭi patināriṇāl mikutikkurai vu]]aṭaṅka taṇ[kiḷṭappai nilam iraṇṭupaṭṭiyum innilattu-

8 kku eṅka] eriyilum kāli(l)lu[m] nīrkkintavaṇṇam nir pācca[p*] peruvatākavum innilattā[l*] vanta nirkku iraiyu[m*] marrum eppor(per)ppaṭ[ṭa]tum ko]]a[p*]perātomāka iraiyilicci virrukkuṭuttom Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Śaṇḍeśvaratevar[ku*]Kuḷakkuṭi ū(r)rom [//*]

TRANSLATION[13]

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year 18 (*of the reign*) of kō-Parakēcaripanmar, *alias* the lord śrī-Rājēntra-cōlatēvar, who, -in (*his*) life of high prosperity, (*during which he*) rejoiced that, while Fortune, having become constant, was increasing, the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess

12 This addition is not necessary.

13 This is based mainly on E. Hultzsch's translation of another inscription of Rājēndra-cōla I published as No. 20 in *S.I.I.*, II, Pt. I (1891), pp. 108-109 and the corrections suggested to it by Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri in his *The Cōḷas* (1955), pp. 197 ff. and notes pp. 236 ff. as well as the suggestions proposed by Professor T.V. Sadasiva Pandarattar in his *Piṛkālac-Cōḷar Carittiram, I*, (in Tamil, 1954), pp. 145 ff.

of fame had become his great queens, -conquered with (*his*) great and warlike army Iṭaituṟai-nāṭu[14] ; Vaṉa-vāci[15], whose warriors (*were protected by*) walls of continuous forests ; Koḷḷippākkai[16], whose walls were surrounded by *cuḷḷi* (*trees*) ; Maṇṇaikkaṭakkam[17] of unapproachable strength ; the crown of the kings of Īḻam[18], which was (*surrounded by*) tempestuous sea ; the exceedingly beautiful crowns of queens of kings of that (country) ; the beautiful crown and necklace of Intiraṉ, which the king of the south (i.e., the Pāṇḍya country) had previously deposited with those kings (*of Īḻam*) ; the whole Īḻa-maṇṭalam in the south[19] ; the crown praised by many and the garland emitting red rays[20], family-treasures, which the arrow-shooting (*king of*) Kēraḷa rightfully wore[21] ; many ancient islands whose old and great guard was the sea, which resounds with conches ; the crowns of pure gold, worthy of Tiru (i.e., Lakṣmī), which Paracurāma[22], having considered the fortifications of Ćāntimattīvu[23] impregnable, had deposited (*there*)[24], when, raging with anger, (*he*) bound the kings (*of the world*) twenty-one times ; the seven and a half *lakṣas* of Iraṭṭapāṭi[25], (*which was*) strong by nature, (*through the conquest of which*) immeasurable fame arose, (*and which he took from*) Ćayaciṅkaṉ[26], who, out of fear (*and*) loss of reputation, turned his back at Mucaṅki[27] and hid himself[28] ; the principal great mountains (*which contained*) the nine treasures (*of Kubēra*)[29] ; Ćakkirakkōṭṭam[30], whose warriors were brave ; Maturamaṇṭalam[31], which was destroyed in

14 Same as "Ededore-2000, a stretch of country between the rivers Kṛṣṇā on the north and the Tuṅgabhadrā on the south, comprising a large part of the present Raichur district." J.F. Fleet in *E.I.*, XII, pp. 295-96.

15 Same as Banavāsi in Karnataka State. In inscriptions it is called as Banavāsi-12000.

16 Same as Kulpāk about 72 km. north of Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh. It is called Koḷḷippākkai-7000 in inscriptions.

17 Same as Mānyakhēṭa (Malkhēḍ), once the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

18 Same as Śrī Laṅkā, formerly called Ceylon.

19 "We may be sure that the war against Ceylon was undertaken in the fifth year, A.D. 1017-18." K.A.N. Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 199.

20 *Ceṅkatir* is translated as "of the sun" by Hultuzsch.

21 This event took place in A.D. 1018. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

22 Same as the son of Jamadagni, and an incarnation of the god Viṣṇu. The *Rāmāyaṇa* narrates the story of how Rāma, the son of the emperor Daśaratha, while returning from Mithilā after his marriage with Sītā, the daughter of Janaka, the king of Mithilā, had an encounter with Paracurāma whose powers were reduced by Rāma, as a result of which the former had to go away to the distant west coast of India. (*The Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, Sargas*, 75 and 76).

23 A legendary island to be located amongst the numerous islands in the Arabian sea off the Kēraḷa coast.

24 This event took place in A.D. 1019. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 201, and p. 236, note 29.

25 Raṭṭapāṭi, (i.e., the former dominions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas which later on became the possession of the Western Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa).

26 Brother and successor of the Western Ćāḷukyan king Vikramāditya V.

27 Same as Maski. (E. Hultzsch, *Aśokan Inss.*, p. xxvi).

28 This event took place in A.D. 1021-22. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 204.

29 The meaning of this passage is not clear, and Hultzsch has not explained it. It probably means that "much treasure of the Cāḷukya monarch fell into the hands of Rājēndra." Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 237, note, 40. *Kulap-peru-malaikaḷ* means the *kulaparvatas* of the legend.

30 Same as Ćitrakūṭa or Ćitrakōṭa, 12 km. from Rājāpura, the capital of former Bastar State.

31 This region is sought for in the region of Bastar.

a trice ; the prosperous Nāmaṇaikkōṇai[32], with its dense groves ; Pañcappaḷḷi[33], whose warriors bore cruel bows ; Mācuṇitēcam[34] ..... ; a large heap of family-treasures, together with many (*other*) treasures, (*which he carried away*) after having captured Intira-raṭaṉ[35] of the old race of the moon, together with (*his*) family, in a fight which took place (*at*) Ātinakar[36], (*a city*) whose great fame knew no limit ; Oṭṭa-viṣaiyam[37], which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence ; the good Kōcalai-nāṭu, where Brāhmaṇas assembled ; Taṇṭaputti[38], in whose gardens been abounded, (*and which he acquired*) after having destroyed Taṉmapālaṉ[39] (*in*) a hot battle ; Takkaṇalāṭam[40], whose fame reached all directions, (*and which he occupied*) after having attacked Iraṇacūraṉ[41], whose strength departed ; Vaṅkāḷa-tēcam[42], where the rain did not cease, (*and from which*) Kōvintacanta[43], whose fortune diminished, and fled ; elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (*which he siezed*) after having been pleased to frighten on a hot battle-field the strong Mahivāḷaṉ[44] by the sound of a conch from the deep sea[45] ; Uttiralāṭam[46] (*on the shore of*) the expansive ocean (*producing*) pearls[47] ; the Kaṅkai whose waters sprinkled *tīrthas*, which were full of flowers ; and (who), -having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Ćaṅkirāmavicaiyōttuṅkapaṉmaṉ[48], the king of Kaṭāram[49], along with his fierce army including elephants - (*took*) the large heap of treasures, which (*that king*) had rightfully accumulated ; the (*arch called*) *viccātira-tōraṇam* (i.e., *Vidyādhara-tōraṇam*) at the "war-gate" of the extensive city of the enemy ; the "jewelled wicket-gate" adorned with great splendour ; the "gate of large jewels" ; Vicaiyam[50] (i.e., Śrī-Vijaya)

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32 Also to be sought for in the Bastar region.
33 See note 10 above.
34 See note 11 above.
35 Same as the opponent of king Bhōja of Dhārā. *E.I.*, VII, *List*, p. 120, note 3.
36 Situated in Orissa.
37 Orissa State.
38 "Most probably Daṇḍabhukti, the march-land between Orissa and Bengal". R.D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 71.
39 "Not possible to identify, probably a relative of Mahīpāla, the powerful Pāla ruler of Bengal." Sastri, *op.cit.* p. 209.
40 *I.e.*, Dakṣiṇa-Lāṭa comprising of the Hoogly and Howrah districts of Bengal.
41 A feudatory chief under Mahīpāla, the ruler of Uttara-Lāṭa.
42 Same as lower Bengal.
43 *I.e.*, Govindacandra, a feudatory of Mahīpāla.
44 *I.e.*, Mahīpāla, the Pāla king, mentioned above.
45 This is after Prof. Sastri. Hultzsch's rendering of the passage "who was deprived (even) of his slippers, bracelets and ear-rings" is considered out of place by Prof. Sastri (*op.cit.*, p. 238, note 63).
46 It comprises of the districts of Murshidabad and Birbhum.
47 This is after Prof. Sastri.
48 *I.e.*, Saṅgrāmavijayōttuṅgavarman, a succesor of Māravijayōttuṅgavarman of Kaṭāha or Kaṭāram of the Leyden grant.
49 It was called Kaṭāha in ancient times and would appear to correspond to a place more to the south of the modern Kedah, on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. (Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 218). See T.V.S. Pandarattar, *op.cit.*, p. 169 for his views on this.
50 The name of the kingdom of Palembang in Sumatra.

of great fame ; Paṉṉai[51] with water in its bathing ghats ; the ancient Malaiyūr[52] with the strong mountain for its rampart[53] ; Māyiruṭiṅkam[54], surrounded by the deep sea (*as*) a moat ; Ilaṅkācōkam[55], undaunted (*in*) fierce battles ; Māppappāḷam[56], having abundant high waters as defence ; Māvilipaṅkam[57], having fine walls as defence ; Vaḷaippantūru[58], possessing (*both*) cultivated land (?) and jungle ; Talait-Takkōlam[59], praised by great men (*versed in*) the sciences ; Mātamaliṅkam[60], firm in great and fierce battles ; Ilāmuritēcam[61], whose fierce strength was subdued by a vehement (*attack*) ; Kaṭāram[62] which was highly rough (*in contour*) and which was protected by the abutting sea : [63]

3 this is the 18th year[64] of king Parakēcaripanmar. The people of Āṭaiyūr in Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu in Maturāntaka-vaḷanāṭu, received 40 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* from Śaṇḍēśvaratēvar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (*temple*), and sold the land (*detailed below*) to provide for the feeding in (*the feeding house*) called Śrī-Rājentracōḻaṉ-cālai in the precincts of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār.

The land of the extent of 6 *mā* equivalent to 8 measuring rods, lying to the north of our village under the tank (*there*) and with the wide boundaries *viz.*, the eastern boundary was that it lay to the west of the *paṭṭi* (land) which was a *Paḷḷiccantam* land enjoyed as a common property by the village ; the western boundary was that it lay to the east of the *paṭṭi* which was formerly *Paḷḷiccantam* land but now not so and enjoyed as a common property by the village ; the southern boundary was that it lay to the north of the channel abutting the village habitation site ; and the northern boundary was that it lay to the south of Tāṉṟipaṭṭi which was the land of Iravi Īśvaramuṭaiya Mahādēvar together with the *iraṇṭāṭikkiṇaṟu* (well with two water-lifts) on the western bund of this land, (*was sold*) including any excess or diminution in the extent. (*Further*) the tax on the land was removed and we

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51 Identified with Pani or Panci on the east coast of Sumatra.

52 The location of this place is not clear, but it is said to have been a state near Palembang in Sumatra (Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 241, note 113).

53 This translation is after Sastri.

54 "This is same as *Ji-lo-ting* mentioned by Chau Jukua and should be sought somewhere in the region of Jaiya towards the centre of the Malay peninsula". (Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 216).

55 *I.e.*, Laṅkāśōka, which lay to the south of the state of Kedah in the Malay peninsula. (Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 216).

56 "Not easy to identify ; but it was a locality in the region of the isthumus of Kra." (Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 216).

57 Not possible to identify.

58 Not possible to identify.

59 Not possible to identify ; but it lay on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. (Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 217).

60 Same as Sanskrit Tāmraliṅga met with in a Sanskrit inscription from Jaiya. Its variants are Tan-ma-ling, Tamālingam. "The country of Tāmraliṅga ..... occupied the peninsula in all its width and faced the gulf of Siam as well as the Staits of Malacca." (Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 217).

61 It is a country in the northern part of the island of Sumatra. (Sastri, *op.cit*, p. 217).

62 See note 49 above.

63 Rājēndra I's compaign against the king of Kaṭāram (*circa* A.D. 1025) was directed against the Sumatram Empire of Śrī Vijaya and its dependencies in the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago. (Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 217).

64 About A.D. 1029-30.

have agreed to pay the dues of *karai* and all other such items.

4-5 (*The land*) could be irrigated with water from the tank and the channel as per understanding in the matter relating to water (*for the land*). The cultivators of this land could reside in the habitation site of our village. We would not receive the tax levied from this land. Thus agreed, we the people of the *ūr* of Āṭaiyūr, sold the land to Caṇḍēśvaratēvar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

The people of the village of Cōṟi *alias* Rājentracōḻanallūr of Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu of this *nāṭu* (i.e., this *vaḻanāṭu* ?) received 40 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* from Caṇṭēśvaratēvar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and sold the land (*detailed below*) to provide for feeding in (*the feeding house*) called Śrī-Rājēntracōḻaccālai. (*The land sold*) was Koṉṟai ēttam lying under the tank on the northern side of our village. Its eastern boundary was that it lay to the west of the flower garden belonging to (*the temple of*) Rājēntracōḻa Īśvaramuṭaiya Mahādēvar of this village, of Ampalappaṭṭi, and of the *varavai* (channel) called Mukki ; its southern boundary was that it lay to the north of the *varavai* lying in the east-west direction which was given as an additional land to Ceppēttam and of the eastern bund of the eastern *varavai* in Nāḻaṭi on the northern side ; its western boundary was that it lay to the east of the northern bund of Nāḻaṭi on the north, Cakkiliyaṉkuṇṭil, and the *nāṟukāl* (land where seedling is grown) of the habitation site, in the four wide boundary ; and its northern boundary was that it lay to the south of the southern bund of Pōcanattam. Besides, one *paṭṭi* . . . including the *ceṟuvu* (field) called Paṉikkayam, a stream, two wells within the area, the garden well in the habitation site, the dry land accompanying this land were included in the sale. (*Further*), the cultivators of this land could reside in the habitation site of our village ; no taxes would be received by us ; the land could be irrigated with water from the tank and channel as agreed to in this connection ; and the water taxes due on this land would not be received by us. (*On these terms*) we, the people of the village of Cōṟi *alias* Rājentracōḻanallūr, have sold the land as *iṟaiyili* (tax-free) to Śaṇḍēśvaratēvar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

We, the people of Maicārrūr of this *nāṭu* received 40 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* from Caṇḍēśvaratēvar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and sold the land (*detailed below*). The land was Ciṟiyaūruṇṇi paṭṭi of this village. Its eastern boundary was that it lay to the west of the habitation site of this village ; its southern boundary was that it lay to the north of the land of Vañcikōṉāṉ Puliyaṉ ; its western boundary was that it lay to the east of Moṭṭaceṟuvu of Cōṇaṉ Aṇṇāvan Cāttakōlam and Aṇṇāvaṉ Varuntan ; and its northern boundary was that it lay to the south of the land of (*actor*) Atirāmaṉ-kūttāṭi (dancer). The land within it measured 3 rods (*in extent*). The eastern boundary of the two *aṭṭus* of this land was that it lay to the west of the land of (*actor*) Atirāman-kūttāṭi and Ceṭṭi Urumiṭi ; its southern boundary was that it lay to the north of the land of Aṇṇāvaṉ . . Vaykuntun and Ceṭṭi Urumiṭi ; its western boundary was that it lay to

6 the east of the land of Vañcikkōṉ Puliyaṉ ; and its northern boundary

was that it lay to the south of the land of Vañcikkōn Puliyan. The land within it measured 6 rods (*in extent*). The eastern boundary of the 3rd *aṭṭu* belonging to this land was that it lay to the west of the common village land ; its southern boundary was that it lay to the north of the land of those including Ālanturai Araicaṭikaḷ ; it lay to the east of the land of the (*actor*) Atirāman-kūttāṭi and others ; and its northern boundary was that it lay to the south of the common village land. The (*extent of*) land within it measured 5 rods. The total extent was a *paṭṭi* of 14 rods. (*The sale included also*) the garden well and dry-land going with it ; it could get water from the tank and the channel ; and we would not receive the water-tax derived from it. Thus we, the people of Maicārrūr sold (*the land*) after removing the tax from it, to Śaṇḍeśvaratēvar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

We, the people of Māttūr *alias* Eṟipattikaṇṭanallūr of this *nāṭu*, received 40 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* from Śaṇḍēśvaratēvar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and sold the land (*detailed below*). The southern boundary of Māmalaittu of our village was that it lay to the north of the Mēṭṭukkāl on the south and the channel on the north ; its western boundary was that it lay to the east of the *ceṟuvu* called Araiyakaḷātittan ; its northern boundary was that it lay to the south of the channel on the south of the

7 water-chute on the north ; and its eastern boundary was that it lay to the west of the *ceṟuvu* called Viḷāṉ and the end-land of Amaraṉ-kaṇṇāṟu. The *paṭṭi* within it was (*of the extent*) of 4 rods. (*Further*) it could get water from our tank and channel as agreed upon. We would not receive any land tax or water tax from this land. We, the people of Māttur *alias* Eṟipattikaṇṭanallūr, have sold (*the land*) making it tax-free to Śaṇḍēśvaratēvar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

We, the people of Kuḻakkuṭi of this *nāṭu* on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai, received 80 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* from Śaṇḍēśvaratēvar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and sold the land (*detailed below to him*). The land was situated under the western tank of our village. Its eastern boundary was that it lay to the west of the land which is named Iluppaiyōṭu-kaṇṇāru ; its southern boundary was that it lay to the north of the big channel running to the east from the tank of this village ; its western boundary was that it lay to the east of the land which is called Kaṇṇāṟu cultivated by Koṭupunavanamutaṉ Cāttaṉ ; and its northern boundary was that it lay to the south of the village habitation site on the north of the old village habitation site. The land thus demarcated by the four wide boundaries was (*of the extent*) of 16 *taṭi*, and it, with excess or less area,

8 comprised of two *paṭṭis*. This land could get water, as agreed upon, from our tank and channel. The water tax derived from this land and all other (*taxes*) would not be received by us. Thus the people of Kuḻakkuṭi ūr, sold (*the land*), after removing the tax, to Śaṇḍēśvaratēvar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

31 A.D. 1031

S.I.I., VIII, 66 — II *Prākāra*, south wall, west part (outside).

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirumaṉṉi vaḷara irunila maṭantaiyuṁ porcayap pāvaiyuñ cirttanic celviyun = taṉ perunteviyarākiy = iṉpuṟa neṭutiyal (yal)l = ūḻiyill-Iṭaituṟainātun tuṭa[r]-vaṉavelip paṭar Vanavāciyuñ cuḷḷicūḻ matiḻ Koḷḷippākkaiyum naṉṉaṟkarumuṟaṇ Maṇṇaikkaṭakkamum porukaṭall Iḻat[ta]raica[r*]ta[m*] muṭiyumāṅkavar teviyaroṅkeḻil muṭiyuṁ munṉavarpakkal Teṉṉavar vaitta cuntaramuṭiyum - Intiraṇāramum teṉticai Iḻamaṇṭala muḻuvatum eṟipaṭaik-Keraḷaṉ muṟaimaiyil cūṭuṁ kulatanamākiya palar pukaḻ muṭiyuñ ceṅkatirmālaiyuñ ca[n*]katir velait tolperuṅkāval palpaḻantivuñ ceruviṟ ciṉavil - iruppattorukālaraicukaḷai kaṭṭa Paracurāmaṉ mevaruñ Cāṉtimaṟṟiv-araṇ karuti iruttiya cemporṟiruttakumuṭiyum pa[ya*]ṅkoṭu paḷimika Mucaṅkiyil mutukiṭṭoḷitta Cayaci[ṅ]kaṉ[a]ḷappē[ru]ṁ pukaḻoṭum piṭi-[yal*] . Iraṭṭapāṭi eḷaraiyilakkamuṁ [na*]vanetik kulapperu [malaiy] kaḻum vikkiramavīrar cakkirakoṭṭamum [mutil]rpaṭavalla Maturamaṇṭalamuṁ kāmiṭaiy vaḷa[r*] Nāmaṇai[koṇai]yum veñcilaivirar Pañcappaḷḷi[65].....

2 ṇitecamuṁ ayarvil vaṇkirtti yātiñakaravaiyiṟ Ćantiran tolkulatt - Indira-ratanai viḷaiyamarkkaḷattuk kiḷaiyoṭuṁ pititttup palataṉattoṭu niṟaikulataṉak kuvaiyuṅkiṭṭaruñ ceṟimiḻaiy Oṭṭaviṣaiyemuṁ pūcurarcer nalk-Kocalaināṭun Taṉmapālaṉai veṁmuṉaiy-aḷittu vaṇṭuṟaicōlait Taṇṭapputtiyuṁ Iraṇacūranai muraṇukat tākki tikkaṇai kirttit Takkaṇalāṭamuṁ Kovintacantaṉ māviḷintoṭat taṅkātacāral Vaṅkāḷatecamuṁ toṭukaṭaṟ ca[ṅ]kuvoṭṭal Mahivāḷaṉai veñcama[r*] viḷākat tañcu[vi]ttaruḷi oṇṭiṟaliyāṉaiyuṁ peṇṭir paṇṭāramuṁ nittila neṭuṅkaṭal - Uttiralāṭamuṁ veṟimalar ti[r]ttatteripuṉaṟ Kaṅkaiyuṁ alaikaṭal naṭuvuṭ palakalañ celuttic Caṅkirāmavicaiyo.....

3 taraiyaṉai vākaiyam porukaṭaṟ kumpakkariyoṭumakappaṭut turimaiyiṟp piṟakkiya perunetip piṟakkamuṁ ārttava nakanakarp porttoḷil vācalil viccātiratoraṇamuṁ moyttoḷir puṉai-[ma][ṇi*]p putavamuṅ kaṉamaṇik katavamuṁ niṟaicīrvicaiyamum - turaiṉīrp paṉṉai [yu]ṁ vaṉmalaiyūreyiṟ roṉmalaiyūruṁ āḻkaṭalakaḻ cūḻ Māyiruṭiṅkamuṁ kalaṅk[ā] valviṉai Ilaṅkācopamuṁ koppuṟu niṟaipuṉal Māppappāḷamuṅ kāvalaṁ puricai Mevilipaṅkamuṁ vaḷaippaintūṟuṭai Viḷaippaintūṟuṅ kalaittakkor pukaḻ talait-Takkolamu[n*] titamāvalviṉai Mātamaliṅkamuṁ kalāmutir kaṭuntiṟal-Ilāmuritecamuṁ teṉakka[vā]rpolil Māṉakkavāramun - toṭukaṭaṟk kāvaṟ kaṭumuraṭ.....

4 ṭāṟ koṇṭa kōp-Parakecaripan[m]arāṉa uṭaiyār śrī-Rājentracoḻatevaṟku yāṇṭu 19 - āvatu uṭaiyār Rājēntracoḻatevar paṇimakaṉ śrī-Ćoḻamaṇṭalattu Arumoḻiteva-vaḷa-nāṭṭu Ārvalak-kūṟṟattu Rājarāja-nallūr Rājarājanallūr uṭaiyāṉ Pāṇṭi Utaiyativākaraṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyil eḻuntaruḷuvitta Piccatevarkku trisandhi mukkālun tiruvamutu ceytaruḷa[c] ciṟu-

65 A portion is built at the right end.

kālaikku tiruvamutarici irunāliyum ucciyampotaikkut tiruvamutarici nānāliyum iravaikku tiruvamutarici irunāliyum āka nāl onriṉukku tiruvamutarici kuruṇiyināl añciraṇṭu vaṇṇattāl nellu patakku nānāliyum sandhi onriṉukku kariyamutu paruppu ulakkum porikkari onrum pulukku[k*]kari onrum ākakkari .....

5 lu nāli yuriyāka nāl onriṉukku nellu nānāli yuriyum nāl onriṉukku milaku iru[c]cevuṭaraikkum uppu ālākkukkum nellu nāli ulakkum sandhi onrukku neyyamutu iruceviṭaraiyāka nāl onriṉukku neyyamutu ālākke iruceviṭaraikku nellu irunāliyum sandhi onrukku tayiramutu uriyāka nāl onriṉukku tayiramutu nāli urikku nellu nāli yuriyum sandhi onrukku aṭaikkāyamutu verum pākku nālum verrilai [e]ṭṭum āka nāl onriṉu[kku] verum pākku panniraṇṭukkum verrilai yiruppattunālukku nellu nāli yuriyum sandhi vilakku cirukāṭṭi(lai)kku iraṇṭum ucciyampotaikku iraṇṭum iravaikku nālum āka nāl onriṉukku sandhi-vilakku eṭṭiṉukku enṇai yurikku nellu nāṉāliyum tiruvārātanai ceyvān .....

6 ulpaṭa nāl onriṉukku nellu kuruṇiyum āka nāl onriṉukku tiruvaṇṇāmalai ennum marakkālāl nellu aiṅkuruṇi irunāli muvulakkāka orāṭṭaikku nellu nūrrarupaṭiṉkalane mukkuruṇi arunāli innellukku vilaikkukkoṇṭa nilamāvatu Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār tevatānaṅ Kilaṇṇāttu nālāṭikkiṇaru-[ṭ]ppaṭa Kilaippaṭṭiyum Naṭuvirpaṭṭiyum Melaippaṭṭiyum Ālaiyettapaṭṭiyum ākap paṭṭi nālukkum kilpārkellai Naṅkaikoyirpaṭṭikkum Anaiōṭaikkum merkkum tenpārkellai periyeri vāykkālukku vaṭakkum melpārkellai Aricāṇippaṭṭikkum Ćirrattiettappaṭṭikkum kilakkum vaṭapārkellai vaṭakkil Ćirrattiyettappaṭṭikkut terkkum .....

.....

7 ṁ uṭpaṭṭa nilam uṇṇilam olivinriye Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār aruḷāl Ćaṇḍēśvaradevarum tevakaṇmikaḷum pakkal poruḷarak-kuṭuttu vilaiyarak koṇṭa innilam ulutu melvārattāl vanta nellu tevarpaṇṭāratte aḷappatānom Kilaṇṇāttu ūrom innelluk koṇṭu innivantam tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyennum marakkālāle śantrātittaval tevar paṇṭārattile koṇṭu niccal nivantañceluttakkaṭavomānom tevakaṇmikaḷom [/*] iva(n)ne Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār tirukkārttikait tirunā[ḷi]l tiruveṭṭai eluntaruḷi iruntāl peruntiruvamirtu ceytaruḷavum aṭiyārkkuc caṭṭiccoru prasātañceytaruḷavum kuṭutta poṇ elu kaḷaiñcil ittevar tevatāṇa brahmate .....

8 ṁkalattu sabhaiyoṅ koṇṭa poṇ nārkkaḷaiñcukku āṇṭuvarai kaḷaiñcinvāy tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyennum marakkālāl nellu(k)kalamāka tiruvamitarici kalattuku nellu irukalane tūṇippatakkum kariyamirtu aiñcukku nellu patakku nānāliyum puḷiṅkariyamirtukku nellu mukkuruṇiyum milaku āḷākkukku nellu nānāliyum uppu nāḷikku nellu irunāliyum cirakam oruceviṭekālukku nellu irunāliyum neyyamirtu nāḷikku nellup patakkum tayiramutu kuruṇikku nellu irunāliyum vāḷaippaḷam eṭṭiṉukku nellu nānāliyum aṭaikkāyamitu veruṅkāy irupatukkum verrilai eṇpatukkum nellu nānāliyum vāḷaikkuruttukku nellu irunāliyum virakukku nellu kuruṇiyum kucakkalattukku nellu tūṇiyum aṭuvārkku nellup patakkum āka nellu nārkalattukkuc Ćantirātittava .....

9 tuvomānom Puliyūrnāṭiścaturvvētimaṅkalattu sabhaiyom [/*] Vayiramekaścaturvvētimaṅkalattu sabhaiyoṅ koṇṭa poṇ . . kkaḷaiñcukku āṇṭuvarai kaḷaiñcinvā[yp] poli ūṭṭut tiruvaṇṇā-

malaiyennum marakkālāl nellukkalamāka uṭaiyār tiruveṭṭai eluntaruḷi iruntu caṭṭiccoṟu prasādañceytaruḷa caṭṭi onṟukku arici irunāḻiyāka caṭṭi irupatukku arici ai(y)ṅkuṟuṇikku aiñciraṇṭākki nelluk kalane nānāḻiyum kaṟi aiñcukku nellu aiṅkuṟuṇiyum puḷiṅkaṟikku nellu tūṇiyuṁ miḷaku uḻakkukku nelluk kuṟuṇiyum uppu nāḻiurikku nellu munnāḻiyum cirakam iruceviṭaraikku nellu nānāḻiyum caṭṭi onṟukku ney iruceviṭaraiyāka ney nāḻi uḻakkukku nellup patakku nānāḻiyum caṭṭi onṟukku tayir uriyākat tayirk kuṟuṇi irunāḻikku nellu kuṟuṇi nānāḻiyum veruṅkāy eṇpatukku

10 nelluk kuṟuṇi nānāḻiyum aṭṭaveṇṭuṅ kucakkalattukkum caṭṭi irupatukkum perakal nāṟpatukkum cirṟakal irupatukkum [nellu] aiṅkuṟuṇiyum virakukku nellu aiññāḻiyum aṭuvārkku nellu kuruṇiyum caṭṭi mūṭikkuṭukkum vāḻaiyilaikku nellu nānāḻiyum āka nellu mukkalattukkum poṉ mukkaḻaiñcuṅ koṇṭu śantrātittaval ipparice innivantam celuttuvomānom Vayirameka[ś]caturvvētimaṅkalattu sabhaiyom [/*] ivaṉe Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiyārkku pañcagavyamāṭiyaruḷa nittamum ciṟukālai sandiyil tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyeṇṇum nāḻiyāl gōmu(ṭ)traṁ uḻakkum gōmayam āḻākkum pāl nāḻi uḻakkum tayir nāḻiuriyum ney nāḻiyum āka ippaṭi nittamum muṭṭa.....

11 ṉ eluntaruḷuvitta Piccatevarkku vaitta tirununtāviḷakku iraṇṭukku viṭṭa cāvā mūvāp perāṭu nūṟṟuttoṇṇūṟṟu iraṇṭu ivvāṭu koṇṭu ittirununtā viḷakku iraṇṭukku nicatappaṭiyum muṭṭāme śantrātittaval erippatānom Tiruvaṇṇāmalai maṉṟāṭikaḷom ivaṉe uṭaiyār śrī-vimānattai cūḻa irā(ra)vaisandhikku aṇukkaviḷakkāka eriya vaitta viḷakku onṟukku eṇṇai iruceviṭaraiyāka sandhiviḷakkup patināḻiṉukku viṭṭa cāvāmūvāp perāṭu munnūṟṟu muppattāṟu ivāṭu koṇṭiccantiviḷakkuppatiṉālum niccarpaṭiyum muṭṭāme Cantirātittaval erippatāṉon-Tiruvaṇṇāmalai maṉṟāṭikaḷoṁ [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-3 Same as for No. 30 above.

4 It is the 19th year[66] of king Parakēcaripan[ma*]r *alias* uṭaiyār śrī-Rājēntracōḻatēvaṟ. In order to provide food offering thrice - three times - to (*the image of*) Piccatēvar caused to be set up (*in the temple at*) Tiruvaṇṇāmalai by Pāṇṭi Utaiyativākaraṉ, the chief of Rājarājanallūr of Rājarājanallūr in Ārvalak-kūṟṟam in Arumoḻitēva-vaḷanāṭu, who is a servant of uṭaiyār Rājēntracōḻatēvar (*the following arrangement was made*) : For the early morning service two *nāḻi* of rice is (*provided*) for food offering ; four *nāḻi* of rice is (*provided*) for food offering for the noon-time ; (*and*) two *nāḻi* of rice is (*provided*) for the night. The total (*quantity*) of rice (*required*) daily is *kuṟuṇi* for which at the rate of 5 : 2, *patakku* and four *nāḻi* of paddy (*is provided*). (*To provide for the side dishes*), one *uḻakku* of gram for a curry, one fried curry, and one steamed curry which total to .....

5 of *nāḻi* and *uri*, paddy (*provided is*) daily 4 *nāḻi* and *uri*. (*To provide*) daily 2 1/2 *ceviṭu* of pepper and *āḻākku* of salt, paddy (*provided*) is one *nāḻi* and *uḻakku*. (*To provide*) daily one *āḻakku* and 2 1/2 *ceviṭu* of clarified butter at 2 1/2 *cēviṭu* of clarified butter per service, paddy (*set apart*) is 2 *nāḻi*. (*To provide*) daily one *nāḻi* and *uri* of

66 About A.D. 1030-31.

curds at *uri* of curds per service, paddy (*provided*) is *nāḻi* and *uri*. (*To provide*) daily for the chewing offering consisting of four ordinary arecanuts and 8 betel leaves per service, the total (*quantity*), daily comes to 12 ordinary areca-nuts and 24 betel leaves for which paddy (*provided*) is *nāḻi* and *uri*. (*To provide*) daily 8 *sandhi* (twilight) lamps at 2 in the morning, 2 at noon and 4 at night, oil (*required*) is *uri* for which 4 *nāḻi* of paddy is (*provided*) . . . . .

6 including . . . . . one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy is (*provided*) daily. Altogether the daily (*requirement*) of paddy to be measured by the measure called tiruvaṇṇāmalai-marakkāl was 5 *kuṟuṇi*, 2 *nāḻi* and 3 *uḻakku*, which works out to 160 *kalam*, 3 *kuṟuṇi* and 6 *nāḻi* of paddy per year. The land purchased to have this paddy is (*as follows*) : (*It consisted of*) four *paṭṭis* namely Kīḻaippaṭṭi (i.e., eastern *paṭṭi*), Naṭuviṟpaṭṭi (i.e., central *paṭṭi*), Mēlaippaṭṭi (i.e., western *paṭṭi*) and Ālaiyēttappaṭṭi (i.e., *Paṭṭi* called Ālaiyēttam) together with the Nāḻāṭikkiṇaṟu (i.e., the well called Nāḻāṭi) all in (*the village of*) Kīḻaṇṇāttu, a *tēvatānam* (gift to god) of (*the god*) Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār. (*Its*) eastern boundary is that it is to the west of Naṅkaikōyiṟpaṭṭi and Aṇaiōṭai ; (*its*) southern boundary is that it is to the north of the channel of the Periyēri (i.e., the big tank) ; (*its*) western boundary is that it is to the east of Aricāṇippaṭṭi and Cirṟattiēttappaṭṭi ; (*and its*) northern boundary is that it is to the south of Cirṟattiēttappaṭṭi in the north . . . . . .

7 including the land without omission of any existing land has been purchased, with the grace of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār, from Śaṇḍēśvara-dēvar and *tēvakaṉmis* (god's servants), after paying the price in full and after fixing the price exactly (*by us the people of Kīḻaṇṇāttu*). We, the people of Kīḻaṇṇāttu, have agreed to cultivate the land and to measure out the paddy accruing as the first half of the yield (*mēlvāram*) thereof at the treasury of the god. Using this paddy we, the *tēvakaṉmis*, have committed to conduct this service daily by receiving (*the required quantity*) of paddy measured out by the measure called tiruvaṇṇāmalai-marakkāl from the temple treasury till the moon and the sun endure. The same person (i.e., Pāṇṭi Utaiyativākaraṉ) has given 7 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* to provide for the main food offering (*peruntiruvamirtu*) to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār if he is in procession during the festival of Tirukkārttikai and for the free-feeding, by means of *caṭṭi-cōṟu* (a bowl - full of rice), of the devotees. (*Of this poṉ*),

8-9 4 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* has been received by us, the members of the *sabhā* of . . . . . ṁgalam, a *tēvatāṉa brahmatēyam* (god's land gifted to Brāhmaṇas) of this god. We, the members of the *sabhā* (assembly) of Puliyūrnāṭṭiś-caturvvētimaṅkalam, have agreed to supply, till the moon and the sun endure, 4 *kalam* of paddy (*for this amount of 4 poṉ*) at the rate of one *kalam* of paddy, measured by the tiruvaṇṇāmalai-marakkāl, (*as interest*) per *poṉ* per annum, (to be used as follows) : 2 *kalam*, one *tūṇi* and one *patakku* of paddy to make one *kalam* of rice for food ; one *patakku* and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy (*to provide*) for 5 curry dishes ; 3 *kuruṇi* of paddy for one sour curry dish ; 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for one *āḻākku* of pepper ; 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for one *nāḻi* of salt ; 2 *nāḻi* of

paddy for 1 1/4 *ceviṭu* of *cīrakam* (cumin) ; one *patakku* of paddy for one *nāḻi* of clarified butter ; 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for one *kuṟuṇi* of curds ; 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 8 plantain fruits ; 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for the chewing material consisting of 20 ordinary arecanuts and 80 betel leaves ; 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for tender plantain leaves ; one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for (wood) fuel ; one *tūṇi* of paddy for mud pots ; and one *patakku* of paddy for those who serve (*all totalling* to 4 *kalam of paddy*).

9-10 (*We*), the members of the *sabhā* of Vayiramēkaś-caturvvētimaṅkalam have received (*the balance of*) three *poṉ* ; and we, the members of the Vayiramēkaś-caturvvētimaṅkalam have agreed to carry out this service, till the moon and the sun endure, as per this document, after receiving this 3 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ*, and by agreeing to supply (*annually*) 3 *kalam* of paddy at one *kalam* of paddy, as interest per *poṉ* per annum, to be measured out by the tiruvaṇṇāmalai-marakkāl for the service of supplying free food at the time when the god is taken out in procession. (*The service includes the following*) : one *kalam* and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy to make 5 *kuṟuṇi* of rice, in the ratio of 5 : 2, to provide, at the rate of 2 *nāḻi* of rice per *caṭṭi-cōṟu*, the free supply of 20 *caṭṭi-cōṟu* ; 5 *kuruṇi* of paddy for 5 curry dishes ; one *tūṇi* of paddy for one sour curry dish ; one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for one *uḻakku* of pepper ; 3 *nāḻi* of paddy for one *nāḻi* and *uri* of salt ; 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 2 1/2 *ceviṭu* of *cīrakam* ; one *patakku* and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for one *nāḻi* and one *uḻakku* of clarified butter at 2 1/2 *ceviṭu* of clarified butter per *caṭṭi* (bowl); one *kuruṇi* and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for one *kuruṇi* and 2 *nāḻi* of curds at *uri* of curds per *caṭṭi* ; one *kuṟuṇi* and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 80 ordinary arecanuts ; 5 *kuruṇi* of paddy for the mud-pots used in serving the food and for 20 *caṭṭi* and for 40 big saucer and 20 small saucer ; 5 *nāḻi* of paddy for (wood) fuel ; one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for those who serve and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for the plantain leaves used for covering the *caṭṭis* (*all totalling* to 3 *kalam of paddy*).

10 The same person (i.e., Pāṇṭi Utaiyativākaraṉ) has provided for the daily supply of one *uḻakku* of cow's urine, one *āḻākku* of cowdung, one *nāḻi* and one *uḻakku* of milk one *nāḻi* and one *uri* of curds and one *nāḻi* of clarified butter, to be measured out by the tiruvaṇṇāmalai-nāḻi, for the *pañcagavya* (five articles derived from cow) bath of the god daily during the early morning service.

11 He gave 92 never-dying and never-ageing (*flock of*) sheep (*to supply clarified butter*) for two perpetual lamps (*to be burnt before the image*) of Piccatēvar caused to be set up by the same man. We, the *maṉṟāṭis* of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai have received these sheep and have agreed to burn the two perpetual lamps daily without fail, till the moon and the sun endure.

The same person gave lamps to be lit around the Śrī-Vimāna (i.e., central shrine) as *aṇukka* (placed near)-lamps during the service at night. They were 14, each to be burnt with 2 1/2 *ceviṭu* of oil, and for this he gave 336 never-dying and never-ageing (*flock of*) sheep. Receiving these sheep, we the *maṉṟāṭis* of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai have agreed to burn these 14 lamps daily till the moon and the sun endure, without fail.

32 A.D. 1039

S.I.I., VIII, 68 II *Prākāra*, south wall, west part (outside).

TEXT

1 [Svasti śrī] [//*] Tirumaṉṉi vaḷara iru-
nila maṭantaiyum poṟceyap pāvaiyuñ
cīrtanic celviyuntaṉ peruṉteviyarāki
iṉpuṟa neṭuti[ya]l lūḻiyil liṭaituṟaiñā-
ṭuntuṭar[67] Vaṉāvāciyuñ cuḷḷicūḻ matil
Koḷḷippākkaiyum naṉṉaṟ-karumuraṇ
Maṉṉaikkaṭakkamum perukaṭal liḷat-
taraicar ta[m*]muṭiyum-āṅkavar tevi-
yar roṅkeḻil muṭiyu muṉṉavar pakkal
teṉṉava[r] vaitta cuṉṟaramuṭiyu min-
tiranāramum teṉṟicai Ilḷa(ḷa)maṇṭala
muḻuvatum eṟipaṭaik Keraḷaṉ muṟai-
maiyil cūṭuṅ kulataṉamākiya pala[r*]
pukaḻ muṭiyuñ ceṅkatir mālaiyuñ
caṅkatir velait tolperuṅkāvaṟ pal
paḻantivum ceruviṟ cinavi[l*] irupat-
torukāl-araicukaḷai kaṭṭa Paracu-
rāmaṉ melvaruñ Cāṉtimaṟṟivaraṇ ka-
ruti yiruttiya cemporṟi[ruttaku muṭi-
yum] payaṅkoṭu paḻimika muyaṅkiyil
mutukiṭṭoḷitta Cayaciṅkaṉ-aḻapperum
puka(ḻ)ḻoṭum piṭi[yal*] Yiraṭṭapāṭi
eḻaraiyilakkamum navanetik kulap-
perumalaikaḷum vikkiramavira[c*]
Cakkarakkoṭṭamum mutirpaṭarvallai
[Ma]turamaṇṭalamum kāmiṭaivaḻa
Nāmaṇikkōṇaiyum veñcilai vira[r*]
Pañcappaḷḷiyum pācaḻaipaḻana Mācu-
ṇitecamum ayarvil [va*]ṇkīrtti Ātiña-
karavaiyiṟ Cantiran ṟolkulat[ti*]nti-
[ra*]rataṉai viṉaiyamark-kaḷattuk
kiḻaiyoṭum piṭittup palataṉattoṭu
niṟai kulataṉak kuvaiyuṅ kiṭṭaruñ
ce[ri]miḻai [Oṭṭavi]ṣai[ya]mum pūcur-
arce[r] nalk-Kocalaināṭun-Taṉma-
pāḻaṉai vemmuṉai [ya*]ḷittu vaṇṭuṟai-
colait Taṇṭap[pu]ttiyum Iraṇacūraṇai
muraṇuṟat tākkit tikkaṉai kirtti Tak-
ka[ṇa]lāṭamum Kovintacantan māvi-
[ḻi*]ntoṭat taṅkāta cāral Vaṅkāḷate-
camum toṭukaḷal caṅkoṭṭa[l*] Mahi-
vāḻaṉai [veñ]camarviḻākat tañ[cuvit-
ta]ruḷi oṇṭiṟal liyāṉaiyum peṇṭir paṇ-
ṭāramum nittila neṭuṅkaṭal luttiralā-
ṭamum veṟimalart tirttat teṟipuṉal
Kaṅkaiyum alaikaṭal naṭuvuḷ palaka-
lañ celutti Ćaṅkirāma-vicaiyottuṅka-
paṉmanākiya Kiṭārattaraicaṉai vā-
kayampo[rukaṭal kumpak-kariyoṭu-
ma]kappaṭutturimaiyil piṟakkiya pe-
runeti piṟakkamum ā[r]ttavan na-
kar(r)nakarp porttoḷilvācalil viccā-
tirat toraṇamum m[o]ḷy*]ttoḷir puṉai-
natip puṉavamum kaṉamaṇikkata-
vamum niṟai cir[vicaiya]mu ṉuṟai-
nīrp-paṉṉaiyum vaṉmalaiyū[r]raiyiṟ
roṉmalaiyū[rum] kalaṅkā valviṉai Yi-
laṅ[kā]cokamum kāppuṟu niṟaipuṉaḷ
Māppap[p]āḻamum kāvalam puricai
M[e]vilipaṅkamum viḻaippat[tū]ṟuṭai . .
. . . . . .

2 ti(r)tamāvalviṉai Mātamaliṅkamum
kā(ka)lāmutir kaṭuntiṟallilāmulitecа-
mum tenakkalarpoḻil Mānakkavāra-
mum toṭukaḷaṟ kāvaṟ kaṭu mura[ṭ]
Kaṭāramum māpporu taṇṭāṟ koṇṭa
kopparakacaripanmarāṇa uṭaiyār
śrī-Rājentracoḻadevaṟkku yāṇṭu 27-
āvatu Maturānta[ka]valanāṭṭup Peṇ-
ṇai vaṭakaṟait Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭai-
yār tēvakanmikaḷukkut Tiruvaṇṇā-
malai viyāpāri Vaiyiri [Ara]yaṉum
Aṭaikkalavaṉ Paṭiyaṉum Vikkiramā-
tittaṉ Marutamāṇikkamum Koyil Ti-
ruvāli[yu]m Cāttaṉ Aṭaikkalamum Kā-
vaṉ Kuṭṭeraṉum Mātevaṉ Viḻakka-
ṉum uḷḷiṭṭa nakarattom oṭṭik kaittiṭṭ-

67 The words *vaṉavelip paṭar* have been omitted.

iṭṭukkuṭutta paricāvatu Tiruvaṇṇā-
malai [uṭaiyār] tevatāṉam innāṭṭu
Mu]]ūr yāṇṭu 2[7]-āvatu mutal ūr
aṭaṁkalum enka] ūroṭum kūṭa [ka-
likka koṇṭu] im-Mu]]ūrk ka]aṉikkku
innāṭṭu Māttūr eriyil vaṭatūmpāru
nir pāccikkoṇṭu veṇṭum payir ceytu
aṉupavittu ivvūr taṉ kaṭamaiyum
ūrkka]añcu kumarakaccāṇam tari
irai taṭṭārp-pāṭṭamum u]]iṭṭa epperp-
paṭṭa iraika]ukkumāka ittevar utta-
ramayaṇa caṅkiramattilum [d]ekṣa-
ṇamayaṇa caṅkiramattilum sahasra-
kalacam-āṭiyaru]ukaikkum peruntiruvamutu ceytaru]ukaikkum āka atikārika] Co]amaṇṭalattu Uyyak-koṇṭār - va]a-nāṭṭut Tiruva]untūr-nāṭṭu A[ri]ntava(n)nallūr uṭaiyār Nīlaṉ Veṇkā[ṭa]ṇāraṇa Rājarāja-muventa ve]ār ceyta nivantappaṭi poṉ mup-pattiru ka]añcum ittevar paṇṭārattukkallāl tu]ai[y]oṭum uraiyokkum ponney āṭṭāṇṭutoṟum [Ca]ntirātittaval tevar paṇṭārattey vaippatākavum ipparicu kal veṭṭikko]vārka]āḳavum icaintu kaittiṭṭiṭṭuk - kuṭuttom tevakanmika]ukkut Tiruvaṇṇāmalai viyāpāri Vayiri Arayaṉum Aṭaikkalavaṉ Paṭiyaṉum Vikkiramātittaṉ Marutamāṇikkamum Koyil Tiruvāliyum Cāttanaṭaikkalamum Kāvaṉ Kuṭṭ[era]ṉum Māteva ..... liṭṭa nakarattom [/*] ivarka] colla e]utiṉeṉ [cirutaṉattu]p puravuvaritiṇaikka]attuk kaṇakku Co]amaṇṭalattu Arumoliteva-va]anāṭṭup Puraṅkarampai - nāṭṭuk Ku]alūr uṭaiyāṉ Mavilai . ākkāṉeṉ ivai enne]uttu [/*] ipparicu icaintu kaittiṭṭuk kuṭuttamaikku ivvūr viyāpāri Aṭaikkalavaṉ Paṭiyaṉeṉ ivai eṉ e]uttu [/*] ipparicu icaintu kaittiṭṭu kuṭuttamai .....

3 ippaṭi yāṇṭu 27 - āvatu](nā]) I[28] - ṉā[I] kalveṭṭiyaṭu [/*]](nā]) - [I]ṉāl atikārika] Rājarājamuventave]ār Maturāntaka va]anāṭṭup Peṇṇai vaṭakarait Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār koyi-liṉu]]āl olakkakūṭattiṉ muṉpiruntu kaṇakku keṭṭu ittevar tevatāṉam Kila]āttu nilattil Ā[ti]ppuliyūr uṭaiyāṉ Kova]āccanāṉa Kaṅkaikoṇṭaco]a Aṇimurināṭa]vāṉ kalluvitta Amarttikaṇṭapper[e]rikiḷ nilattil yāṇṭu 27-āvatu nā] [nū]rrorupattoṉpatu mu[ta*]l tiruttalām nilattil ittevarkku śrīkāryañceyvāṉ oruva]ukku nā] oṉriṉukku nellu tūṇi[ppata] kkāka nā] mu]]ū[r][ra]upa] tiṉukku nellu nūr-reṉpatiṉ kalattukku nila muveliyum ittevarkku muṉpu ka[ṇa]kke]uti varuvāṉ [o]ruva]ukku me[l]errām kaṇakke]utuvāṉ oruva]ukku nellup patakk[ā]ka nā] mu]]ūrra]upatiṉukku nellu a]upatiṉ kalattukku nila[m] veliyum āka iṉṉila nālveliyum nikki niṉra nilattil yāṇṭu irupatte]āvatu nā] nūrrirupatteṭṭuvarai ni[la][m] k[ā]ṭuveṭṭit tiruttip payirceyta nilattālum iṉṉā] mutal tiruttip payirceyyum nilattālum [U]maytāsarikkut ter[ku]p-paṭṭa kollainilattil payirceyta nilattālum payirceyyum nilattālum avvavāṇṭuka] ceyta po[ka]ṅka]il svāmipokattāl vanta nellum ponnuṅ koṇṭu Kārttikai tirunā]ilum Paṅkuṉit tirunā]ilum Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiyāraiccevikka vanta civacokika] u]]iṭṭa aṭiyārai ūṭṭuka veṉṟum pura[t]taṭiyārkku koṟṟaṭṭuka veṉṟum ittevar tevatāṉam [Vā]maṉpūṇṭiyāṉa Puliyūrnāṭiccaruppetimaṅkalattuc cavaiyār kaṭava ūrkka]añcāluṅ kumarakaccā[ṇa]ttālum kaṭava poṉ nā[r]-ka]añ[cum] Nāvarpūṇṭiyāna Va[yi]-ramekaccaruppeti[ma]ṅkalattuc cavaiyār merpaṭi kaṭava poṉ nārka]añcum Kila]āttūrār merpaṭi kaṭava poṉ nārka]añcum Tiruvaṇṇāmalai nakarattār merpaṭi kaṭava poṉ nārka]añcu ..... vacca Pūṇṭi [ū]rār merpaṭi kaṭava poṉ nārka]añcum .... Pūṇṭi [u]rār merpaṭi kaṭava poṉ

irukaḷañcum Paṅkaḷanāṭṭu[k - kuḷ-
ṭūr [Mu]rukaṭiccaruppetimaṅkalattuc
cavaiyār merpaṭi kaṭava poṉ nārka-
ḷañcum ākak kaṭava poṉ irupattaṟu
kaḷañcum ittevar paṇṭārattukkallāl
tuḷaiyo[ṭu] uṟaiyokkum ponne ittevar
paṇṭārattukku u[ṭa]lākat taṇṭi ippon-
nāl ittevar koyilile .....

4 [viḷakkoṉṟiṉukku] ney[yuriyāka] nāḷ-
oṉṟiṉukku naṟu ney nāḷiyāka nāḷ
munnūṟṟaṟupatiṉukku ney munnūṟ-
ṟaṟupati nāḷiyiṉāl poṉ kaḷañciṉukku
ney aṟupati nāḷiyāka poṉ aṟu-
kaḷañcum viḷakku oṉṟiṉukku kaṟ-
pūra[m] mañcāṭi āka viḷakku iraṇṭi-
ṉukku orunāḷaikku kaṟpūram iraṇṭu
mañcāṭiyāka nāḷ munnūṟṟaṟupa-
tiṉukku kaṟpūra[m] muppattaṟu
kaḷañcum uṭaiyār tirumeyp pūccukku
orunāḷ sandhi nāḷiṉukku kaṟpūram
nālu mañcāṭiyāka nāḷ munnūṟ-
ṟaṟupatiṉukku kaṟpūram eḷupattiru
kaḷañcum āka kaṟpūram nūṟ-
reṅkaḷañciṉāl poṉ kaḷañcukku
kaṟpūram aṟukaḷañcākappoṉ patineṇ
kaḷañcumāka .... kaḷañcum nikkip
poṉ irukaḷañcum paṇṭārattukku
mutalākavumāka ippaṭi [nivanta]-
mākak koṇṭu iṭṭapaṭi Cantirātittavaṟ
ceyka veṉṟum ippaṭi ceyvataṟkuk
kalveṭṭuka veṉṟum atikārikaḷ Coḷa-
maṇṭalattu Uyyakkoṇṭārvaḷanāṭṭut
Tiruvaḷuntūr-nāṭṭu Arintamanal-
lūruṭaiyāṉ Nilaṉ Veṇkāṭaṉāṉa Rāja-
rājamuventavēḷār [i]pparicu cey-
vitāka kal veṭṭuvittom tevar-
kaṉmikaḷom [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Same as for No. 30 above.

2 It is the 27th[68] year of king Parakā-
caripanmar *alias* uṭaiyār śrī-Rājēn-
tracōḷatēvar. We, Vayiri Arayaṉ, the
merchant, Aṭaikkalavaṉ Paṭiyaṉ,
Vikkiramātittaṉ Maruta-māṇikkam,
Kōyil Tiruvāli, Cāttaṉ Aṭaikkalam,
Kāvaṉ Kuṭṭēraṉ and Mātēvaṉ Viḷak-
kaṉ, (*who are*) the *nakarattār* of Ti-
ruvaṇṇāmalai gave the agreed and
signed document to the *tēvakanmis*
of the god of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, on the
northern bank of the Peṇṇai, in Ma-
turāntaka-vaḷanāṭu. Muḷḷūr of this
nāṭu, a *tēvatāṉam* of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai
uṭaiyār was taken away (*from the
temple lands*) from the 27th year,
and the whole village was added to
our *ūr*. The lands of this Muḷḷūr
could be irrigated with water from
the northern water-chute of the
tank at Māttūr. Any crop could be
raised in it and enjoyed. And to meet
the expenses for the service, of
bathing the god with 1000 pot-fuls of
water on the days of the Uttarama-
yaṇa-caṅkiramam and of the Dekṣa-
ṇa-mayaṇa-caṅkiramam and for the
main food offering (*then*), instituted
by *atikārikaḷ* (officer) Nīlaṉ Veṇkāṭa-
ṉār *alias* Rājarāja mūvēntavēḷar by,
the *uṭaiyār* (chief) of Arintavaṉṉallūr
in Tiruvaḷuntūr-nāṭu in Uyyakoṇṭār-
vaḷanāṭu, 32 *kaḷañcu* of *poṉ*, equal in
quality, as tested by the touch-stone
of the treasury of this god, to the
tuḷaip (*poṉ**), in lieu of all taxes in-
cluding the *kaṭamai, ūrkkaḷañcu, ku-
marakkaccāṇam, taṟi-iṟai*, and *taṭ-
ṭārppāṭṭam* of this village, was to be
paid into the treasury of this god
every year till the moon and the sun
endure. And (*the tēvakanmis*) could
get (*the document*) engraved on
stone. Thus agreed, we, Vayiri
Arayaṉ, the merchant, Aṭaikkalavaṉ
Paṭiyaṉ, Vikkiramātittaṉ Marutamā-

68 About 1038-39.

Kōyil Tiruvāli, Cāttaṉ Aṭakkalam, Kāvaṉ Kuṭṭēraṉ and Mātēvaṉ . . . . . , the *nakarattōm* (members of the *nakaram* i.e. town)of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, gave this agreed and signed document to the *tēvakanmis*. On their (i.e., the *nakarattār*) saying, I, Mavilai . ākkaṉ, the *uṭaiyān* (chief) of Kuḻalūr in Puṟaṅkaṟampai-nāṭu in Arumoḻi-tēva-vaḷanāṭu in Cōḻamaṇṭalam, the accountant of the *puṟavuvari-tiṇaik-kaḻam* of the *ciṟutaṉam*, wrote (*this*). This is my signature. For having given this agreed document, I, Aṭaikkalavaṉ Paṭiyaṉ, the merchant of this town (*am a witness*), and this is my signature. For having given this agreed .....

3 (*This was*) engraved on stone on the 128th day of the 27th year. On the 1st day of this year, the officer Rājarāja-mūvēntavēḷār was in the *ōlakkakūṭam* (assembly hall) in the the temple of *uṭaiyār* (god) of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai in Maturāntaka-vaḷanāṭu and asked for the account (*and decided as follows*) : An (*area of*) land was caused to be dug up under the Amarttikaṇṭappērēri in Kīḻaṇṇāttu, a *tēvatāṉam* of this god by Kōvaṇāccan *alias* Kaṅkai-koṇṭacōḻa Aṇimuri-nāṭāḻvāṉ, the *uṭaiyāṉ* (chief) of Ātippuliyūr. Of this, whatever extent of land would be cultivated from the 119th day of the 27th year, 4 *vēḻi* of land was excluded, 3 *vēḻi* (*of which*) was to provide for giving 180 *kalam* of paddy for 360 days at one *tūṇi* and a *patakku* of paddy per day to the manager of the god's affairs, and one *vēḻi* (*of which*) was to provide for giving 60 *kalam* of paddy for 360 days at one *patakku* of paddy a day to the accountant (*employed*) in addition to the existing accountant of the god. From the land that remained over after deducting the 4 *vēḻi* of land (*mentioned above*), from the paddy and *poṉ* obtained from the god's share out of the yields of crops of every year raised in the land brought under cultivation after removing the jungle upto 118th day of the 27th year, from the land that is being cultivated from this day, and from the garden-land situated to the south of the land of Umai-tāsari, which was under cultivation and which is now being cultivated, (*the officer mentioned above ordered*) that (*they, the tēvakaṉmis*) should feed the devotees including the *civacōkis* (i.e., the ascetics devoted to the god Śiva) who came to worship Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār during the festival in the month of Kārttikai and during the festival in the month of Paṅkuṉi ; that they should give *koṟṟu* (food) to the devotees from other places ; that they should, on behalf of the god's treasury, get by demand 26 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ*, equal in quality to the *tuḻaip-(poṉ)* (refined gold) as tested by the touch-stone of this god's treasury, made up of 4 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* which included the share to be paid by the members of the *cavai* (Skr. *Sabhā*) of this god's *tēvatāṉam* (*village of*) Vāmaṉpūṇṭi *alias* Pulyūr-nāṭiccaruppētimaṅkalam and the share accruing from the levies of *ūrkkaḻañcu* (tax in cash levied by the village) and *kuma-rakkaccāṇam* (a tax) of the village ; 4 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* made up similarly of the shares of the *cavai* (of the village) of Nāvaṟpūṇṭi *alias* Vayiramēkaccarup-pētimaṅkalam and of the levies ; 4 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* to be paid in a similar way by the people of Kīḻaṇṇāttūr ; 4 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* to be paid by the

people of Pūṇṭi village ; 2 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* to be paid by . . . . Pūṇṭi ; and 4 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* to be paid in a similar manner by the members of the *cavai* of Kuṇṭūr Murukaṭiccaruppēṭimaṅkalam in Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu ; and that they (the *tēvakaṉmis*) should use this *poṉ* (*as follows*) :

4 6 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* should be used for buying 360 *nāḻi* of good clarified butter at 60 *nāḻi* of clarified butter per *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ*, for burning [two?] lamps in this temple with *uri* of clarified butter each, which added up to one *nāḻi* of clarified butter (*for both lamps*) per day, which for 360 days would amount to 360 *nāḻi* of clarified butter ; 18 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* should be used for (*buying*) 108 *kaḻañcu* of camphor at 6 *kaḻañcu* of camphor per *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* ; (*of this camphor*) 36 *kaḻañcu* of camphor for (*burning*) two lamps for 360 days at 2 *mañcāṭi* of camphor per lamp per day, and 72 *kaḻañcu* of camphor for 360 days to be used for smearing the body of the god with it at 4 *mañcāṭi* during the 4 services daily ; and that the balance of 2 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* after setting apart (*the poṉ mentioned above*) would become the capital of the treasury. Thus the above-mentioned endowments were accepted and gifted (*and they*) should be carried out till the moon and the sun endure ; and for doing so (*the document should be*) engraved on stone. (*This was the order*) of the officer Nīlaṉ Veṇkāṭaṉ *alias* Rājarājamūvēntavēḷār, the chief of Ariṅtamanallūr in Tiruvaḻuntūr-nāṭu in Uyyakkoṇṭār-vaḷanāṭu in Cōḻa-maṇṭalam. We, the *tevarkaṉmis*, have caused the engraving on stone (*of the document containing*) the undertaking to do so.

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33 11th c.

EO. 421-422 **Central shrine, platform around, west side. Fragmentary. Badly damaged.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirumaṉṉi vaḷara iru nila maṭantaiyum poṟ ceyappāvaiyuñ cīrttanic celviyu . . . . . viḻattaraicar tammuṭiyum āṅkavar teviyar roṅkeḻil muṭiyum muṉṉavar pakkaṟ ṟeṉṉava[r*] vaitta cuntaramuṭi . . . . . .

2 l paḻantīvum ceruvil ciṉavil irupattorukālaracukaḻai kaṭṭa Paracurāman me[l*]varuñ Cāntimaṟṟīvaraṇ karu . . . . . kkiramavīrac [Cakkarak koṭṭamum muti]rvaṭa-valai Matura-maṇṭalamum kāmiṭai vaḷar Nāmaṇaikkoṇaiyum veñcilai vīrar Pañ . . . . . .

3 v[ai]yum kiṭṭaruñ ceṟimiḻai Oṭṭaviṣayamum pūcurarcer nalk-Kocalaināṭun Tanmapāḻaṉai Veṉmuṉaiyaḻi . . . . . [Mahipālanai] [veñcamar viḻākattañcu]vittaruḷi oṇṭiṟallāṉaiyum [peṇṭir] paṇṭāramum nittila neṭuṅkaṭal luttiralāṭamu . . . . . .

4 turimaiyil piṟakkiya perunetippiṟakkamum āttavaṉ naka[r]nakar porttoḻil vācallūḷ viṟā . . . . . ṉai Ilaṅka[coka]mum kāppoṟu niṟaipukaḻ Māpappāḻamum kā[vala]mpuricai [Me]vilipaṅkamum viḻappattūṟu[ṭai] . . . . . .

NOTE

It preserves the first few passages of the *praśasti* of Rājēndra-cōḷa I, beginning with *tirumaṉṉi vaḷara*. See the *praśasti* part of No. 30 above.

34

11th c.

EO. 3

III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.

TEXT

1 .... ttaracar ta[m*]muṭiyum āṅkavar teviyar roṅkeḻil muṭiyum muṉṉavar pakkal teṉ .....

2 .... porriruttakamuṭiyum payaṅkoṭu paḻimika Muyaṅkiyil mutukiṭṭoḻitta Cayaciṅkaṉ naḻa

3 ..... [naiḻyamaṟkaḷattil kiḻaiyoṭum piṭittu palataṉattoṭu niṟai kulataṉak kuvaiyum kiṭṭa .....

4 ..... ruḻi yoṇṭiṟal yāṉaiyum peṇṭir paṇṭāramum nittila neḍuṅkaṭal-Uttiralāṭamum .....

5 ..... toḻil puṉai maṇiputavamum kaṉamaṇikkatavamum niṟaicir vicaiyamum tuṟainīr .....

6 ..... ṉai Mātamaliṅkamum kalāmu[ṭiṟ [ka*]ṭuntiṟal lilamulitecamum teṉakkavārpoḻil mā ....

7 ..... na uṭaiyār śrī-Rājentiracoḻatevar nampiraṭṭiyār Kalliyāṇamāteviyār tiruvakka .....

8 .... teviyar . tevikaḷār ci ... ttu tirumuṭi cātti Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyārkku ....

NOTE

This is a fragment of a long inscription of the time of Rājēndracōḷa I. The passages preserved here form part of the *praśasti* portion of the record. In lines 7-8, mention is made of the king's *nampirāṭṭiyār* Kalliyāṇa-mātēviyār and the lord of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Other details are lost.

35

11th c.

EO. 24

III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.

TEXT

1 ..... var teviyar roṅkeḻil muṭiyum muṉṉavar pakkal teṉṉavar vaitta cuntaramuṭiyumi .....

2 ..... rar pañcappaḻḻiyum pācaṭaippaḻana Mācuṇitecamum ayarvil vaṇkirtti ātinakaravaiyil Cantiraṉ .....

3 ..... naṭuvuḻ palakalañcelutti Caṅkirāmavicayatuṅkapaṉmanākiya Kaṭārattaraicaṉai vākayam poru-kaṭal....

4 ..... r kāval kaṭumuraṭ Kiṭāramum māpporu taṇṭār koṇṭa kop-Parakecari-paṉmarā[na*] uṭaiyār śrī-Rājentra-co ...

5 ..... ḻakkum puḻukku kari oṉṟum miḻaku iru ceviṭṭum kaṭuku iru ceviṭaraiyum u[ḻ[i] .....

TRANSLATION

1-4 Parts of the *praśasti* of Rājēndracōḷa I.

5 ..... of uṭaiyār śrī-Rājēntra[cōḷa] ..... *uḻakku* ; one dish of boiled curry, two *ceviṭu* of pepper, two and a half *ceviṭu* of mustard ...

36

11th c.

EO. 2 — III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.

TEXT

1 .... tuṭa[r*] vanavelip paṭar Vanavā .
...
2 .... ruppattorukāl araicukaḷai kaṭṭap
.....
3 .... yir̲ Cantiran r̲olkulattintira-
[ra*]taṉai ....
4 .... peṇṭir paṇṭāramum nittila ne[ṭu] .
...
5 .... yir̲[r̲o]ṉmalai yūreyi ....

NOTE

This contains a part of the introductory *praśasti* portion of a record of Rājēndra-cōḷa I.

37

11th c.

EO. 419 — Central shrine, platform around, south side.
Fragmentary and very much damaged.

TEXT

1 ..... kkum kulataṉamākiya palar-
puka̲ḷ muṭi ....
2 ..... kka ko ..... ki ... ta .....
3 ..... kka .. n̲a [ma] ṭa .....
4 ..... nila .....
5 ..... [kā] .....

NOTE

This fragment contains some words of the *praśasti* of Rājendra I.

38

11th c.

EO. 5 A — III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.

TEXT

1 ..... jentiracol̲atevarku yā ....
2 ..... lai yāṉ [pirā] maṇaril Omar̲r̲i ...
..
3 ..... [pamaḷ]yeri .. karuppum ...
4 ..... lālacuntaran vēḷāṉ̲ pakkal .....
.
5 ..... laippa . ṭṭu tiru .....

TRANSLATION

1 ..... in the year .... of [Rā]jēṉtira-
cōḷatēvar ...
2 .... Omar̲r̲i .... amongst the *pirā-
maṇar* (i.e., brāhmaṇas)
3 .....
4 .... from [Ā]lālacuntaran vēḷāṉ̲ ....
5 .....

39

11th c.

EO. 1653 — II *Prākāra*, *pokkiṣam* (inside), west wall.
Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 ..... pākkaiyum naṉṉar̲karumuraṉ̲
Maṉṉaikaṭakkamum porukaṭalīḷattarai .....

2 ..... rāke ..... maṇṭalamum ..... Nāmaṇaikōṉai .....
3 ..... uttira Lāṭamum ..... Kaṅkai .....
4 ..... kalāmutir ..... lilāmuritecamum teṉakkavār-poḻil Mānakkavāra ...
5 tiruvaṇṇāvaṉ eṉṉum nāḻiyāl arici irunāḻiyum ney oru piṭiyum kummāyattukkut tu ....

TRANSLATION

1-4 Pieces of the phrases of the *praśasti* of Rājēndra-cōḻa I are preserved.
5 Two *nāḻi* of rice measured by the measure called *tiruvaṇṇāvaṉ*, one *piṭi* of ghee, ... for *kummāyam* (boiled pulse).

40

A.D. 1050

EO. 751-59 **II *Prākāra*, north wall (outside), *kumuda*. Very much damaged.**

TEXT

1 Svasti .... [//*] .. ḻer piṟaviḻā[ṟu?]ntiruka[ṭi]..... toṉṟi... vaṭaticai..... kuṭaticai..... tātai..... ..... keḻu teṉṉavan Mānāparaṇan poṉ muṭiyāṉāp perumaṇi pacuntalai porukaḻattarintu Veṇāṭṭaraicai Ceṇāṭṭotukkik [Kūva]kattaraicaic cevaka ... ttu velai keḻu Kāntaḻūrccālai kalamaruttaruḻi ..... coḻaneṉṟum .... kovirāca-kecaripanmarāṇa uṭaiyār śrī-Rājātirājatevaṟku yāṇṭu 32-āvatu
2 ..... Peṇṇai vaṭakarai .... mañcāṭi . nkoṇṭa . āṭṭai vaṭṭam poli[y] kaṭava nel muṉṉuṟṟuppatin kalamāka va ... lane tūṇi oruṇāḻi uriye ..... oṉṟu ... kalaṉe tūṇi oruṇāḻi uri ..... vilte eṟiaruḻum [Vaicāka?] kaṭalukku eḻuntaruḻum po-
3 tu nāḻ oṉṟu ..... paḻavarici .... kaṟiyamutukkum .... nāḻikku .. lu nānāḻi ..... nellu muṉṉāḻiyum miḻaku ..... oṉṟukku .... .. nānāḻiyum puḻikkaṟi [poḻ]utu oṉṟukku nellu nānāḻiyum tayir amutu nānāḻikku nellu ..... aṭaikkāy amutukku .... tukku ..... vamutu aṭṭum .. .. kku nellu
4 kkuruṇi oru nāḻiyum .... va ..... ṟu .....

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! ..... [//*] It (*happened*) in the 32nd year[69] (*of the reign*) of Rācakēcaripanmar *alias* Rājātirājatēvar (the *damaged parts of* the *praśasti* beginning with *Tiṅkaḻēr* and ending with *cōḻaneṉṉum* of the king follows).
2 ..... of the northern bank of the Peṇṇai ..... *mañcāṭi* ..... *tūṇi oruṇāḻi uri* at .... *kalam* ; when the deity went out in procession to the sea in the month of [Vaikāci ?] for every day ..... old rice ..... for a *nāḻi* .. four *nāḻi* ..... 3 *nāḻi* of paddy; pepper ..... for one .... four *nāḻi* ; four *nāḻi* of paddy per occasion for a tamarind-mixed vegetable dish ; ... of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of curds ; ..... for chewing-offering ; one *kuṟuṇi* and one *nāḻi* of paddy for those who served food ; .....

69 About A.D. 1049-50.

41 A.D. 1050

S.I.I. 82 II *Prākāra*, north wall (outside).

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tingaḷerpirā(ṟa)vaḷara ṅkatirkkaṭavuṭ tolkulam viḷaṅkat toṉṟi malkiya va[ṭa]ticaik Kaṅkaiyum (n)teṉṟicai Yilaṅkaiyuṅ kuṭaticai Mahotaiyuṅ guṇaticaik Katāramu [nt]aṇṭār koṇṭa tātai taṉ maṇṭalaveṇkuṭai niḻarritticaitoṟum ceṅkolocci icaikeḻu teṉṉavaṉ Māṉāparaṇaṉ poṉmuṭiyāṉap parumaṇiy pacuntalai porukaḷat tarintu Veṇāṭṭaraicai Ceṇāṭṭotukkik Kūvakattar[ai]caic cevakantulaittu velaikeḻu Kāntaḷūrcālai kalamaṟuttaru[]li ti[k*]keḻuñ Jayaṅkoṇṭacoḻaṉeṉṉum mati keḻu kōv-Irācakecaripanmarāṇa uṭaiyār śrī-Rājātirājadevaṟki [y]āṇṭu 32 - ā[vatu]

2 tiruvuṇṇāḻikai sabhaiyo[m] paṇimakaṉ Kṣattri[ya]śikāmaṇi vaḷanāṭṭu Tiruṉaraiyūr-ṇāṭṭu Eṭṭiciṟuveḷūr kiḻavaṉ Araṅkaṉarava[ṇai]yaṉāṉa Vaḷavatiyākara muventaveḷāṉ pakkal poliyūṭṭāl koṇṭa poṉ irukalañcuṅ koṇṭu āṭṭaiviṭṭaṉ poliyālp poṉ kaḻañciṉvāy poṉ muṉṟu ma[ñcā]ṭiyu mā[ru]māvāka vanta poṉ mu[m]mañcāṭiyuṅ kuṉṟiyun koṇṭu Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār koyilil Āṭavalār Kāttikaik Kā[tti]kai viḻāvil te[va]r aruḷumaṉṟu cāṅtāṭalukku Ātavalārkkuc cātti aruḷa cāntu [mu]kkāl cāntu āḻākkum eḻuntaruḷumpotu tūvac cāntukkum cāntu nāḻiyāl cāntu muṇṇāḻiyum araittu

3 nām iṟṟaināḻāl ippaṭi ceytu ā[ṭ*]-ṭāṇṭutoṟuñ Cantrātittavaṟ inivandañ-(ñc)celuttuvataṟkāka Kṣatri[ya*]-śikāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāṭṭu Eṭṭiciṟuveḷūr kiḻavaṉ Araṅkaṉaravaṇaiyāṉāṉa Vaḷavativākara muventavelāṉ pakkal ippoṉ koṇṭu ippa-[ṭi] nivandañ celu[t][tuvatā]ṉom ittevar tiruvuṇṇāḻikai sabhaiyom [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 This is the 32d year[70] of king Rācakēcaripanmar *alias* uṭaiyār śrī-Rājātirājadēvar. We, the members of the *sabhā* of the central shrine, have received, for interest, 2 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* from the (government) servant Araṅkaṉaravaṇaiyāṉ *alias* Vaḷavativākara-mūvēntavēḷāṉ, the chief of Eṭṭiciṟuvēḷūr in Tiruṉaraiyūr-nāṭu in Kṣatriyaśikāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭu. The annual interest for this amount would be 3 *mañcaṭi* and *kuṉṟi* of *poṉ* at 3 *mañcāṭi* and 6 *mā* of *poṉ* per *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ*. This interest amount was to be used for the offering of *cāntu* to (*the god*) Āṭavalār of the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār, when Āṭavalār was in audience during the Kāttikai festival in the month of Kāttikai. The quantity of *cāntu* for placing on the figure of Āṭavalār was 3/4 *āḻakku* and *cāntu* for the purpose of sprinkling was 3 *nāḻi*. This should be ground .....

3 Thus we have done today. For carrying out this service every year till the moon and the sun endure, we have received this *poṉ* from Araṅkaṉaravaṇaiyāṉ *alias* Vaḷavativākara-mūvēntavēḷāṉ, the chief of Eṭṭiciṟuvēḷūr in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāṭu in Kṣatriyaśikāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭu (*Having done this*) we, the members of the *sabhā* of the central shrine, have agreed to do this service.

70 About A.D. 1049-50.

42

C. A.D. 1065

EO. 25

III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.
Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 .....ṭu.....
2 .....āta teriya Vikkalaṉ taṉ no[ṭu] .....
3 .....[pa]mā cāmantarai kaṅkapāṭi kaḷat.....
4 .....tuṅkapattirai pukatturatti aṅ.....
5 .....naṉṉaṭ piṭamiṭṭum varaviṭṭu mava...
6 .....poṅ.....

TRANSLATION

1 Damaged
2 .....along with Vikkalaṉ...
3 ....the *cāmantas* (the feudatories) in the battle-field of Kaṅkapāṭi
4 . . . driving away upto the Tuṅkapattirai
5 ... by placing a good throne...
6 Damaged.

11TH CENTURY INSCRIPTIONS

43 **11th c.**
EO. 862 **II *Prākāra*, south wall (outside), west end, top. Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 .....celum.....
2 .....ntu ticaitorum munainta...
3 .....nru meṅkavai perukac ceṅ....
4 .....meyakkavacamu cirappaccātti
....

NOTE

Some words of a *praśasti* are preserved.

---

44 **11th c.**
EO. 5 **III prākāra, south side, floor.**

TEXT

1 .....nṇṭu 3 [0] [va].....
2 .....kka ko vi.....
3 .....ṇṇāmalai.....
4 .....ṇaṇe.....
5 .....ka cey.....

NOTE

Refers to the regnal year 3[0] of a king, and to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

---

45 **11th c.**
EO. 5 B **III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.**

TEXT

1 ....ṭai Tiruvaṇ.....
2 .....Nilakaṇṭaṇāṇa.....
3 .....Perumāḷ pakka va.....
4 .....kum ivarkaḷ pakkal...
5 .....mi.....

TRANSLATION

1 .....ṭai Tiruvaṇ[ṇāmalai].....
2 .....Nīlakaṇṭaṇ *alias*.....
3 .....with Perumāḷ.....
4 ....with these people....
5 .....

46

11th c.

EO. 1 V *Prākāra*, south of the Kampattiḷaiyaṉār temple, floor.

TEXT

1 . . . . kku ivvūr tiru
2 . . ṉṉāḷikai sa-
3 bhaiyāruḷ Kauśika
4 gottirattu Aṇ-
5 . i[vaḷ] Kuṇamantaḷaṭi-
6 kaḷ mātevi uḷakkuppa-
7 ṭi erikka vaicca āṭu to-
8 ṉṉūṟṟāṟu Tiruvaṇṇā-
9 malai maṉṟāṭikaḷ vaḷi .
10 . . māheśvara rakṣai : -

TRANSLATION

1-10 The Mātēvi of Kuṇamantaḷaṭikaḷ of Aṇ . i[vaḷ] of Kauśika-gōttira, a member of the temple committee of this place . . . . . gave (*a lamp*) to be burnt with *uḷakku* for which she endowed 96 sheep which were left in charge of the shepherds of Tiruvaṇṇā[malai]. [*This is to be*] protected by the *Māhēśvaras*.

47

11th c.

EO. 705-742 II *Prākāra*, west wall (outside), ***kumuda***.
Damaged and fragmentary.

TEXT

1 vaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār tirukkārttikait tirunāḷil . . . . . ṭattil eḷu . . . . . tirumañcanam āṭi aruḷa tirumañcaṇa nīr aṭṭuvāṉukku nelluk kuṟuṇiyum cātti aruḷum paricaṭṭam [.]kku poṉ 7 *kaḷancu* kku *nel* 300 1/320 3/20 m tirumeyp pūccukkaḷ pattukkuñ cāntukkum poṉ l-kku *nel kala-mum* tiruppaḷḷittāmattukku *nel kalamum* ci . . . riraṇṭukku eṉṉai 1/4 ? - kku *nel* 3 *kuṟuṇi* - m peruntiruvamutukku paḷavarici kuttal ? -kku . . . . . kaṟi amutukku paruppu *naḷi* kku *nel* 5 *kuṟuṇi* m . . . . . paṭaikkavum porikkaṟi amutukku miḷaku . . . kku *nel* 3/20 - m . . . . . kkum puḻukku kaṟi amutu oṉṟukkum miḷaku poṭikkaṟi yamutu oṉṟukkum *nel* 3 *kuṟuṇi* m puliṅ kaṟi yamutu 1 ku *nel* . . . kku *nel cevidu* -kku . . . . . mutu . . . . . kaṟiyamutukku veṟu? . kāy [4?]kkum . . . . verṟilai patiṉāṟukkum panmā ēśvararkku caṭṭicoṟṟukku . . . . kkum . . . . . ṭṭa . yakku pū[ri]kkutta[l] . . . . . caṭṭi oṉṟukku mukuṟu[ṇi]yum . . . . poṭikkaṟi . . . . . orucevite . [ru]kkum miḷaku . . . . . m caṭṭiccoṟum . . . ṉu . . . . ṉakku . . . . . kku . . . . ṭavu . . cīra . . . . . ṉṟukku *nel* . kkum virakiṭuvāṉukku *nel uḷakkum* āka *nel* . . . . . tiṉ kalamu . . . . . tte āṭṭāṇṭu toṟum aḷakka kaṭavomākavum iṉ nelluppati . . . . . itteva . . . . . ṉā . . . . . rāka . . . . ippaṭi . . . . kkumpaṭi . . . . . Kaṇṭiyūr . . . . . ṉṉaṉ Āṭavalāṉana Ara . . . Ārkkāṭṭu [nāṭṭu] mūventaveḷān . . . . . roṉ kaṭari . . . ti śrī-Tu [bhre?] maṅkalattu sabhaiyom itu panmāhēśvara rakṣai ೭

TRANSLATION

1 . . . . . during the *tirukkārttikai* festival of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār (*the following services*) were

done (*to the god*) with the amount of paddy allotted for each : a *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for a man bringing water for the holy bath (*of the god*) ; 7 *kalam* and [. .] and *mukuṟuṇi* of paddy in lieu of [7?] *kaḷañcu* of *poṉ* for clothes to cover (*the body of the image*) ; one *kalam* of paddy for materiel to smear the body and scent it ; one *kalam* of paddy for flower garland, [3?] *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for two . . . . and for oil ; . . . . for old rice to provide for *peruntiruvamutu* (i.e., Skt. *mahā-naivēdyam* (main food offering)) ; 5 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for [. .] of green gram used in a vegetable dish ; [. .] of paddy for [. .] of pepper used in a vegetable dish ; 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for a fried vegetable and a pounded vegetable using pepper ; [. .] of paddy . . . . . for a vegetable dish ; . . . . . for a vegetable dish . . . . . to provide for *caṭṭicōṟu* to *Pan-Māhēśvaras* at 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per *caṭṭicōṟu* ; one pounded dish ; . . . . . one *ceviṭu* . . . . . ; pepper . . . . . ; *caṭṭiccōṟu* . . . . . ; [. .] of paddy for the fuel supplier ; a *kalam* of paddy . . . . . ; (he) should measure out every year . . . . . this god . . . . . thus . . . . . to do so . . . . . Kaṇṭiyūr . . . . . Āṭavalāṉ *alias* Ara . . . Ārkāṭṭu-nāṭṭu mūvēntavēḷān . . . . the *sabhā* of . . . . . Tu[bhre?] maṅkalam. [*This is to be*] protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

48

11th c.

EO. 420 **Central shrine, platform around, south side. Fragmentary and very badly damaged.**

TEXT

1 . . . . . .

2 . . . . . .

3 [ku] . . . . . nṟalai . . . ṭa . . . . ka ca ve . . . . . .

4 vaṇṇāmalai paṇṭāra . . lo . ṭa . . . aṭṭa . . . . . .

5 naṅkaḷaṭṭi . . . . . ppaṭi . . . . kaṉukku vacca vāṭu toṇṇūṟṟā[ṟu]

6 . . . . . ātitta[varai] panmāhēśvara rakṣai

TRANSLATION

1-3 Damaged

4 In the treasury of [Tiru]vaṇṇāmalai . . . . to give . . . .

5 as given by us . . . . . endowed 96 sheep for a lamp

6 . . . . . and the sun endure. [*This is to be*] protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

49

11th c.

EO. 428 **Central shrine, *ardhamaṇḍapa*, west wall, north side. Fragmentary and very badly damaged.**

TEXT

1 k . kuppana . ti ceṅkaḷunir . ma . . . . nāmaṉa . . . . . .

2 . . . . n titta . [ne] . pe ne itan . . . u . ta . . . . . .

3 na . . . ttar . nennamma ceṅkaḷunir

ceyi.....
4 muṉu . ku . kiḻāṉ ma . . ṇa . . jenti . . . .
nanna . . . . . .

NOTE

It probably recorded a gift of (detail missing) for providing garland of lilies to the god.

50

11th c.

EO. 404 **Central shrine, south side, base. Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

1 .....
2 ṇḍu . māka . . ṇ ma . . . . . .
3 ṇṭārattu yāṅkaḷ ko . . . . . .
4 yā kala nellāka poli . . . . . .

NOTE

Refers to the treasury and to a *kalam* of paddy.

51

11th c.

EO. 1677 **III Prākāra, *maḍappaḷḷi*, floor. Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 . . . . . Kaucikaṉ Irāmaṉ . . . a[ti]k . . vārkku . . . . .
2 . . . . . ṟiṉukku nicatam uḻakku . . . . Cantrāditttava . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 . . . . . Kaucikaṉ Irāmaṉ . . . . . daily one *uḻakku* of . . . . for one (*lamp*) till the moon and the sun . . . . .

52

11th c.

EO. 1553 **II *Prākāra*, *pokkiṣam*, west wall (inside). Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 . . . . . tom . . . . .
2 . . . . . [ru]vilā . . nila . . .
3 . . . . . yu . . . . yaman . . . .
4 .....
5 .....
6 .....
7 .....

12TH CENTURY INSCRIPTIONS

53 III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.
EO. 10 Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 ..... yai virum[pa] Cuntararum .....
2 ..... puṉaitu aiṅka .....
3 ..... yāna āḷicūḻ kala[ma]ṇṭa ....

NOTE

It seems to be a part of a *praśasti* of a Cōḷa king.

---

54 III *Prākāra*, south side, platform with trees, south end.
EO. 12 Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 ..... nṟu eḷuntaruḷivittukkoṇ ....
2 ..... pūṇṭi ellaiyil kaḷalā .....

NOTE

It makes mention of an act of setting up of .... and of some boundary.

---

55 III *Prākāra*, south side, platform with trees, south end.
EO. 13 Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 ..... rukku viḷakku onṟukku pacu muppattiraṇṭu .....
2 ..... rāṉa Kāṅkeyarāyeṉeṉ itu paṉmāhe .....

TRANSLATION

1 .... 32 cows for one lamp to .....
2 .... I, ... *alias* Kāṅkēyarayaṉ. It is (*to be protected*) by *Paṉ-māhē* ....

---

56 III *Prākāra*, south side, platform with trees, middle.
EO. 14 Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 ..... cattu nāḷ Periyamutaliyār-piḷḷaikaḷil .....
2 ..... yāṟkkut tirukkai vaḷakkattu-[kḷku .....

TRANSLATION

1 ..... on . cam, ... of the Piḷḷais (sons or disciples) of Periyamutaliyār ...

2 ..... for the *tirukkaivaḷakkam* (articles used in worship daily) of ..... yār ....

57
EO. 15

III *Prākāra*, platform with trees, south side, middle. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 ..... yaṉṟakaṭavuḷ tāmaraikkoṭiyoṭu ta .....

2 ..... ṇa muṉṉa ṉeṭuntikara Nāraṇana[li]t ....

3 ..... pārakamītu veṉ[a]kkaṇṭu pāvalār[ru]vi .....

NOTE

It seems to contain phrases of a text in verse.

58
EO. 16

III *Prākāra*, platform with trees, south side, middle. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Pūmi .....

2 muṉṉāḷaḷitta muveyil .....

3 maimaṉṉunilaṅkaṇṭa .....

NOTE

It appears to be the beginning of the *praśasti* of a record of a Cōḷa king.

59
EO. 16 A

III *Prākāra*, platform with trees, south side. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 .....[y]yā Śivāṁśakō yaśśrī .....

2 ..... ndy cindhṛt punar-api ta ....

NOTE

It refers to a person who is described as a part of Śiva.

The language is Sanskrit and the script is Grantha.

60
EO. 17

III *Prākāra*, platform with trees, south side, middle. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 ..... ṅka nāmmuntoḷā veṉṟiyumalar talaiyu .....

2 ..... maya varimaippavumai varumaruṭ karṟai varumu .....

3 ..... kiriyeṉṟume

NOTE

It appears to be a portion of a poetic text.

61

III *Prākāra*, platform with trees, middle.
EO. 18 Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 ..... layulaka ni[lai] y[e]tti ....

2 ..... ru munṉāṭ ceyka pārt .....

62

III *Prākāra*, platform with trees, south side, middle.
EO. 18 A Fragmentary.

TEXT

In Grantha script and Sanskrit language.

1 ..... tava supāṇipadaiḥ / Kṛśānu-nētraḥ narahari-mūrtti .....

2 ..... mbaras = sa rakṣatām vaḥ //

NOTE

It seems to be part of a description of a king.

63

III *Prākāra*, south side, platform with trees, east end.
EO. 19 Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 ..... vantalāṉa Viṇṇavatirapputteriyum cittirameḷi .....

2 ..... vanār Kaṇṇāramutapperumāḷukku tevatānamāka mu .....

TRANSLATION

1 ..... *alias* Viṇṇavatīrapputtēri, cittiramēḷi ...

2 ..... as *tēvatānam* to .... Kaṇṇāramutapperumāḷ ....

64

Ṛṣi gōpura, entrance, north side.
EO. 181 Badly damaged. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 .....

2 .... uṭai ....

3 .... ṭama nāyakka ....

4 .....

5 . ppaṭiye .....

6 k kekayak kaṟpaka ...

65

Central shrine, platform around, south side.
EO. 409 Fragmentary and very badly damaged. Built upside down.

TEXT

1 ... pappukaḻurai[ttu?] .... ṇ .. ka .....

2 .. ru . [tai] ..... n . ku .....

3 [ā]naḻakiyaṉ Kaṇ ..... ma .....

66

Central shrine, *antarāḷa* (inside), east wall.
EO. 425 Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 tittavarai celvatāka viṭṭa pacu . . . . . .
2 cu kaikkoṇṭu paṇṭārattu . . . . . .
3 ḷakkakaṭavenānen maṉrāṭi . . . . .
4 ṇi[ccitān] Tiruvaṇṇāmalai . . . . . .
5 tu panmāhēśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1 endowed . . cows to last till (the moon) and the sun .
2 receiving the cows (*he should pay*) to the treasury . . .
3 I, ... a *maṉṟāṭi* (shepherd or cowherd), have agreed to receive (*it*) . . . . .
4 . . . . . Tiruvaṇṇāmalai . . . .
5 (*This is to be*) protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*

67

Ṛṣi gōpura, entryway, south wall.
EO. 451 B Fragmentary and very badly damaged.

TEXT

1 nāṭṭukkum . . . ttukku . . . . ttukku . .
2 . . koṇṭu . . . . . .

68

Kiḷi-gopura, middle portion, northern platform, base.
EO. 855-857 Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiri . . . . . .
2 vatu uṭaiyār . . . . . .
3 ṭa cōḻa-maṇṭala . . . . . .
4 kkar makaṉār . . . . . .
5 . . . . . .
6 itu paṉmāhēśvara rakṣai

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! *Tiri* . . . . . .
2 in the . . . . the uṭaiyār (the god) . . . . . .
3 ṭa cōḻa-maṇṭala . . . . . .
4 the son of . . . . . kkar . . . . .
5 . . . . . .
6 (*This is to be*) protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*

69

II *Prākāra*, Bhairava shrine, east and west walls
EO. 1627 (inside).
Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 vai . . ka . . . .
2 var aṟi . ṭai . tuvam
3 ccantirātittavarai
4 timu[tu] yorucu[ṭa ?]patta
5 kala[ṉu]kku . [bhe ?] . . .
6 ceyvā
7 ko][va]
8 tirutti .
9 ppiṉā .
10 . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 Damaged.
3 till the moon and the sun exist . . . .
4 Not clear.
5-10 Not clear.

70

II *Prākāra*, south wall, west end, top.
EO. 863 **Fragmentary. Very much damaged.**

TEXT		*TRANSLATION*	
1	..... vaḷanāṉa ma	1	..... vaḷan *alias* ma .....
2	..... ṉum taṅkaḷ vark	2	..... (you) and your group .....
3	..... ṭa cūḻnta na . ṟaya pontāṉ	3	..... surrounded by .....
4	..... ka . . aḷa . . n . . . kaikoḷḷa . . .	4	..... to receive . . .

71

II *Prākāra*, south wall, west side, top.
EO. 864 **Fragmentary and much damaged.**

TEXT

1 ..... [niḻttamu .....
2 ..... ta . . pporutu vicai .....
3 ..... kai va . . vāṅkip . ḻḷaṇika . . .
4 ..... por micaippukuntu pakalo .....

NOTE

Some words of a *praśasti* are preserved.

72

II *Prākāra*, south wall, west side, top.
EO. 865 **Fragmentary and much damaged.**

TEXT

1 ..... kama . . muṭicūṭit .....
2 ..... kai metakappuṇainta taṉ vāḷai-yu . . .
3 ..... ttiṟkoḷḷaikoṇṭa niḻuñ .....
4 ..... mel ceṉṟu paṇṭamar ceyta ....

NOTE

Parts of a *praśasti* are preserved.

73

III *Prākāra*, north wall (inside), godown to the north of Amman shrine.
EO. 1129 **Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 ..... vāḻi(ḻi) vanta ālālacuntara [kālā] .....
2 ..... Perumāḷ nācci Tirunānacam-pan .....
3 ..... ṇikkam viraṭṭa tiruttoṇṭa ....
4 ..... māṇikkam 112 Kaliṅkāṇṭai .... . .

TRANSLATION

1 ..... by the (*measure called*) ālāla-cuntara[kāl] . . .
2 ..... Perumāḷ-nācci Tirunāna-campan .....
3 ..... ṇikkam [drove away] and the devotee ....
4 .... 112 māṇikkam . . Kaliṅkāṇṭai ....

74
EO. 1132

III *Prākāra*, north wall (inside), godown to the north of Amman shrine.

TEXT

1 .....
2 .....
3 ku kalveṭṭi taṉṯapaṭi

NOTE

Refers to the gift made after engraving on stone.

75
EO. 1136

III *Prākāra*, north wall (inside), godown to the north of Amman shrine.

TEXT

1 . . . . . paṭi viṟṟuk kuṭuttuk koḷvatāka
2 . . . . . ṭappiḷḷai tanta kācu patiṉeṇṇāyi-
3 ..... ṟattoṉṟu eṉṉuṭaṉe niṟkakkaṭa-
4 ..... Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya ṉāya . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 ..... agreed to sell . . . .
2 *kācu* (coin of a certain value) 18,000 was given by . . ṭappiḷḷai
3 . . . . should stand by him
4 . . . . (*the god*) Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya ṉāya . . .

76
EO. 1535-1536

II *Prākāra*, *pokkiṣam*, west wall (inside). Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 . . . Rājentiracoḻanal[lūr] .....
2 nilam nañcai puñcai . . mai paṇa . . . . .
3 ṟaiyili vi . . . . kku .....
4 . yakam . . kuṭai .....
5 . ṭapaṭi puravu vari cī . . . . ttu mu . ve . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 . . . . . Rājēntiracōḻa-nallūr, the wet and dry land . . . the levy of *paṇam* (a variety of coin).
3-4 Damaged.
5 As given, *puravu-vari* (land revenue account) .....

77
EO. 1537

II *Prākāra*, *pokkiṣam*, west wall (inside). Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] .....
2 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭai-
3 . ya kan . . ceṭṭi tiru . . . . .
4 . . ṟccālai mā .....
5 . . oṉṟu itu paṉmāhe[śvara raḵṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! . . . . . the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya . . . . . .

3-4 Damaged.

5 One . (*This is*) protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

78

II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam,* west wall (inside).

EO. 1538 **Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

1 ttuñ . . . . . ā . . . . . m vā

2 ku tirumaṭaippaḷḷippuṟamāka viṭṭa eṅkaḷ

3 . ṭiye . . . tevatāṉamākac Cantirā -

4 taṇṭam paṭṭit teṇṭamum āḷamañciyum [menokkiṉa]

5 . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-3 . . . . . our (*land*) gifted as *Tirumaṭaippaḷḷippuṟam* to (*the god*), and as *tēvatāṉam* to last till the moon . . . . .

4-5 . . . . *taṇṭam, paṭṭitteṇṭam* (fine for offences against the village), *āḷamañci* (unpaid labourer) and the up-growing . . . . .

79

II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam,* west wall (inside).

EO. 1539 **Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

1 . . tevaṟkku yāṇṭu . .

2 nāyanārkku . . . .

3 . . . Cantirātittava . .

4 . . . . nāṟpattā[ṟā] .

TRANSLATION

1 . . . . . In the year . . . . . of . . . . tēvar . . . .

2 to the god . . . . . .

3 till the moon and the sun exist . . . .

4 46 . . . . . .

80

III *Prākāra,* north wall (inside), godown to the north of Amman shrine.

EO. 1126 **Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 . . . . . kku yāṇṭu 12-vatu

2 . . . . . mpirāṭṭiyārai ce-

3 . . . . . tukku muṉpu iv-

4 . . . . . koḷḷa māṉ ṉeriyu-

NOTE

Refers to the year 12 (*in the reign*) of . . . . . and to . . . . . nampirāṭṭiyār.

81

A.D. 1170

S.I.I., VIII, 115

III *Prākāra*, Cidambarēśvara shrine, south wall. Incomplete.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvanaccakkara-va[tti]kaḷ śrī-Rājātirājatēvaṟku yāṇṭu 4-vatu Vāṇakoppāṭip Peṇṇai vaṭakarai Kaḷa . .

2 yattilirukkum Kuḷattuṭaiyān Nākan Kayilāyanen Iṭaikkalli . . . . ampaṭṭuṭaiyān Cōḻaṉ Tevaṉai Veṭṭaiponta iṭat-

3 tu virukattai eyta ampu ittai tappi ittevaṉai paṭa(p) paṭṭa(t)tukku pirāyaccittamāka uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiuṭai-

4 ya nāyanārkku vaitta tirununtā viḷakku onṟarai viḷakku onṟaraikku viṭṭa pacu aimpattiraṇṭum poli erutu onṟum [Vāra]-

5 ṇa Viccātirakkoṉ vacam viḷakkoṉṟukkuk kaikkoṇṭa pacu 32-m poli ica[paṃ*]onṟum ⅔ Tevakkoṉ vacam viṭṭa viḷakku . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! It is the 4th year[71] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tribhuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor of the three worlds) śrī- Rājātirājatēvar. I, Kuḷattuṭaiyān Nākan Kayilāyan of Kaḷa . . on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai in Vāṇakōppāṭi aimed an arrow during hunting, at an animal, which missing the target, had killed Iṭaikkalli . . . . ampaṭṭuṭaiyāṉ Cōḻaṉ Tēvaṉ.

3-5 To atone for it, (*I*), gave 1-1/2 *nuntāviḷakku* (perpetual lamp) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār and 52 cows and one stud bull for 1 1/2 lamps. 32 cows and one stud bull were received (*left in charge of*) from Vāraṇa Viccātirakkōṉ for one lamp. . . . lamp was left in charge of Tēvak-kōṉ. . . . .

82

A.D. 1170

S.I.I., VIII, 117

III *Prākāra*, Cidambarēśvara shrine, south wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvanacakravattikaḷ śrī-Irāja[ti]rāja [d]evaṟku yāṇṭu 4 - āvatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai

71 Either A.D 1166-67 or 1169-70.

uṭaiyārkku Vecālippāṭi-nāṭṭu Vākū-
rilirukkum [Ma]lartā[ḷi] makaṉ Eccilāṉa Amutavallavakkoṉe-
2 ṉ vaitta tirunantā-viḷakku oṉṟukku viṭṭa pacu 32 poli erutu 1 ippacu muppattiraṇṭum poli erutu oṉṟum ivai Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyil maṉṟāṭi Malaiyaṉāṉa Viruntaṉ kaikkoṇṭu Cantirātittavaṟ celutta-
3 kkaṭaveṉāṉeṉ [/*] itu panmāheśvara rakṣai // -

TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! It is the year 4[72] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tribhuvanacakravattika] (emperor over the three worlds) Irājātirāja-tēvar. I, Eccil *alias* Amutavallavakkōṉ, the son of Malartaḷi of Vākūr in Vēcālippāṭi-nāṭu, gave to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār one *tiru-nantā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) and 32 cows and one bull (*to meet the expenses for burning the lamp*). I, Malaiyaṉ *alias* Viruntan, a shepherd of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, have received the 32 cows and one bull, with the promise that I would carry out (*this*) till the moon and the sun endure. (*This is*) protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

83

A.D 1170

A.R.E., 69/45-46

III *Prākāra*, south and east walls of Cidambarēśvara shrine.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvanacakravattikaḷ Irācātirājatevarkku yāṇṭu 4 - vatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyārkku Vecālippaṭi-nāṭṭu Vākūrilirukkum [Tā]motiraṉ makaṉ Eccilāṉa Amutavallavakkoṉe-
2 ṉ vaitta tirunantāviḷakku oṉṟukku viṭṭa pacu 32 poli erutu 1 ippacu muppattiraṇṭum poli erutu oṉṟum ivai Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyil maṉṟāṭi Malaiyaṉ .... ṉ Viruntaṉ kaikkoṇṭu Cantirātittavaṟ celuttak kaṭavaṉāṉeṉ [//*] itu panmahēśvara rakṣai

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 4th year[72] (*of the reign*) of Tribhuvanacakravattikaḷ Irācātirājatevar I, Eccil *alias* Amutavallavakkōṉ, son of Tāmōtiraṉ, residing at Vākūr in Vēcālippāṭi-nāṭu gave 32 cows and one stud bull for a *nantā* (perpetual) lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār.

1. 2. I, Malaiyaṉ *alias* Viruntaṉ, a *maṉṟāṭi* of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, received the 32 cows and 1 stud bull and had agreed to carry out the charity till the moon and the sun endure. (*This is to be*) protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

84

A.D. 1173

S.I.I. 119

III *Prākāra*, Cidambarēśvara shrine, west wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Irājā-
2 tirājatevaṟku yāṇṭu 7 - āvatu

72 Either A.D. 1166-67 or 1169-70.

Jeyaṅkoṇ-
3 ṭacōḻa-maṇṭalattup Palkuṉṟak-koṭṭa-ttu-
4 p Palanakaril maṉṟāṭi Vātāvikkoṉ makaṉ Ma-
5 rutaṉ[ā]ṉa Āyarkulanāyakakkoṉ uṭai-yār
6 Tiruvaṇṇām alaiyuṭaiya nāyanārku ti[ru]na[ṇ]tāvi-
7 ḷakku oṉṟukku iṉṉāyanār tiruviḷakku manṟāṭi
8 Malaiyaṉ Pūmaṉāṉa Aruṇakirikkoṉ pakka-
9 l viṭṭa pālpacu muppattiraṇṭum poli
10 [eru]tu oṉṟum iṉṉāyanā riṭṭa [ta]laiccāviyi-
11 l [kū]ṭi niṉṟa māṭṭāl ivan pakkal viḷakku oṉ-
12 ṟukku viṭṭa pacu muppattiraṇṭum poli erutu
13 oṉṟukkum āka iraṇṭu tirununtāviḷak-kum Can-
14 tirātittavarai celuttakkaṭavenāneṉ Pūmaṉ Aruṇakiri[k] koneṉ [/*] itu paṉmāyēśvarar irakṣai

TRANSLATION

1-7 Hail ! Prosperity ! It is the year 773 (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tribhuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Irājātirājatēvar. I, Maruta ṉ *alias* Āyarkulanāyakakkōṉ, the son of the shepherd Vātāvikkōṉ of Palanakar in Palkuṉṟak-kōṭṭam in Jeyaṅkoṇṭa-cōḻamaṇṭalam, gave one *nantā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār.

7-10 (*For this purpose*), 32 cows and one stud bull were left with Malaiyaṉ Pūmaṉ *alias* Aruṇakirikkōṉ, the shepherd doing lamp service to this nāyanār.

10-13 (*Further*), 32 cows and one stud bull being the additional animals which were yielded in the previous gift of cows (?) resulting from the god's grace were also given in charge of this man for a lamp.

13-14 Thus (*accepting the animals*) I, Pūmaṉ Aruṇakirikkōn have agreed to carry out (*the service*) till the moon and the sun endure. (*This is*) protected by the *Paṉ-Māyēśvaras.*

85

A.D. 1173

EO. 78-85 **II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side (inside). Badly damaged.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] . . . . . kravattikaḷ śrī-Rājādhirājadevaṟku yāṇṭu eḻāvatu Appakaiyaṉ Kūttāṭuntevarāṉa Pirutu-
2 vikaṅkaṉ . . . . . var makaṉ Cōmā [. .] . . . . rkum Amappaṉamalaiyaṉā[na] . . kkāli [ko]p . . . . yūr nāṭāḻvāṉ . .
3 eṉ makaṉ . . . rum . . . Naraciṅka . . manum immūvoṅ kalveṭṭikkuṭutta paricāvatu nāṅkaḷ uḷḷatanaiyum
4 ivarkku . . . . . māṇṭāṟku . . . . . ḻum piḻayāte irukkakkaṭavomākavum eṉ pakai yivar pakaiyāvutākavum ivar pakai . . . . . .
5 kum . . . . . uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai yuṭaiya ṉāyaṉār koyilil kal . . . . . .

73 Either A.D. 1169-70 or 1172-73.

6 .... kila ..... ṭukaḷaikkuṭuttu-
mavar kāl kaḻuviṉa niraiyum kuṭittuk
kalaccorṟaiyum ....
7 .....

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) in the year 774 (*of the reign*) of [Tiṟipuvaṉaccaḷk-
ravattikaḷ śrī-Rājādhirājadēvar.
2-3 (*Then*) I, Amappaṉamalaiyāṉ, *alias* . .
..... nāṭāḻvāṉ and my son ..... and
Naraciṅka . . man, all the three of us
gave this deed engraved on stone to
Appakaiyaṉ Kūttāṭuntēvar *alias*
Pirutuvikaṅkan and to his son Cōmā .
.....
3-5 As long as we live we would remain
without being disloyal ..... My
enemy would be their enemy. Their
enemy .....
5-6 This is engraved on the temple of the
god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyaṉār .
..... by giving (*our*) women, by
drinking the water used to wash their
feet and by (*eating*) a *kalam* of *cōṟu*
(cooked food) .....
7 .....

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86 A.D. 1180

S.I.I., VIII, 116 **III *Prākāra*, Cidambarēśvara shrine, south wall.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvanaccakkara-
vattikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacoḻatevaṟku
yāṇṭu 2-ā[va]tu I[rā]ja irāja-vaḷanāṭṭu
Vāṇakoppāṭip [Peṇṇai] vaṭakarai
Aṇṇānāṭ[ṭu u]ṭaiyār Tiruva-
2 ṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanāṟku innāyanār
tevaraṭiyāḷ . . . . makaḷ Teviyāṉa
[Ko]vaṇavarkul[ā]ven en tāy Vampu . . .
[n]ṟāka tirukkāmakko[ṭṭa] . . . . śripeli
eḻunta-
3 ruḻuvatāka nācciyāṟaiyum eḻuntaruḷi-
vi[c]. . . . . yārkku tiruvāparaṇattu[kku]
iṭṭa pon patin kaḻañcum innāc-
ci[yār]kku amutupaṭikku nāḷ onṟukku
nellu mukkuṟu-
4 ṇi celvatāka innāyanār tevatānam
Puliyūrnāṭṭu[carup]petimaṅkalattu ni-
lam oruvelikku śrī-paṇṭārattu
Caṇṭecura[vi]llaiyāka oṭukkiṉa pon
patin kaḻañcu nilam o[ru] veliyā-
5 l vanta nellu toṇṇūrukku kalamu
mamutupaṭi celvatākavum tarā
aiññūṟṟu palattāl munṟunillai[k*]
kuttiviḷakku onṟum tirunontāviḷakku
onṟukku pacu mu-
6 ppattiraṇṭum kaikkoṇṭān innāyanār
tiruviḷakku maṉṟāṭikaḷil Kaṇṭan
Māṭattānāna Ālālacuntarakkon [/*]
ivai ippaṭi Cantirātittavaṟ celvatāka
kal
7 veṭṭi veṭṭen Vampin makaḷ Teviyāna
Kovaṇavarkulāven [/*] itu panmā-
hēśvara [ra]kṣai // 0

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! It is the 2nd year[75]
(*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tribhu-
vanaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅ-
kacōḻatēvar. I, Tēvi *alias* Kōvaṇa-
varkulāvu, the daughter of the
tēvaraṭiyāḷ (woman servant of god)
of the god . . . . , for the welfare of
her mother Vampu . . . . , gifted the

74 Either A.D. 1169-70 or 1172-73.
75 About A.D. 1179-80.

following to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār of Aṇṇānāṭu on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai in Vāṇakōppāṭi, in Irāja irāja-vaḷanāṭu.

2-6 For the purpose of taking out in procession on the occasion of *śrīpeli* (food offered daily to minor deities), an image of the goddess was set up in the goddess' shrine. Towards providing ornaments (*for this idol*), 10 *kaḻañcu* of *pon* was endowed. To provide for food offering, at the rate of 3 *kuṟuṇis* daily, to this goddess, one *vēli* of land in Puliyūrnāṭṭu-caruppētimaṅkalam, a *tēvatānam* of this god, was purchased at the temple price by paying into the (*temple*) treasury 10 *kaḻañcu* of *pon*, and the paddy measuring 90 *kalam* realised from this one *vēli* of land was to be used for the purpose of food offering. One bellmetal lamp-stand with three tiers weighing 500 *palam* and 32 cows for (*providing ghee*) to burn a *nontā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) were received by Kaṇṭan Māṭattān *alias* Ālālacuntarakkōn, one of the shepherds doing lamp service.

6-7 I, Tēvi *alias* Kōvaṇavarkulāvu, the daughter of Vampu, accordingly, gave (*this document*) engraved on stone, (*so that*) the gifts are continued till the moon and the sun endure. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

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87 A.D. 1180

S.I.I., VIII, 143 **Kiḻi-gōpura, south wall, west side.**

TEXT

1 Vīrarācentiracoḻatevaṟku yāṇ[ṭu] iraṇṭāvatu Cimākecuranallūreri uṭaiñcu kiṭakka nānaṭaittu

2 payir ceyvi[kka]māṭṭāmal [ne]ṭunā[l] p[ā]ḻkiṭantatai Kāṅkaiyar maka[ḷ] Toṇṭaimānācciyār

3 inta erimaṭaiyum aṭaippittu kaliṅkum iṭṭu payirum meṟṟi inta taṉ[ma]m cannāṭiyil

4 iva[ḷu]kke viṭṭom Nāṟpatteṇṇāyira-piḷḷaiyum Maṅkaiyar[ka]karaiciyum [/*] itu pa-

5 [nm] āhecura rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-5 It is the 2nd year[76] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Vīrarācēntiracōḻatēvar. We, Nāṟpatteṇṇāyirapiḷḷai and Maṅkaiyarkkaraici found that the tank in the village of Cīmākecuranallūr was breached and that the former could not arrange to repair the same and to raise crops, and (*it*) lay ruined for a long time. (*At that time*) Toṇṭaimānācciyār, the daughter of Kāṅkaiyar caused the closure of the breach of the channel of the tank, and the building of a sluice and (*she*) began to raise crops (*in the village*). (*So*) we, (*the two persons mentioned above*) gave this (*land as*) charity to her (*i.e.*, Toṇṭaimānācciyār) in the precincts (*of the deity*). (*This is*) protected by the *Pan-Mahēśarras.*

76 About A.D. 1179-80.

88 A.D. 1180

EO. 856-857 **Kiḻi-gōpura, middle portion, northern platform, base. Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vīrarājēntracōḻatevarkku yāṇṭu 2-vatu

2 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku Kurukulattaraiyaṉ Pañcanativāṇaṉ-

3 ṉṉ Nilakaṅkaraiyaṉeṉ ivvāṭṭaic Chittirai mātaṅ Kali Pañcanativāṇan

4 [canti ?] amutu ceytaruḷuvartarkku tevatāṉamāka iṭṭa Ūṟṟukkāṭṭukkoṭṭattu Veḷamā-

5 nallūril.....

6 . . yiṟaiyili nikki nilam . . . . . paḷḷi eḷucciyile

7 amutu ceytaruḷappaṇṇuvittu i.....

TRANSLATION

1-7 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year 2[77] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vīrarājēntracōḻatēvar, I, Kurukulattaraiyan Pañcanativāṇaṉ Nīlakaṅkaraiyaṉ gifted in the month of Chittirai of this year land of . . . . . in Vēḷamānallūr in Ūṟṟukkāṭṭuk-kōṭṭam, as *tēvatāṉam* to provide for food offerings during the service called Kali Pañcanatavāṇaṉcanti, after removing the lands already gifted as tax-free. For food offerings at the service of waking up of the deity .....

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89 A.D. 1181

A.R.E., 79/45-46 **IV *Prākāra*, south wall (outside). Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 ..... kaḷ Kulottuṅkacoḻatevaṟku iyāṇṭu muṉṟāvatu Jeyaṅ-

2 ..... Irā[jen]tiracoḻa-vaḷanāṭṭu Vāṇakappāṭip-Peṇṇai vaṭakarai Aṇ-

3 ..... ṭaiya nāyaṉār koyilil Śrī-Māhecurakkaṇkāṇi ceyvārkaḷum

4 ..... m koyiṟ kaṇakkaṉum kūṭiyiruntu ce[y]tu kuṭutta paricāvatu yi-

5 . . . . . ṟ Cempiyan mātevicuramuṭaiyār koyi[li]l pūcai ko-

6 ..... piḷḷaiyāṟku oru canti tiruvamutarici irunāḻi cel[vatāka ni]ccaiyi-

7 .....tevatāṉam Puliyūr-nāṭṭu-caturvetimaṅkalattup-Paḷḷakkāḷi[l a]ñcu māvukku

8 . . . . . ttrapālappiḷḷaiyāṟku Candrātittavarai celvatākac-

9 .....[lo]m [//*] itu panmāheśvarar rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 In the 3rd year[78] (*of the reign*) of .... kaḷ Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar .... the supervisors of the Śrī-Māhēśvaras and . . . . . the temple accountant, having assembled in the temple of .... ṭaiya nāyaṉār of Aṇ . . .

77 About A.D. 1179-80.

78 About A.D. 1180-81.

. . . on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai in Vāṇakappāṭi in Irājēntiracōḻa-vaḷanāṭu in Jeyaṅ . . . . . had given this document.

5 . . . . . worship in the temple of Cempiyan-mātēvīcuram uṭaiyār.

6 . . . . . was decided to give two *nāḻi* of rice for offering in a *canti* (service)

to (*the deity*) . . . . . piḷḷaiyār

7 . . . . . five *mā* (*of land*) in Paḷḷakkāl in *tēvatāṉam* Puliyūrnāṭṭu-caturvēti-maṅkalam

8 . . . . . to [Kṣē]trapālappiḷḷaiyār to last till the moon and the sun endure.

9 . . . . . (*This is to be*) protected by the *Māhēśvaras.*

90

A.D. 1183

S.I.I., VIII, 141

Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkara-varttikaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatevaṟku yā-

2 ṇṭu 5 - vatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭ[ai*]ya nāyaṉār koyilukku mu-

3 ṉṟu tirunāḻukkum tirukkoṭippiṭavai Cantirātittavarai iṭakkaṭavo-

4 m Tanmavāṇiyarom [/*] itu paṉmāhe-śvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! It is the year 5[79] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuva-ṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacō-ḻatēvar. We, the Tanmavāṇiyar undertake to supply clothes for the banner during the three festivals of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇā-malai uṭaiya nāyaṉār till the moon and the sun endure. (*This is*) protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

91

A.D. 1184

EO. 33 (18)

II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side. Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 . . . . . kkaravattikaḷ Cī-Virarājentiracōḻa . . . . . .

2 . . . . . 6-vatu . . nilai curapi [varkka] ṟattu . . . . .

3 . . . . ṅkaṉ na . kuḻāyaiṉ uṭaiyakku vat . . . . . .

4 . . . [rakṣai] [.]

TRANSLATION

1 . . . . . In the 6th year of . . . . . kkaravattikaḷ Cī-Vīrarājēntiracōḻa . . . . . .

3-4 Damaged

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79 About A.D. 1182-83.

92 A.D. 1188

S.I.I., VIII, 126 — Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkara-
vattikaḷ śrī - Kulottuṅkacoḷatevaṟku
yāṇṭu 10 - vatu uṭaiyār

2 Tiru Aṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyaṉārkku
Kaṅkaṉāṭṭu Takaṭūruṭaiya Irārāte-
vaṉāṉa Atiyamānen tiruvo-

3 ttacāmappaṭiyile ṉāṉāḷi arici amutu-
ceyvatākavum tirunantāviḷakku iraṇ-
ṭu cel-

4 vatākavum viṭṭa Takaṭa-nāṭṭu Peṇṇai
vaṭakarai Āṉantūr kiḻpiṭākai Malai-
yanu[rku] la-

5 māṉa Malaiyanūr ṉārpāleḷḷai tiruc-
cūḷakkalle[l]laik ku[l]luppaṭṭa puñcai
nañce-

6 yum melnokkiṉa maramum kiḻnokkiṉa
kiṇaṟum akappaṭa yi[v]vūrāl vanta
kumarakkaccāṇa[m] uḷḷiṭṭa

7 āyamum pāṭikāval veṭṭi uḷppaṭac
Cantirātittavarai celvatāka viṭṭen
Irārāteva Atikaimā-

8 neṉ [/*] en va[m]cattil yittanma[m*]
yiṟakkuvān Keṅkai iṭaik Kumari iṭaic
ceytān ceyta pāvattaip

9 paṭuvāṉ [/*] itu panmākecura rakṣai
[//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! It is the year 10[80] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar. I, Irārātēvaṉ *alias* Atiyamān of Takaṭūr in Kaṅka-nāṭu donated 4 *nāḻi* of rice for food-offering at the *tiruvottacāma* (*ardha-jāma* (i.e., late night)) service and two *nantā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) to the god Tiru Aṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyaṉār.

4-8 (*To meet the expenses of this gift*), I, Irārātēva Atikaimān, gave Malaiyanūrkulam *alias* Malaiyanūr on the eastern side of Āṉantūr on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai of the Takaṭa-nāṭu, with the lands, within its four boundaries, after fixing the stones marked with the trident symbol, including wet and dry lands, the up-facing tree and down-facing well and the incomes, accruing therefrom, like *kumarakkaccāṇam* (a tax), and *pāṭikāval* (tax for policing the village) and *veṭṭi* (a tax), to last till the moon and the sun endure.

8-9 If anybody of my family stopped this charity, he would reap the sin of one who committed sin at a place near the Gaṅgā and at Kumari. This is protected by the *Pan-Mākēcuras*.

---

93 A.D. 1189

EO. 127-129 — II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Left end built in.

TEXT

1 . . . . . vaṉavīratevaṟ[kku] yāṇṭu
[11]-vatu nāyaṉār [Vāṇakoppāṭi]
[mu]ta-likaḷil Eṟkāṭu kiḻāṉ Tavu . .

vīrapaṉ-maneṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇ-
ṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyaṉārkku tiruma-
ṭaippa-

2 . . . . . nāṭṭil Vāṇakappāṭi . . . . . .

80 About A.D. 1187-88.

rāyaṉ Paṭṭāṉ Ceṉṟatikaivenṟanallūr nārpāl ellaik kuṭpaṭṭa nancey puñcel[y*] nilamum melnokkina maramum kiḻnokkina kiṇarun tariyi-

3 . . . . . llāyaṅkaḷum uḷpaṭa Aṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkkut tevatāṉamākac Cantirātittavarai celvatāka viṭṭeṉ ivvūr māṟuvāṉ Keṅkai yiṭai Kumari yiṭai kurāl pacu koṉ-

4 . . . . . heśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 . . . . . (*It is*) in the year 11[81] (*of the reign*) of . . . . [Tribhu]vanavīratēvar. I, Erkāṭu kiḻāṉ Tavu . . vīrapaṉman, a member of *nāyanār's* Vāṇakōppāṭi mutalikaḷ, gave . . . rāyaṉ Paṭṭāṉ Ceṉṟatikaivenṟanallūr in Vāṇakappāṭi in . . . . nāṭu, as tirumaṭaippaḷḷippuṟam (gift to provide for kitchen expenses) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār.

2-3 I gave the village with the wet and dry lands within its four boundaries, with up-growing tree and down-facing well and with *tariyiṟai* (tax on loom), ... all incomes, to Aṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, as *tēvatāṉam* to last till the moon and the sun endure.

3-4 One who changes (*the gift*) of this village would incur the sin of killing a tawny cow on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari (This is to be protected by) the (*Paṉ*)-*Māhēśvaras*.

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94 A.D. 1189

S.I.I., VIII, 112 **III *Prākāra*, Ekāmbareśvara shrine, east wall.[82]**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvaṇavīracoḻatevaṟku yāṇṭu 11 -āvatu

2 Citrabhānu-varuṣattu Siṁha-nāyaṟṟu aparapakṣattu sa-

3 ptamiyum Veḷḷikkiḻamaiyum perṟa Urocaṇi nā-

4 ḷ Ulakuṭaiyaperumāḷ nampirāṭṭiyār Tiruvaṇṇā-

5 malaiyilk kīḻat teruvil tevaraṭiyāril Kū-

6 ttāṭuntevanācciyār Ulakamuḻutumuṭaiyār u-

7 ṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku tirume-

8 lpūccukkum puḻukukāppukkum Kaliṅkaṟaiparṟil

9 vāḻaittoṭṭam nañcai puñcai nāṉkellaikku

10 uṭpaṭṭaṉavum Cantirātittavaraiyum celvatākak ka-

11 l veṭṭik kuṭutom 7 panmāheśvara rakṣai : ೭ itukku ilaṅkaṇam paṇṇiṉavarkaḷ

12 Keṅkaik karaiyil kurāl pacuvaiyum brāhmaṇaṉaiyum vataitta pāvaṅ koḷvāṉ ೭[83]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 11[84] (*of the reign of the king*) Tribhuvanavīracōḻatēvar. On Friday, the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of Siṁha of the year

81 About A.D. 1188-89.

82 Wrongly stated as the west wall under No. 112 of S.I.I., VIII, p. 56.

83 This line is not found in the text given *ibid.*

84 About A.D. 1188-89.

Citrabhānu (*when the asterism*) Urōcaṇi (Rōhiṇī) was current, we,

4-11 Kūttāṭuntēvanācciyār Ulakamuḻutumuṭaiyār, a *tēvaraṭiyār*, the mistress of Ulakuṭaiperumāḷ, residing in the east street of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, gave plantain grove in Kaliṅkaṟaipparṟu and the *nañcai* (wet land) and *puñcai* (dry land) lands within its four boundaries to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, for the (*service of*) smearing of the god's body and for applying scent on the body, till the moon and the sun endure, by engraving the document on stone. (*This is*) protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*. Those who obstructed this would incur the sin of having killed a tawny cow and a Brāhmaṇa on the bank of the Gaṅgā.

95

A.D. 1191

S.I.I., VIII, 121

Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, west side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] [Sau]tti [śrī]-Tiribhu-[va]ṉaccakkaravattika]

2 [śrī]-Kulottuṅkacōḻatevarkku yāṇṭu 13 - ṟāvatu [uṭai]-

3 yār Tiru Aṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku cātti aruḷa

4 Kūṭal Aracanārāyaṇaṉ Āḷappiṟantāṉāṉa Virace-

5 karak - Kāṭavarāyar iṭṭa ekavallivaṭam onṟiṉāl nel-

6 likkāymuttu nūṟum kaṭaittoḻil iraṇṭum ivai kotta

7 nūlum uḷpaṭa itil alakunilai[p] paṭi eṭai nūṟṟumu[p]-

8 patin kaḻañcu [/*] itu paṉmāyecura irakṣai

TRANSLATION

1-8 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 13[85] (*of the reign*) of the king [*Sautti*] śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar. Aracanārāyaṇaṉ Āḷappiṟantāṉ *alias* Vīracēkara-Kāṭavarāyar of Kūṭal gave one *ēkavalli* (single stranded) necklace for adorning the god Tiru Aṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār which consisted of 100 pearls called *nellikkāy-muttu*, two end parts, and the string (*to string them*) together, (*all together*) weighing 130 *kaḻañcu*, as per *alaku nilai* (addition). This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māyēcuras*.

96

A.D. 1191

S.I.I., VIII, 137

Kiḻi-gōpura, south wall, west side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tripuvaṉaccakkaravarttika] śrī-Kulottuṅkaco[ḻa]tevark-[ki] yāṇṭu 13-vatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nā[yanār*]kku Ceyaṅkoṇṭacoḻa māṇṭalattu

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85 About A.D. 1190-91.

2 Palkunṟak-koṭṭattu Paṅkaḷa-nāṭṭuk Kūttāṭuntevaṉ Pirati[kaṅkaṉ Vanniya Mātevaṉ Aḷakiyacoḷaneṉ viṭṭa eṉ-
3 nāṭṭil Uttamaco[ḷa]vaḷanāṭṭuk Kaḷi-kkoṟṟappāṭi [na]ṉ[cey] viḷai nilattu viṭṭa nilam aiñcu [velliyu[m*] iṉṉilat-
4 tukku viṭṭa kuṭi aiñcāl vanta puṉcey nilamum ikkuṭi aiñcāl vanta iṟai-ka[ḷum] iṉṉañcai punceyāl vanta āya-
5 mum pāṭikāvalum akappaṭa Tiruvaṇ-ṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanā[rkku] Cantirā-tittavarai celvatāka viṭṭu kal ve-ṭṭikkuṭutteṉ Kūttāṭuntevaṉ Pirativi-
6 kaṅkaṉ Vanniya Mātevaṉ Aḷakiya-[coḷa]neṉ [/*] en vaṅcattil itu iṟak-kuvāṉ Keṅkai iṭaik Kumari i[ṭai] ceytavar ceyta pāvam koḷvāṉ [/*] itu iṟakkuvāṉ Maturāntaka veḷāṉ kalac-corṟait tiṉpāṉ [/*] itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 13th year[86] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tripuvaṉaccakkaravarttika] (emperor of the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḷatēvar. I, Kūttāṭun-tēvaṉ Piratikaṅkaṉ Vanniya Mātēvaṉ Aḷakiyacōḷan of Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu in Palkuṉ-ṟak-kōṭṭam in Ceyaṅkoṇṭacōḷa-maṇ-ṭalam, gave the land (*detailed below*) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār.

2-5 (*I gave*) 5 *vēḷi* of cultivated *naṉcey* land in Kaḷikkoṟṟappāṭi in Uttamacōḷa-vaḷanāṭu in my *nāṭu*, the dry land pertaining to the five tenants attached to that, the taxes received from these five tenants, together with the *āyam* and *pāṭikāval* received from this *naṉcai* and *puṉcai*, to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, to last till the moon and the sun endure. I, Kūttāṭuntēvaṉ Pirativikaṅkaṉ Vanniya Mātēvaṉ Aḷakiyacōḷan, gave the record engraved on stone.

5-6 If any one of my family stopped this gift, he would reap the sin of those who committed sin near the Gaṅgā and Kumari. One who stopped this would be eating the cooked rice left over by Maturāntakavēḷāṉ. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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97 A.D. 1191

S.I.I., VIII, 144 **Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, east side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiri[bhuvaṉa]cakkara-vatti śrī-Kulottuṅkacoḷateva[r*]ku yāṇṭu [pa]-
2 tiṉmuṉrāva[tu] Ceṅkeṇi Ammaiy Ap-paṉ Kaṇṇuṭaippe-
3 rumāḷāṉa Vi[kki]ramacoḷa Cam[pu]-varāyaneṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāma-
4 lai uṭaiya nāyanā[r]kku tirunuṇtā viḷakkukku Iraṇṭāyirakkoṇvacam viṭṭa pacu mup-
5 pattiraṇṭum iṣapam oṉṟum ivā[ṭ*]ṭaik Kā[t*]ṭikaimāta[t]tu Caṇtirātittavarai celvatā-
6 ka vi[ṭṭē]n [/*] ittaṉma[m] iṟakkuvāṉ Keṅkai iṭai Kumari iṭaic ceytār ceyta pāvaṅ ko-
7 ḷvāṉ [//*] paṉmāhecura irakṣai [//*]

86 About A.D. 1190-91.

TRANSLATION

1-7 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 13[87] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiribhuvaṉacakkaravatti (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar. I, Ammaiy Appaṉ Kaṇṇuṭaipperumāḷ *alias* Vikkiramacōḻa Campuvarāyan of Ceṅkēṇi gave a *nuṉṭāviḷakku* (perpetual lamp) from the month of Kāttikai of this year to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyanār and gave (*for this purpose*) 32 cows and one bull to Iraṇṭāyirakkōṉ, to last till the moon and the sun endure. One who hindered this charity would reap the sin of those who had committed sin at a place near the Gaṅgā and Kumari. (*This is*) protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēcuras.*

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98 A.D. 1192

S.I.I., VIII, 125 **Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, west side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ śrī-Kulo-
2 ttuṅkacoḻatevaṟku yāṇṭu 14 - vatu uṭaiyār [Til]ru-
3 vaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkku cāttiyaruḷa [Ni]ṉṟa-
4 perumāḷāṉa Kulōttuṅkacoḻa Malaiya-kularāyan to-
5 . . . ṇtaikkāy vaṭam onṟināl maṇi 108 . . .
6 parukaṇ[ṇu]m kokkuvāyum kotta nūlum akappaṭap poṉ
7 [mu]ppattiru kaḻañcum tāvaṭam onṟināl muttu 82
8 tirumeni [8]2 - m kaṭaittoḻil poṉ . ma .
9 kotta nūlum akappaṭa eṭai pattonpatin kaḻañcu [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-9 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 14[88] (*of the reign of the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī- Kulōttuṅkacoḻatēvar. Niṉṟaperumāḷ *alias* Kulōttuṅkacōḻa Malaiyakularāyan gave 32 *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* for a [cu]ṇṭaikkāy chain consisting of 108 pieces of gem, with big eyes, the thread-inserting part and the string and a low-falling chain (*tāvaṭam*) made of 82 pearls, 82 bodies and the end-parts together with the string for stringing them, weighing 19 *kaḻañcu*, both intended for adorning the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār.

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99 A.D. 1192

S.I.I., VIII, 131 **Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ cī-Kulottuṅkacoḻatevarkku yā-

87 About A.D. 1190-91.
88 About A.D. 1191-92.

2 ṇṭu [1]4 - vatu Jeyaṅkoṇṭacoḷa-
maṇṭalattu Perumur-nāṭṭu
3 Naṭuvilma[lait] Tiruneṭumpiṟaiyili-
rukkum Munaiyataraiyan maka-
4 n Tiruvaraṅkamuṭaiyāṉāṉa Irājā[ti]-
rāja Malaiyarāyaṉāṉa Taṉma[pa]-
5 ripālaneṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai
uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku tiru-
6 nuntāviḷakku iraṇṭukku viṭṭa pacu
aṟupattu nālu iṣapa-
7 m iraṇṭum [/*] itil Periyanāṭṭukkoṉ
makaṉ Perumāṉ pak-
8 kal viṭṭa viḷakku onṟu Cūrakkoṉ
makaṉ Kāttān pak-
9 kal viṭṭa viḷakku onru [/*] itu paṉmā-
kecura ira[k*]ṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-7 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 14[89] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuva-
ṉaccakkaravattika] (emperor over the three worlds) śī (śrī)-Kulōtuṅka-
cōḷatēvar. I, Tiruvaraṅkamuṭaiyāṉ *alias* Irājatirāja Malaiyarāyaṉ *alias* Taṉmaparipālan, the son of Munaiyataraiyan residing at Tiruneṭumpiṟai in Naṭuvilmalai of Perumūrnāṭu in Jeyaṅkoṇṭacōḷa-maṇṭalam, gave 64 cows and two bulls for two *nuntā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār.

7-9 (*Of these*), one lamp was left in charge of Perumāṉ, the son of Periyanāṭṭukkōṉ and one lamp was left in charge of Kāttān, the son of Cūrakkōṉ.

9 This is protected by the *Paṉ-Mākēcuras*.

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100 A.D. 1195

EO. III *Prākāra*, east wall (outside), south of the Kiḷi-gōpura, in the
1097-1105 flower-garden.

TEXT

1 Svastiśrī [//*] Tiripuva[ṉa*]ccakkara-
vattika] śrī-Kulottuṅkacoḷatevarkku
yāṇṭu 17-vatu Kūttāṭuntevaṉ Comaṉ
Pirutivikaṅkarkkum Kiḷiyūr Malaiya-
māṉ Aḷakiyanāyaṉ Āk[ā*]racūraṇāna
Irācakempira cetiyarāyarkkum Ma-
laiyaṉ Viṉaiyveṉṟāṉāṉa Karikālacoḷa
Āṭaiyūr nāṭāḷvāneṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇ-
ṇāmalai uṭaiyār koyilile kalveṭṭi
nilaimai ceytapaṭiyāvatu
2 ivarka] pakai eṉ pakaiyāvatākavum
eṉ pakai ivarka] pakaiyāvatākavum
ivarkaḷkkinnātār iṉakkiṉṉātārāka-
vum iṉakkiṉṉātār ivarkaḷkkiṉṉātārā-
kavum ivarka] attakāni pirāṇakāni
tecakāni māṉakāni ciṟaitavar saṅki-
likai ceytal ceyvittal ceyvār(nu)ṭaṉ
kūṭutal ceyyakkaṭavenallātenāka-
vum ivarkaḷum eṉṉai iṉṉanoppaṉa
ceytal ceyvittal
3 ceyvāruṭaṉ kūṭutal ceyyakkaṭavar-
kaḷallātārākavum ivarkaḷukku oru
viṉaiyuṇṭanāl en paṭaiyum kutiraiyuṅ
koṇṭu pukku viṉai ceytu kuṭukka
kaṭavenākavum iṉakku poka voṉṉā-
tākil eṉ paṭaiyuṅ kutiraiyum mutali-
kaḷum pukaviṭṭu viṉai ceytu kuṭukka

89 About A.D. 1191-92.

[ka*]ṭavenākavum iṉakku oru viṉai-
yuṇṭānāl ivarkaḷum taṅkaḷ paṭaiyuṅ
kutiraiyuṅ koṇṭu pukuntu eṉ vi-
4 ṉai taṅkaḷ viṉaiyāka eṟiṭṭu viṉai
ceytu tarak kaṭavarkaḷākavum ivar-
kaḷukku oruvar voṇṇātākil taṅkaḷ
paṭaiyuṅ kutiraiyu mutalikaḷaiyum
pukuta viṭṭu viṉai ceytu tarak
kaṭavarkaḷākavum ivarkaḷukkiṉṉā-
tāruṭāṉ kūṭi ivarkaḷukkum ivarkaḷ
nāṭṭukkum aḷivāyiruppaṇa ceytal
ceyvittal ceyyak kaṭavenallate-
nākavum ivarkaḷum iṉakkiṉṉātāruṭaṉ
kūṭi eṉakkum eṉ nāṭṭukkum a-
5 ḷivāyiruppaṇa ceytal ceyvittal ceyak
kaṭavarkaḷ allātārākavum ivarkaḷum
ippaṭi eṉakkoru kālamum tappātiruk-
kavum nām ivarkaḷukku ippaṭi oru-
kālamum tappātirukkakkaṭavenāka-
vum ippaṭi tappinenākil eṉakkiṉṉāta
peṇṭiḻintāṉkaḷ corrai nānum eṉ peṇ-
ṭukaḷum tiṉṟu avaṉ ceruppu eṭuttu
avaṉ kaṭṭil kiḻiruntenāveṉ cattiyame
[//*]

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*In*) the year 17[90] (*of the reign*) of Tiripuvaṉaccakka-
ravattikaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar, I, Malaiyaṉ Viṉaiyveṉrāṉ *alias* Kari-
kālacōḻa Āṭaiyūr-nāṭāḻvān gave this agreement by engraving it on stone in the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇā-
malai uṭaiyār to Kūttāṭuntēvaṉ Cōmaṉ Pirutivikaṅkar and Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Aḻakiyanāyaṉ Ākāracū-
raṉ *alias* Irācakempīra Cētiyarāyar.

2-4 "Their opponent would become my opponent, and my opponent would become their opponent. Those who were undesirable to them would be undesirable to me and those who were undesirable to me would be undesirable to them. I would not harm their property, life, country and honour and do *caṅkilikai* (binding with chain) or cause to do it or be associated with those who did all these to them. They in their turn would not do similar things to me, or would not cause similar things to be done to me or be associated with those who did such things to me. In case of any difficulties to them I would go with my army and cavalry and remove the difficulties. If I was unable to go, then my army, cavalry and captains would be caused to go for removing their difficulties. Similarly if I faced some difficulties, they would arrange for their removal by sending their army and cavalry. If some people were opposed to them then they would be put to difficulties by sending their army, cavalry and captain.

4-5 "I would not join hands with their opponents who caused harm to their selves and to their country, nor would I cause (such) things to be done. So also they should not join hands with my opponents who caused harm to me and to my country, nor should they cause such things to be done to me. They should never do such things to me. I would also never do such things to them. If I failed in this then I and my wives would eat the food given by the women of my enemy and would bear the sandals of my enemy besides lying under the enemy's cot. (*This was*) the true promise".

90 About A.D. 1194-95.

101 A.D. 1195

EO. 1676 III *Prākāra, maḍappaḷḷi*, floor.

TEXT

1 ..... bhuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ

2 ..... tevarkku yāṇṭu 17 va . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 ..... in the 17th year[91] of (the reign of)..... bhuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ .... tēvar ....

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102 A.D. 1196

S.I.I., VIII, 127 Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī - Kulottuṅkacoḻatevaṟku yāṇṭu 18 - vatu

2 uṭaiyār [Tiruvaṇ]ṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉāṟku Mātevar makaṉ[ār Kali]tevaṉāṉa [Imma]-

3 ṭi Cokkapperumāḷāṉa Murai[y]ātarāyaneṉ tiruppaḷḷi eḻuccippuṟamāka viṭṭa Muraicūr-nāṭṭu

4 kiḻkūṟṟi[l*] Cāliyūrpparṟil Mer[ā]ṉpaḷḷi nāṟpāl ellaiyum tiruc[cū]lakkallukku uḷḷu[m*] Cantirātittavarai celvatāka kal veṭṭik kuṭutteṉ Muraiyā-

5 tarāyanen [/*] itil oru māccinnam koḷvāṉ Keṅkaikkaraiyil kurāl pacuk koṉṟān pāvam koḷvāṉ [/*] itu viṭuvittāṉ Āṇṭār Amarapuyaṅkarapperumā[ḷ] [/*] Paṉmāheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 18[92] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar. I, Kalitēvaṉ *alias* Cokkapperumāḷ *alias* Muraiyātarāyan, the son of Mātēvar, gave as *tiruppaḷḷi eḻuccippuṟam* (*i.e.*, provision for the service of waking up) for the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār, Mērāṉpaḷḷi, situated in Cāliyūr-paṟṟu on the eastern side of Muraicūr-nāṭu with all the lands within its four boundaries where stones marked with trident symbol were put, to last as long as the moon and the sun endure, by engraving (*the document*) on the stone. If any one took away *oru māccinnam* (an iota) of this gift, he would be considered to have committed the sin of one who had killed a tawny cow on the bank of the Gaṅgā. This was released by Āṇṭār Amarapuyaṅkarapperumāḷ. (*This is*) protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

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91 About A.D. 1194-95.

92 About A.D. 1195-96.

103

A.D. 1196

S.I.I., VIII, 129

Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Kulottuṅkacoḷatevarku yāṇṭu 18 - vatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāyanārku Malaiyaṉ Viṉaiyveṉṟāṉāṉa [Ka]rikālacoḷa Āṭai-

2 yūrṉāṭāḷvāneṉ cirukālaicantikku tirumantirapuvaṉa(poṉaka)ppuṟamāka viṭṭa Perumākkaṭappāṉa Viṉaiyveṉṟanallūr nārpāl ellaiyum .....

3 kku ūru[m] Cantirātittavarai celvatāka kal veṭṭikkuṭutteṉ Karikālacoḷa [Āṭaiyūrnāṭāḷvāneṉ[[/*] itu viṭuvittāṉ Amarapuyaṅkaraperumāḷ [/*] itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 18[93] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Kulōttuṅkacōḷatēvar. I, Malaiyaṉ Viṉaiyveṉṟāṉ *alias* Karikālacōḷa Āṭaiyūrnāṭāḷvān donated (*the village of*) Perrumākkaṭappu *alias* Viṉaiyveṉṟanallūr (*with all the lands*) in its four boundaries as *tirumantirappōṉakkapuṟam* (*i.e.*, to provide for the food offering) during the early morning service of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, to last till the moon and the sun endure. I, Karikālacōḷa [Āṭaiyūrnāṭāḷvān] gave (*the document*) inscribed on stone. Amarapuyaṅkaraperumāḷ caused this to be released. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

104

A.D. 1196

S.I.I., VIII, 132

Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripu[va]ṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacoḷatēvarkku yāṇṭu 1[8] - vatu uṭaiyār

2 Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkkut Takaṭuruṭaiya Maṇṭalarāyaṉ Maḻuvelum Putiyā-

3 kināccaṉ Virapperumāḷeṉ vaicca tirununtā viḷakku 1 - kku viṭṭa pacu 32 - m poli e-

4 [ru]tu l-m maṉrāṭi [Māva]ntai Maruntaneṉ kaikkoṇṭu [Aṇṇā]lvan [uḷak]kāl uḷakku ne-

5 yyum ivviḷak [kā] [l*] vanta tevaiyum [po]kkaṟukka[k*] kaṭaven Māvant[ai] [Maru]nta [neḷ]ṉ [/*]

6 Māheśvara rakṣai [/*] itu viṭuvitt[ā]r Kavuṇiyar Perumāṉ [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 18[94] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ (emperor of the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḷatēvar. I, Maṇṭala-rāyaṉ Maḻuvēlum Putiyākināccaṉ Vīrapperumāḷ of

93 About A.D. 1195-96.

94 About A.D. 1195-96.

Takaṭūr gave one *nuntā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār and for this I endowed 32 cows and one bull.

4 I, the shepherd Māvantai Maruntan have received (*them*).

4-5 (*Having done this*), I, Māvantai Maruntan have agreed to supply one *uḻakku* of ghee by the *aṇṇāvan uḻakku* (measure named Aṇṇāvan) and to bear all other expenses connected with the lamp.

6 This is protected by the *Māhēśvaras*. Kavuṇiyar Perumāṉ caused this to be released.

105

A.D. 1196

EO. 33 (14) **II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.**
Badly damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacoḻatevaṟku yāṇṭu [18]-vatu Kiḻiyūr Malai-

2 yamāṉ Iraiyūraṉ Pekka uṭaiyāṉāṉa Irācarāca Cetiyarāyaṉeṉ ni .....

3 veṉa kāma ve . . . ṉa . . yāvatākavum enpakai ivar pakaiyāvatākavum ....

4 māṉa [kāśi]ṟai tan caṅkilikai ceyttal cevittal ceyvāruṭaṉ ca .....

5 l ceyvāruṭaṉ(ṉ) te . ceyyakkaṭavarallātārākavum nāṭu niṟ ku ....

6 okka koḻḻak kaṭavomākavum Vāṇakovarayarum tampiye .....

7 [pa]neṉṟum ā[ḻō]lai [vantal] uṟavu ceytal aṟuti ceytal ce .....

8 viṉaiyuṇṭār ivaṉ piḻḻaikku mutalikaḷum paṭaiyuṅ kutiraiyu .....

9 varākavum irājakāriyam ceyyalum vaṉṉiyar vaḷattile nikkalum iruve ma neṉṟu ceyyakkaṭavomā

10 iṉaṭṭaikku eṉ miṉāṭṭiyai kuḍukkak kaṭaveṉākavum ippaṭi cammatittu ivāṇṭai Aṟpaci vivvā ....

11 pūtamiṭṭu cūḷa[me] veṭṭi valaikkaṇṇum ku[ro] vaiyum aṟuttup pi ....

12 lile kalveṭṭi kuṭutteṉ Irājagambhira Cetiyarāya[nu]kku Irārāca Cettiyarāyaṉeṉ [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is in*) the year 18[95] (*of the reign*) of śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar that I, Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Iraiyūraṉ Pekka uṭaiyāṉ *alias* Irācarāca Cētiyarāyaṉ

3 ..... let my enemy be their enemy.

4-5 .... doing or causing to do or joining with those who do (it) ..... they should not do such things.

6 ..... we agree to accept (it). Vāṇakōvaraiyar and his younger brother ....

7 ..... to become friends with or to have compact with ....

8-9 They should .... (with) chiefs troops and horses to his son, in case of his facing troubles.

9 (I would not) do the work of the king

95 About A.D. 1195-96.

and the work of removal of the prosperity (?) of the Vaṉṉiyar.

10 (If I did so ?) I would tender my wife to .....

10-12 Thus agreed .... in the month of Aṟpaci of this year I, Irācarāca Cētiyarāyaṉ gave by engraving this on stone, which bear *pūtam* (demon), trident, *valaikkaṇ* (mesh) and *kurōvai* (?), to Irājagambhīra Cētiyarāyaṉ.

106

A.R.E., 73/45-46

A.D. 1197

III *Prākāra*, east wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacōḻatēvaṟku yāṇṭu 19 - vatu Kūttāṭuntēva ..... tuvikaṅkarkum Malaiyaṉ Viṉaiyveṉṟāṉāṉa Karikālacoḻa Āṭaiyūr nāṭā ... .. Malaiyamāṉ Aḻakiyanāyaṉ Ākāracūraṉāṉa Rācakampīrac Cetiyarāyaneṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār koyilile kalveṭṭa nilamai ceytapaṭiyāvatu ivarkaḷ pakai eṉ pakaiyāvatākavum ivarkaḷukkiṉ-nātār eṉakkiṉṉātārākavum iṉakkiṉ-nātā rivarkaḷukkiṉṉātārākavum ivarkaḷai attakā[ni]

2 pirāṇakāni tecakāṇi mānakāni ciṟai talai caṁkilikai ceytal ceyvittal ceyvāruṭaṉ kūṭutal ceyyak kaṭaveṉallātenākavūm ivarkaḷum eṉakkiṉṉātāruṭaṉ kūṭi ippaṭi ceytal ceyvittal .... vika kaṭavarkaḷallātārkaḷākavum ivarkaḷukkoru viṉaiyuṇṭānāl eṉpaṭaiyum kutiraiyum ..... iva[r]kku viṉai ceytu kuṭukka kaṭavenākavum iṉakkappoka voṇṇātākil eṉ mutalikaḷum paṭaiyuṅ kutiraiyum pukaviṭṭu viṉai ceytu kuṭukka kaṭavenākavum eṉakkoru viṉaiyuṇṭānāl ivarkaḷum ta-

3 kū .. paṭaiyuṅ kutiraiyuṅ ... kuttu ... .. naiyāka eṟaṭṭu viṉai ceytu tarak kaṭavarkaḷākavum ivarkaḷukku varavuṇṇātākil taṅkaḷ paṭaiyuṅ kutiraiyum mutalikaḷaiyum ..... yitāka kaṭavarkaḷākavum ivarkkuk kiṉṉāruṭaṉ kūṭi ivarkaḷukkum ivarkaḷ nāṭṭukkum aḷi ..... kku viṉai ceytu kuṭukka kaṭavenākavum ceytal ceyvittal ceyyakkaṭavenallātenākavum ivarkaḷukkum eṉakkiṉṉātāruṭaṉ kūṭi .... ṭukkum aḷivāyiruppaṇa ceytal ceyvittal ceyyakkaṭavarallātārākavum.

4 ivarkaḷum ippaṭi iṉakkoru kālamum tappātirukka nānum ivarkaḷukku ippaṭi oru kālamum tappātirukka kaṭavenākavum ippaṭi tappinenākil eṉakkiṉṉātavarkaḷ kalac corrai nāṉum eṉ e .... ceruppum eṭuttu avarkaḷ kaṭṭil kiḻiruntenāveṉ cattiyame

TRANSLATION

1. Hail ! Prosperity ! I, Malaiyamāṉ Aḻakiyanāyaṉ Ākāracūraṉ *alias* Rācakampīrac Cetiyarāyaṉ caused this settlement (*nilamai*) to be engraved in the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār in favour of Kūttāṭuntēvan [*alias*] Pirutuvikaṅkar and Malaiyaṉ Viṉaiyveṉṟāṉ *alias* Karikālacōḻa Āṭaiyūr nāṭā[ḷvāṉ] in the 19th year[96] of Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar.

1-4 (*The details of it are* :) "Their enemies would be my enemies. Their oppo-

96 About A.D. 1196-97.

nents would be my opponents. My opponents would be their opponents. I would neither do, nor cause to do harm to their property and lives, to do harm to their residency and honour, and to put them in jail. I would not associate myself with those who did these to them. They should not also associate with my opponents who did such things to me nor should they cause such things to be done to me. In case they experienced an attack (*from enemies*) I would send my army and cavalry to help repel the same. If I could not go I would arrange to send my army chiefs, army and cavalry to quell the attack. If similar attack was experienced by me they should arrange to send their . . . . army and cavalry to quell the same. If they could not themselves go, they should arrange to send their army chiefs, army and cavalry to help [repel the attack]. I would not join hands with their opponents to do them harm or cause to do harm to them. Neither should they join hands with my opponents to do destructive things to me nor cause such things to be done to me. They should not do such things to me at any time nor should I do such things to them at any time. If I committed the breach of this (*settlement*) I would . . . . a *kalam* of food of my opponents, and I would be considered to be under their cot. (*This is*) the promise. !"

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107 A.D. 1198

S.I.I., VIII, 138 **Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatevaṟku yāṇṭu 20-vatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār tiruvītiyil Ukkirar Cattiyavā[cakataṉmavā]ṇiyar-maṭattukku maṭap-

2 puṟamāka [ko]ṇṭu viṭṭa iṉṉāyanār tevatāṉam Piramatecattup puṟa[k]kālil kāṭu veṭṭi payir ceyyavoṇṇātu kiṭanta nilattu maṭappuṟamāka kāṭu veṭṭi kaṭṭai paṟittu meṭum tāḻvum okka iṭ-

3 ṭu āṟuṅ Kaṉakapālaṉ aṭaittu payirnilamāka tiruttiviṭa iṉṉāyanār paṇṭārattu oṭukkiṉa kācu - 500 [/*] ikkācu aiñnūrum oṭukki maṇṇaṟak-koṇṭu viṭṭa kuḻi āyiram [/*] ikkuḻi

4 āyira[mum] Māheśvara[r]kku [mu]ṉṟu tirunāḷum coṟiṭakkaṭavatāka Cantirātittavarai celvatāka koṇṭu viṭṭom Cattiyavācakar Taṉmavāṇiyarom [/*] itu panmāheśva-

5 ra rakṣai :

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 20[97] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ (emperor of the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar. The land on the outskirts of Piramatēcam, the *tēvatāṉam* of the

97 About A.D. 1197-98.

god, was purchased and given as *maṭappuṟam* (gift for a monastery) to the Ukkirar Cattiyavācaka-taṉma-vāṇiyarmaṭam on the street of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār. This lay fallow without being cleared of its jungle. In order to make it a cultivable land, after cutting off of the jungle, removing the stumps, levelling the ups and downs and bunding of the river by Kaṉakapālaṉ, and for making it a *maṭappuṟam*, 500 *kācu* was paid into the treasury of the god. Having paid this 500 *kācu*, 1000 *kuḻi* in full was received and given.

3-4 We, Cattiyavācakar Taṉma-vāṇiyar, gave this 1000 *kuḻi* for the purpose of feeding the Māhēśvaras during the three festivals till the moon and the sun endure. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

108

A.D. 1199

S.I.I., VIII, 122

Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, west side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Kulottuṅkacoḻatevaṟku yāṇṭu 21 - vatu Āṟakaḷūruṭaiya Irārāte-

2 vaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉa Vāṇakovaraiyaneṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-

3 yuṭaiya nāyanārkkut tirununtā-viḷakku muṉṟukkuc Cantirātittavarai celva-

4 tāka manṟāṭi Araicakkonum tampiyum vacam viṭṭa pacu toṇṇūṟṟāṟu iṣa[pa]-

5 mmuṉṟu [/*] itu pa[n]māyecura irakṣai //-

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 21[98] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar. I, Irārātēvaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyan of Āṟakaḷūr gave 96 cows and 3 bulls in charge of the shepherds Araicakkōn and his younger brother for the purpose (*of burning*) three *nuntā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) till the moon and the sun endure., to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār. This is protected by the *Pan Māyecuras*.

109

A.D. 1199

S.I.I., VIII, 123

Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, west side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Kulottuṅkacoḻatevaṟku yāṇṭu 21-vatu Āṟakaḷū[ru]ṭaiya Irārādevaṉ Poṉparappi-

2 nāṉāṉa Vāṇako[va]raiyaneṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkku kalveṭṭikkuṭuttapaṭi Tiru-

3 vaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār teva-

98 About A.D. 1198-99.

tāṉapparṟu Aṇṇānāṭu nārpārkellaik kuḷppaṭṭa nañcai pu-
4 ñcaiyāl uḷḷa nilattukku irupattoṉṟāvatu mutal pāṭikāval uḷḷiṭṭa āyaṅkaḷāl vanta nelluṅ kācu-
5 n taṟiyiṟai taṭṭā[r]ppāṭṭaṅkaḷu[m āḷḷa]mañci eccoṟuṅ kuṟṟateṇṭamu[m] paṭṭiteṇṭamum maṟṟum epper-
6 ppaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷāl vantaṉavum uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkkup pūcaiyum tiruppaṇi-
7 kkum uṭalāyc Cantirā[ti]ttavarai celvatākat Tirukkovallūri-liruntu Tulānāyaṟṟup patināṟān tiyati-
8 yun Tiṅkaṭkiḻa[mai]yum perṟa Cataiya[tti]nāḷ viṭṭu nir vārttuk kuṭutteṉ Vāṇakovaraiyaneṉ [/*] Ippaṭi-
9 yāl vantaṉavaiyiṟ[ṟil] uri kaṭaināḻi talaiyākavum orukācorucinnaṅ kaṭaiyākavuṅ koḷvān civat-
10 turōkiyumāyk komā[ṅ]sattait tiṉṟāṉumāyk Keṅkai yiṭai Kumariyiṭai kurālppacuk konṟāṉ
11 ceyta pāvaṅ koḷvā[ṉ] [/*] itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai [//*] Ālaivel-vāṇaṟkup Ponparappinār ka-
12 ṇṭu cevaṭikaḷ centā[ma]raiyilai votta kāl mā[li]yānai yāḻit terventar katirmuṭi [yo]ppamiṭuṅ-
13 kal //

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 21st year[99] of (*the king*) Kulōttuṅkacōḻadēvar. I, Irārādēvaṉ Poṉparappināṉ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyan of Āṟakaḷūr, gave the following document engraved on stone, to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār.

3-8 I, Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, staying at Tirukkōvallūr, on Monday, the 16th day of the month of Tulā when the asterism is Cataiyam[99] gave, by pouring of water, the paddy and *kācu* derived from the incomes including *pāṭikāval*, besides incomes from *taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭaṅkaḷ, āḷamañci, eccōṟu, kuṟṟateṇṭam, paṭṭiteṇṭam* and all other incomes, obtained from the wet and dry land, within the four boundaries of Aṇṇā-nāṭu, a *tēvatānapparṟu* of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār, from the 21st year to meet the expenses of worship and works (*in the temple*) of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, to last till the moon and the sun endure.

8-11 If any one misappropriates even an *uri* or a nāḻi (*of paddy*) and even one *kācu*, or a *cinnam* from the incomes thus derived (*from the gift*), he would be considered a traitor to Śiva, a beef-eater and one incurs the sin of a man who has killed a tawny cow on the bank of the Gaṅgā and at Kumari.

11-12 This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

12-13 when the rulers possessing a fleet of strong elephants and riding chariots with beautiful wheels, visited and placed their shining crowns at the lotus-like feet of the king who provided a gold gilt (*roof of the temple of*) the lord (*hence called Poṉparappinar*) who conquered the primordial poison (ālai vel = Skr. *Hālahala*), the king's feet looked (*green*) like a leaf (or lotus leaf ?) (*owing to the reflection of the variegated coloured jewels of the crowns on the feet of the king ?*).

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99 Irregular. Probably = October 12, 1198, but the solar day on this date was Tulā 15, not Tulā 16. Even so, the *nakṣatra* Cataiyam was current upto .16 part of the day only. On Tulā 16th, the day was Tuesday and the *nakṣatra* was Pūraṭṭāti, and this was current only upto .18 part of the day.

110 A.D. 1202

S.I.I., VIII, 151 — **Kiḻi-gōpura, south wall, west side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripu[va*]ṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Ku[lo]ttu[ṅ]kacoḻateva[r]kku yaṇṭu 24-vatu Aruṅkuṉṟaṅkiḻaiyāṉ Nāṟp-

2 patteṇṇāyirappiḷḷaiyum Maṅkaiya[rk*]karaciyārum uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉā(ā)ṟkku ceyta ta[r*]mmaṅkaḷ [/*] u-

3 ṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār tirukkoyilil tirumañcanam pa[ṇ*]ṇukaiyālum tirununtāviḷa[kku]kkum 32 pacu vi-

4 ṭukaiyālum aintalai maṇi viṭukaiyālum Cakkilikku tericaṉam kāṭṭi tolāle ceyta tiruvaṭinilaikku mekaṭukkukaiykku pa-

5 ttukkuppota cempoṉ arukaḻañcu yiṭukaiyālum Nācciyāṟkku tirukkaṇ vervāḻi iraṇṭunāl kaḻañcu poṉ yiṭukaiyāḷu[m*]

6 Cuntarapperumāḷu Nācciyāraiyum eḻuntaruḷivittu Maṅkaiya[rk*]karaci maṇṭapam kallāle ce[y*]vikkalālum Cū[ra]m[pi]keṇiyil ti[ru*]mañcanakkiṇa-

7 ṟu kallāle ceykaiyālum Piramatecattu toppile 150 teṅkampiḷḷai vaiy[k*]kaiyālum irupattu-

8 nālāvatu pañcattile kācukku uḻakku arici viṟkkacca[l]e [pū]ṇṭa ponnum teṭiṉa a[r]ttamu[m] nellum aṭaiya yiṭ-

9 ṭu tirunatiyaikkaṭṭi eri kāṇkaiyālum kāṭu veṭṭi kaṭṭai paṟittu nilam mokka kaḻani tirutti ivvūr Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipe-

10 rumāḷnallūr eṉa periṭṭu (maṅ) im Maṅkaiya[rk]karaciyārum Nāṟppatteṇṇāyira[p] piḷḷaikku erippaṭṭi Aḻakiyacoḻa(ṉ)nallūrā-

11 ṉa Tirumeṉipiriyātanallūrkku viṭṭa nilam viṭṭom ikkoyilt tāṉattom [/*] Pūcikku[na]mpiyār talaiyākak kaḻunir poka [yi]-

12 ṭu[vāḷ]ṉ kaṭaiyāka ippaṭi aṟivo[m*] [/*] viṭṭamai panmāheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 24th year[100] of (*king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (the emperor of the three worlds), śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar

2-3 (*The following*) are the *dharmas* (charities) contributed by Nāṟppatteṇṇāyirappiḷḷai of Aruṅkuṉṟam and Maṅkaiyarkkaraciyār to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār :

3-9 Arranging for the bathing service in the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār ; endowing 32 cows for a *nuntā* (perpetual) lamp together with a cluster of five bells ; gifting 6 *kaḻañcu* of *cem-poṉ* to meet the expenses (*of making*) ten masks in leather for the foot-stool of the god after the god has presented himself to the cobbler ; gifting one *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* for (*the making*) of the two earrings with eye design on them (*tirukkaṇ vervāḻi*) to Nācciyār (i.e., the goddess) ; setting up of the (*images of*) Cuntarapperumāḷ (i.e., Cuntaramūrtināyanār) and of Naccimār (i.e., his consorts Paravai and Saṅkili) and causing to be built in stone of the *maṇṭapam* (hall) called Maṅkaiyarkkaraci-maṇṭapam ; constructing he *tirumañcaṉakkiṇaṟu* (i.e., the well to supply water for the bathing of

100 About A.D. 1201-02.

the god) in stone at Cūrampikēṇi ; planting 150 cocoanut plants in the garden at Piramatēcam ; and damming the river to supply water to the tank, by spending the money got from (*selling*) the *poṉ* worn on the body (i.e., gold jewellery), acquired wealth and paddy, during the famine (*which occurred*) in the 24th (*year*) when rice was sold at *uḻakku* per *kācu* .

9-11 We, the *tāṉattōm* of this temple in lieu of the *ērippaṭṭi* (land for tank), called Aḻakiyacōḻaṉ nallūr *alias* Tirumēṉipiriyātanallūr, gave the land after bunding the river and after removing the jungle and the stumps therein and converting the area into cultivable fields, and after naming it as Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiperumāḷnallūr.

11-12 We, from the worshipping Nampiyār (i.e., the priest of the temple), to him who removes the sewage water, are witness to this. The gifted items are protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

111

A.D. 1203

S.I.I., VIII, 124

Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, west side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirupuvaṉa ..... ttuṅkacōḻateva[r*[kku yāṇṭu 25 - vatu Irājakempirac Cetiyarāyar mutalikaḻil Peṇṇait ten-

2 karait Tirukkovalū[ril Vāṇa]kovaraiya Malaiyamāṉ makaṉ Pāvantittāṉāṉa Ākāracūra Malaiyamāneṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉāṟkut tirunu-

3 ntāviḷakkuppuṟamāka viṭṭa Ceṅkuṉṟa-nāṭṭuc Ciṟupiṟaiyūrkku vaṭakku eṅkaḷ tāyār Nīlammai perāl nāṉ veṭṭuvikka eriyil kāṭu veṭṭik kaṭṭai parittu meṭun-

4 tiṭalumāṉa tiruttit tirununtāviḷakkuppuṟamāka viṭṭa kuḻi arunūṟum eṅkaḷ tāyār Nilammaikku naṉṟākat tirumunpey Aṇukkaṉ tirununtā viḷakkāka eriya nāṉ i-

5 ṭṭa tirukkuttuviḷakku onṟiṉāl liṭai nūṟṟuppalam itile Cantirātittavarai inta tirununtāviḷakku [e]rivatāka viṭṭuk kal veṭṭikkuṭuttuṉ [/*] ittaṉmami-

6 [ṟa]kkuvāṉ Keṅkai iṭaik Kumari iṭaic ceytāṉ ceyta pāvattaik koḻvāṉ itu paṉmākeśvara irakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 25[101] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tirupuvaṉa[ccakkaravattikaḷ] (emperor over the three worlds) [Kulō]ttuṅkacōḻatēvar. I, Pāvantīttāṉ *alias* Ākāracūra Malaiyamāṉ, the son of [Vāṇa]kōvaraiya Malaiyamāṉ of Tirukkōvalūr on the southern bank of the Peṇṇai, a *mutalikaḷ* (important subordinate) of the Irājakempirac Cētiyarāyar, gave 600 *kuḻi* (*of land*) as *tiruviḷak-kupputam* (*i.e.*, to meet the expenses connected with burning of a lamp) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār (*at a place*) to the north of Ciṟupiṟaiyūr in Ceṅkuṉṟa-nāṭu, which, I made fit for cultivation after clearing the jungle, removing the stumps and bulldosing it and after naming it after our mother Nīlammai (*as Nīlammai*) ēri.

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4-5 In order to burn as *aṇukkaṉ* (placed near) *tirununtā* lamp in front of the (*god*) for the welfare of our mother Nīlammai, I gave one standing lamp weighing 100 *palam* (a variety of weight). I gave (*the document*) engraved on stone so that this *nuntā* lamp should burn in this (*standing lamp*) till the moon and the sun endure.

5-6 One who stopped this charity would incur the sin of one who had committed sin on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

112

A.D. 1204

S.I.I., VIII, 75 — **II *Prākāra*, west wall.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkara-
2 vattikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacoḻat[e]varku yāṇṭu
2 26-vatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭai-
3 yār koyil Ciruttira Cimāh[e]-
3 śvararom innāyanār tirumaṭaiviḷā-
4 kattu eṭuppāyiruntа maṉaikaḷ viṟ -
4 kumiṭattu paṇṭārakkaṇkāṇi puṟap-
5 paṭṭu vilai niccayittu nicceyitta vilai -
5 yil paṇṭārattukku cempāti kuṭuppa-
6 tākavum maṉaiyuṭai(yuṭai)yavanu -
6 kku cempāti kuṭuppatākavum [/*] i[p]-
7 paṭiyaṉṟiye ipporuḷ paṇṭārattil pu -
7 kāmal vik[na]m paṇṇutal paṇṇuvittal
8 ceytā nuṇṭā[ki]l poruḷiraṭṭi -
8 yum koṇṭu maṉaiyu miḻantupoka ka-
9 ṭavanākavum [/*] ippaṭi sammatittu
9 kal veṭṭi -
nom [/*] itu [pan]m[ā*]heśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 26th year[102] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar, we, the Cī-Ruttira Cī-Māhēśvaras of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-uṭaiyār (*came to know*) that high houses in the streets around the temple of the god were being sold. (*Then*) the supervisor of the treasury started (*and went there*) and fixed the prices (*of the houses*). (*It was decided that*) of the fixed amount, one half should go to the treasury and the other half to the owner of the house. In case any one (*an owner of the house*) caused hindrance and caused it to be done in the share due to the treasury not to reach it (*then*) he should not only pay double the amount (*of the price*) but also fortfeit (*his claim*) to the house. Having thus agreed, we inscribed (*the document*) on stone. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

113

A.D. 1204

S.I.I., VIII, 114 — **III *Prākāra*, Ēkāmbareśvara shrine, south wall.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvanaccakkara-
2 vattikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacōḻate-
2 varku yāṇṭu 26 - vatu uṭaiyār Tiru-

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vaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāya-
3 nārku Karukki[l]rampāṭiyi lirukkum Muṭikoṇṭacōḷa Viḷuppātarāya-
4 n Maruntaṉattiyen arai-viḷakkukku viṭṭa pacu 16 Cantirātittavarai
5 celvatāka viṭṭen [/*] itu panmāhēśvara rakṣai //

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 26th year[103] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tribhuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor of the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḷatēvar. I, Muṭikoṇṭacōḷa Viḷuppātarāyan Maruntaṉatti residing at Karukkiḷārampāṭi gave 1/2 a lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār and 16 cows (*for this purpose*) to last till the moon and the sun endure. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

114

A.D. 1205

S.I.I., VIII, 106

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ [Ma]tiraiyum [I]ḷamum Karuvūrum Pāṇṭiyaṉ muṭittalaiyum koṇṭaruḷiṉa śrī Kulottuṅkcōḷatevaṟku yāṇṭu 27-vatu Pāṇṭiṉāṭukoṇṭāṇāṇa Campuvarāyanum
2 Ceṅkeṇi Attimalla Virāṇṭ[ā]ṇāṇa Etirili[c]oḷac Campuvarāyanum Attimallan Pallavāṇṭāṇāṇa Kulottuṅkacoḷac Campuvarāyanum Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Periyuṭaiyāṇāṇa Irārā Cetiyarāyanum Kiḷi-
3 (Kiḷi)yūr Malaiyamāṉ Ākāracūra(n)-nāṇa I[r]ācakampirac Ce[ti]yarāyaṉum Kuntan Nampūralāṇa Yirārā Nilakaṅkaraiyaṉum Ammai Appan Maruṇta(n)nāṇa Irārāmuventa[rai]yaṉum Pāvantittā(ṉ)nāṇa Irājentiracōḷan Campuvarāyaṉum Malaiyaṉ Naraciṅkapanmaṉāṇa Ka[ri]kālacōḷa Āṭaiyūrnāṭāḷvāṉum
4 Comaṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyāṇāṇa Kulottuṅ[ka]coḷa Pirutikaṅkanum Coman Varantaruvāṇāṇa Co[le]ntiraciṅkap Pirutikaṅkanum ivvaṉaivom eṅkaḷil icaintu kal veṭṭiṉapaṭiyāvatu [/*] nāṅkaḷ orukālamum irājakāriyattukkut tappāme niṉṟu Cetirāyatevar aruḷi[c]ceytapaṭiye paṇi
5 ceyyakkaṭavomākavum ippaṭi ceyyum iṭattu Makataināṭāḷvāṉāṇa Vāṇakovaraiyaṉum Kulottuṅkacoḷa Vāṇakovaraiyaṉum pakkal āḷātal ōlaiyātal pokakkāṭṭutal uṟavupaṇṇutal aṟuticeytal ceyyakkaṭavō mallātomākavum [/*] ivarkaḷ anutārattu[ḷ]ār pa-
6 kkal āḷātal ōlaiyātal pōkakakkāṭṭic cila kā[ri]yam pā[r*]ttal uṟavu aṟuticeytal ceyyakkaṭavomallātomākavum [/*] iva[r*]kaḷum yiva[r]kaḷ ḷanutārattuḷḷār pakkaliniṉṟum āḷātal ōlaiyātal vantatuṇṭākil tēvar cipātattile pokakkāṭṭakkaṭavomākavum [/*] Irārā Cetiyarāyarpakkal irā-
7 cakāriyattukkum Cetiyarāyatevar karumaṁ eṅkaḷil oruvar kāriyattukku virotamāyiruppaṉa colli āḷātal ōlaiyātal pokaviṭakkaṭavomallātomākavum ivarum aṉutārattuḷḷār pāṭuniṉṟum ippaṭi collivantatuṇṭākil ippaṭikku

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icaiyāte Cetiyarāyatēvar . . . . . ṭṭakkaṭavo-

8 mākavum nāṅkaḷ aṉaivarum eṅkaḷil oruk[ā]lamum oruvar veṟupaṭāte irājakāriyattukku tappāte niṉṟu Cetiyarāyatevar aruḷicceytapaṭi paṇi ceyyakkaṭavōmākavum eṅkaḷil oruvar veṟupaṭa [ni]ṉṟu irājakāriyattukkum Cetiyarāyatevar kāriyattukkum eṅkaḷ kāriyattukkum viro[tamāka]c cila kāriyam pārttāruṇṭākil.....

9 utu tevarum nāṅkaḷum ivaṉai [a]ṟac ceyyakkaṭavomākavum [/*] eṅkaḷile oruvarai V[ā*]ṇakovaraiyaṉātal Kulottuṅkacoḻa Vāṇakovaraiyaṉātal Irārā Kāṭavarāyaṉātal viṉaiceytāruṇṭākil paṭaiyuṅ kutiraiyum mutalukku nerākakkoṇṭu.....

10 takkaṭavomākavum [/*] ippaṭik[ku] orukālamum tappāte niṉṟu ceyyakkaṭa-vomākavum [/*] ippaṭi ceytilomākil Vāṇakovaraiyaṉukku kaṭaika .. paṟaiyaṟkku ceruppu etukkiṟom [/*] ippaṭi cammatittu

11 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār koyilile kal veṭṭikkuṭuttom ivvaṉaivom :

TRANSLATION

1-6 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 27th year[104] of Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds), śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar (*who*) was pleased to take Matirai, Ṉḻam (i.e., Śrī Laṅkā), Karuvūr, and the crowned head of the Pāṇṭiya. We, Campuvarāyan who took the Pāṇṭiya-nāṭu, Ceṅkēṇi Attimalla Vīrāṇṭān *alias* Etirilicōḻac-campuvarāyaṉ, Attimallan Pallavāṇṭāṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅkacōḻaccampuvarāyaṉ, Malaiyamān Periyuṭaiyāṉ *alias* Irārāc-cētiyarāyan of Kiḻiyūr, Malaiyamāṉ Ākāracūran *alias* Irācakampīrac-cētiyarāyaṉ of Kiḻiyūr, Kuntan Nampūral *alias* Yirārā Nīlakaṅkariyaṉ, Ammai Appan Maruntan *alias* Irārāmūvēntaraiyaṉ, Pāvantīttān *alias* Irājēntiracōḻaccampuvarāyaṉ, Malaiyaṉ Naraciṅkapanmaṉ *alias* Karikālacōḻa Āṭaiyūrnāṭāḻvāṉ, Cōman Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyāṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅkacōḻa Pirutikaṅkan and Cōman Varantaruvāṉ *alias* Cōḻēntiraciṅkappiruti-kaṅkaṉ, have agreed amongst ourselves and recorded on stone the following : we will never go against the duties to the king, and will perform them according as Cētiyarāyar is pleased to order. When we are doing so, we will never get employed with Makatainātāḻvāṉ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ and Kulōttuṅkacōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ; neither will we become secretaries, messengers, friends, and compact-holders to them. We will not also become servants, secretaries, messengers, errand-doers, friends or compact-holders to those who are allied to them. In case any servants or secretaries from them or from their allies come to us we cause them to be shown at the feet of the king.

6-8 We will not allow any one (*amongst us*) to refuse to do governmental duties by assisting Irārāc-cētiyarāyar, or to refuse to do the work of a servant or secretary just because the work assigned by Cētiyarāyar is against those of one amongst us. If he or his allies come to us with this complaint, we would not countenance it but would cause . . . . . to be done.

8-9 All of us, without any one of us having any difference (*of opinion*) at

104 About A.D. 1204-05.

any time, will carry out the governmental duties without default, and perform them as is pleased to be ordered by Cētiyarāyar. In case, one of us is found going against this, and he is found to do some undesirable acts against governmental work, or Cētirāyatēvar's work or our work, ... tēvar and we would make him to desist from it.

9-10 In case, Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, Kulōttuṅkacōḻa Vāṇakōcaraiyaṉ, or Irārā Kāṭavarāyaṉ harmed any one of us, we will do . . . . . by using foot-soldiers and horses raised against the capital. We will do so without default at any time. If we do not do so (*then*) we will be . . . . . to Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, and would be bearers of chappals to Paṟaiyars.

10-11 Having agreed thus, all of us gave this agreement engraved on stone in the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyanār.

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115 A.D. 1205

S.I.I., VIII, 128 **Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, east side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Matiraiyum Ḻlamum Pāṇṭiyaṉ muṭittalai[yuṅ] koṇṭaruḷiya śrī-Kulottuṅkacoḻatevaṟku

2 yāṇṭu 27-vatu Ceyaṅkoṇṭacoḻamaṇṭalattu Peṇṇai vaṭakarai Vāṇakoppāṭi Āṭaiyūr nāṭuṭaiya Malaiyan Naraciṅka-

3 paṉmanāṉa Karikālacoḻa Āṭaiyūr-nāṭāḷvāṉeṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāya(nāya)-nārkku tirumaṭaippaḷḷipuṟa-

4 māka Viṭāṉparril Veṅkaikāvum Eyil-nāṭṭil [Ovi]yakka[ṭappā]ṉa Naraciṅkanallūrumāka ivviraṇṭurum irupatteḻāvatiṉ

5 etirāmāṇṭai kārmutal naṉcai puṉcai nilamum menokkiṉa maramum kiḻnokkiṉa kiṇaṟum taṟiyiṟai taṭṭārpāṭṭamum maṟṟum ep-

6 perpaṭṭa pallā[ya*]ṅka[ḷu] muḷpaṭa uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai u-

7 ṭaiya nāyanārkku tevatāṉamāka Cantirātittavarai cel-

8 vatāka viṭṭeṉ [/*] ivai nāṉātal en vaṅcattil uḷḷārā-

9 tal vilakkuvāṉ Keṅkaiyiṭai Kumariyiṭai kurāl pacuk koṉ-

10 rāṉ ceyta pāvaṅ koḷvāṉ peṇṭiḻantānukku ceruppu-

11 meṭuttu tampalamum tiṉṟu avaṉ kaṭṭirkkiḻiruntānāvāṉ [/*] itu panmāheśvara rakṣai [/*]

12 itu viṭuvittār Kavuṇiyar Perumāḷ [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 27th year[105] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar who was pleased to take Matirai, Ḻlam (*i.e.*, Śrī Laṅkā) and the crowned head of the Pāṇṭiya. I, Malaiyan Naraciṅkapaṉman *alias* Karikālacōḻa Āṭaiyūr-nāṭāḷvāṉ, of Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu in Vāṇakōppāṭi on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai in

105 About A.D. 1204-05.

Ceyaṅkoṇṭacōḻa-maṇṭalam gifted two villages as *tirumaṭappaḷḷippuṟam* (*i.e.*, to provide for the kitchen) of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār,

4-8 (*the villages*) of Vēṅkaikāvu in Viṭāṇpaṟṟu and Ōviyakkaṭappu *alias* Naraciṅkanallūr in Eyil-nāṭu, from the *kār* crop season of the year opposite to the 27th, including all the wet lands and dry lands, up-facing tree and down-facing well, *taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārppāṭṭam* and all other various incomes, as *tēvatāṉam* to last till the moon and the sun endure, to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār.

8-12 If I or any one of my family removed these, he would reap the sin of one who had killed a tawny cow at the Gaṅgā and Kumari, and would have to hold the foot-wear and chew betels of one who had lost his wife, besides remaining under his cot. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.* Kavuṇiyar Perumāḷ caused this to be released.

116

S.I.I., VIII, 130

A.D. 1205

Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.

TEXT

1 Śrī Tripu[va*]ṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacōḻateva[r*]kku yāṇṭu 27-

2 vatu Aracakaḷāḷaiyaṉ Nilakaṅkaṉ Kariyaperumāḷen uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇ-ṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanāṟkku tirumantira[p*]poṉakappuṟamāka viṭṭa eṉ

3 paṟṟil Maṭa[p*]paṟṟil Kumiḻiyūrum Tirttamum āka ivviraṇṭurum nāṟpāl el-laikku[ḷ]ḷum kiḻnokkiya kiṉaṟum mel-nokkiṉa maramum viṭṭu Cantirātit-tavarai tevatāṉamāka viṭṭuk kal veṭṭikkuṭuttēṉ [/*] itu

4 eṉ vaṅkiṣattil iṟakkuvāṉ civat-turokiyumāy Keṅgai iṭai Kumariyiṭai kurāṟpacu koṉṟāṉ ceyta pāvaṅ koḷvāṉ [/*]

5 itu pamāheśvara irakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-3 Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 27[106] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉac-cakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatē-var. I, Aracakaḷāḷaiyaṉ Nilakaṅkaṉ Kariyaperumāḷ donated, as *tiruman-tirappōṉakappuṟam* to the god Tiru-vaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār the villa-ges *viz.*, Kumiḻiyūr and Tīrttam in Maṭapparṟu which is mine. Thus the two villages were given (*with all the lands*) within their four boundaries, together with the down-facing well and the up-facing tree (*in them*), as *tēvatāṉam* to last till the moon and the sun endure, by recording on stone.

3-4 If a member of my family stopped this (*charity*), he would become a *civatturōki* and would get the sin of one who had killed a tawny cow at the Gaṅgā and Kumari.

5 This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

106 About A.D. 1204-05.

117 A.D. 1205

S.I.I., VIII, 146 **Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, east side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacoḻateva[r*]kku yāṇṭu 27-vatu Tāyal-nāṭṭu Mīṉayū[ri]lp [P]allāḻvāṉ āṉa

3 Amarapuyaṅkarat Tāyalnāṭā]vāneṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār-

4 kku tirununtā viḷakku oṉṟukku viṭṭa pacu 32-m iṣapam 1 uḷḷūr maṉṟāṭi Coḻakko-

5 ṉvacam viṭṭu Aṇṇāvan uḻakkāl nicatam uḻakku ney[ya]lappatāka kal veṭṭi[k*] kuṭu-

6 tteṉ [/*] itu pamāheśvara rakṣai

TRANSLATION

1-6 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 27[107] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar. I, Pallāḻvāṉ *alias* Amarapuyaṅkarat-Tāyalnāṭāḻvān of Mīṉayūr in Tāyal-nāṭu, gave one *nuntāviḷakku* (perpetual lamp) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār and 32 cows and one bull (*for this purpose*) to the local shepherd Cōḻakkōṉ asking him, by order engraved on stone, to measure out daily one *uḻakku* of ghee by the measure called *Aṇṇāvanuḻakku*. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

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118 A.D. 1205

S.I.I., VIII, 149 **Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, east side.**

TEXT

1 [Sva]sti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Matiraiyum Īḻamum Pāṇṭiyaṉ muṭittalaiyum koṇṭaru-

2 [ḷiya] śrī-[Kulo]ttuṅkacoḻatevaṟku yāṇṭu [2]7 - vatu Ceyaṅkoṇṭa[cō]la-[maṇṭalattu Pankaḷaṉ[ā]-

3 ṭuṭaiya Aḻakiyaco[ḻa]ṉ Varamtarumperumāḷāṉa Coḻenti[ra)]ciṅkap Piritivikaṅkaneṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai

4 uṭaiya nāyanāṟkut tirumaṭ[ai]ppaḷḷippuṟamāka viṭṭa eṉ paṟṟil Kaḷikkoṟṟappāṭi nāṟpāl ellaik[ku]l ental [p]ā -

5 ntal uḻpaṭa naṉcai puṉcai nilamum meṉokkiṉa maramuṅ kiḻnokkiṉa kiṇaṟun taṟiyiṟai taṭṭārpāṭṭam .....

6 peṟpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷum u[ḷ]paḷṭa uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār[kkut] tēvatānamākac Canti-[rā]tittava-

7 ṟai celvatāka viṭṭen [/*] ivvūr nāṉāṭal en vaṅ[ca]tti luḷḷārātal itu vilakku-[vāṉ] Keṅ-

8 [kaiyiṭai] Kumariyiṭai kurāl pacuk konṟān pāpaṅ koḷvān [/*] tanṉo ..... yārkuc ce-

9 ruppeṭuttut tampalamun tiṉṟu avaṉ kaṭṭil kiḻiruntāṉāvān [/*] [itu] panmāheśva-

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107 About A.D. 1204-05.

10 ra rakṣai ೭ itu viṭuvittāṉ Āṇṭā[n]
11 Kavuṇiyar Perumāṉ : ೭

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*This is*) the 27th year[108] (*of the reign*) of (*king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (the emperor of the three worlds), who is pleased to take Matirai, Ḷḷam (i.e., Śrī Laṅkā), and the crowned head of the Pāṇṭiya, śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḷatēvar.

2-4 I, Aḷakiyacōḷaṉ Varamtarumperumāḷ *alias* Cōḷēntiraciṅkap Piritivikaṅkan of Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu in Ceyaṅkoṇṭacōḷamaṇṭalam, have gifted, as *tirumaṭaippaḷḷippuṟam* to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, (*the village of*) Kaḷikkorrappāṭi in my *parru*

4-7 with its wet and dry land including the *ēntal* (hamlet) and *pāntal* (jungle land) within the four boundaries (*of that village*), (*and with*) up-facing tree and down-facing well, incomes like *taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, ...* and including all other such incomes, as *tēvatānam* to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār to last till the moon and the sun endure.

7-10 If I or any one of my family removes (*the gift of*) this *ūr*, he would incur the sin of one who has killed a tawny cow on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari, would be like one who bore the chappal of . . . . . and chewed the chewing materials spat by him . . . . and being under the cot of him . . . . . This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

10-11 Āṇṭān Kavuṇiyar Perumāṉ caused this to be released.

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119 A.D. 1205

S.I.I., VIII, 150 **Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirupuvaṉaccak-[ka]ravattikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacoḷateva[r]kku yāṇṭu 27 - vatu Peṇṇai vaṭaka -
2 rai V[ā]ṇo[ṇa]koppāṭi Aṇṇanāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār koyilil māṭāpatti-
3 yam ceyv[ā]rkaḷ muṉpu koṇṭuvarum makaḷmai poṉṉum nellum marrum āyaṅkaḷāl koḷ[vaṉa]-
4 vum ivvāṇṭu mutal Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkku tirupparicaṭṭattukkum karpūram tiruccāṉ-
5 tukkum uṭalāka ikkaḷ veṭṭikkuṭ[ṭ]teṉ Kavuṇiyar Perumāḷen [/*] itu koḷvāṉ civattu-
6 rokiyumāy kōmā[ṅ]sattai bhaṣittu Camaṇarkku kuṇṭikai eṭuppāṉ [/*] itu paṉ-
7 māheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 27[109] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḷatēvar. I, Kavuṇiyar Perumāḷ gave the deed, inscribed on stone, (*of the gift*) of the income from

108 About A.D. 1204-05.
109 About A.D. 1204-05.

makaḷmai (*makamai* (voluntary contribution)) in paddy and cash and other incomes brought before the members of (*the body called*) *māṭāpattiyām ceyvārkaḷ* (managers of *maṭam*) of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār of Aṇṇānāṭu in Vāṇakōppāṭi, on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai, to provide for the *tiruppariccaṭṭam* (*i.e.*, clothes), and for camphor and paste (*for smearing*), to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār from this year onwards.

5-7 One who stole this (*gift*) would become a *civatturōki* and be considered a beef-eater and a person holding the *kuṇṭikai* (spouted vase) to Camaṇar (Jainas). This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

120

A.D. 1206

EO. 26 — **III *Prākāra*, west side, floor.**

TEXT

1 . . . . ṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Matiraiyumiḻamum Pā. . . .

2 . . . . tevarku yāṇṭu 28-vatu Jayaṅkoṇṭa . . . . .

3 . . . . ṉāṉa Irācentiracōḻac Campuvarāya . . . .

4 . . . . . ppaḷḷipuṟamāka viṭṭa enparri . . . . .

5 . . . . . rnā . . kellaikkuḷppaṭṭa . . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 . . . . (*In the*) 28th year[110] of (*the king*) . . . . [Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ who took Matirai, Īḻam (*i.e.*, Śrī Laṅkā) and Pā . . . .

2-3 Irācēntiracōḻa Caṁpuvarāyaṉ (*belonging to*) . . . . in Jeyaṅkoṇṭa[cōḻamaṇṭalam] . . . .

3-4 gave some land in his fief as [*maṭaḷppaḷḷipuṟam* (*i.e.*, to provide for the kitchen).

1. 4. . . . (*the land*) situated within the boundaries. . . . .

121

A.D. 1207

EO. 33 (13) — **II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacōḻateva[r]kku yāṇṭu 29 - āvatu Jayaṅkoṇṭacōḻamaṇṭalattu

2 . . .[111] ppāli-nāṭṭu Pākkattil Nilakaṅkaṉ Aracakaḷāḷaya Kariyaperumāḷen uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāya-

110 About A.D. 1205-06.

111 Three letters are written above.

nā[r]kku tiru-
3 vottayāmappaṭikku Appa(?)kkallil Putterikil viṭṭa nilam pa[112] tirru veli innilam patirru veliyum nānāta-
4 l en vaṅkicattil uḷḷārātal vilakkak kaṭavomallātomākavum itu vilakkiṉār Keṅkaiyiṭai
5 k - Kumariyiṭai pāvañceytār uṭaiya pāvaṅ koḷḷak kaṭavōmakavum taṉakiṉṉātāṉukku taṉ akamu-
6 ṭaiyāḷaik kuṭuttāṉ [//*] itu panmāheśvara rakṣai :

Pākkam in . . . ppāli-nāṭu in Jayaṅkoṇṭacōḻa-maṇṭalam endowed ten *vēḷi* of land on the east of the Puttēri in Appakkal (?) for the food offering at the *tiruvottayāma* (late night) service to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār.

3-6 (*I say that*) I or a member of my family would not take away the gift land of ten *vēli*. In case of transgression of this undertaking, we who committed it would incur the sin of those who had committed sins on the banks of the Gaṅgā and at Kumari. Besides, (*the sinner*) would be deemed to have given his wife to his opponent. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*In the*) 29th year[113] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar, I, Nīlakaṅkaṉ Aracakaḷālaya Kariyaperumāḷ of

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122 A.D. 1207

S.I.I., VIII, 139 **Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, west side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacoḻatevarkku yāṇṭu 2[9] uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉārku
2 Ārakaḷūr Catiraṉ Vāṇarāyaṉeṉ tevatāṉamāka viṭṭa Peṇṇai vaṭakaraic Ceṅkuṉṟa-nāṭṭu Kaṅkanallūr nārpārkkellaikkuḷḷu [m*] naṅ-
3 cai puṅcai yakappaṭa viṭṭeṉ Catiraṉ Vāṇarāyaṉeṉ [/*] itu māṟuvāṉ miṇāṭṭiyai paṟaiyaṉukkuk kuṭuppāṉ [/*] itu panmāheśvara rakṣai :

(*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar. I, Catiraṉ Vāṇarāyaṉ of Āṟakaḷūr, donated Kaṅkanallūr in Ceṅkuṉṟa-nāṭu on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai, with all its wet and dry land within its four boundaries as *tēvatāṉam* to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār. I, Catiraṉ Vāṇarāyaṉ (gave it). One who changed this would (*be considered*) to have given his wife to a Pariah. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 29[114]

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112 This *pa* is written below the line.
113 About A.D. 1206-07.
114 About A.D. 1206-07.

123

A.D. 1208

S.I.I., VIII, 140

Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, east side.

TEXT

1 Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ śrī-Kulo-
2 ttuṅkacoḻateva[r*]kku yāṇṭu 30-
3 tāvatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyā-
4 rkku Āṟakaḷūril lirukkum Appaṉ Aracaṉāṉa Mullai-
5 yarāyaṉ nuntā-viḷakkup pacu yiraṇ-
6 ṭu [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-6 (*It is*) the 30th year[115] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar. Appaṉ Aracaṉ *alias* Mullaiyarāyaṉ of Āṟakaḷūr (*gave*) two cows for a *nuntā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār.

124

A.D. 1210

S.I.I., VIII, 147

Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, east side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacoḻatevaṟku yāṇṭu 32 -
2 vatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār ko[yi]lukku muppattiraṇṭāvatu
3 Tirukkāttikai tirunāḷmutal tiruvitiyāṇṭā[r]kaḷāka[k kaḷṭṭiṉa per irupatiṉmarkku
4 iṉṉāyaṉār tevatāṉam Venkaikkāvile nāyaka[mā]ka iruvarkku . . . .
5 kuḻi . . . . . aiññūru kuḻiyum āka nilam . . . .
6 . ñce yiraṇṭumāvum Canti[rāti]ttavarai celvatākavum
7 ce[y]yum tiruppaṇi Tiru[va]tikai ceyta paṭi celvatākavum itu pa-
8 [nmā]heśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-8 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 32[116] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar. The (royal order intended for the *tāṉattār* (managers) is) that 20 persons might be employed in the temple as *tiruvītiyāṇṭār* (attendants of the street) from the time of the festival of Tirukkāttikai of the 32nd (*year*). For two of them, ... *kuḻi* was given as *nāyakam* (fief) in Vēṅkaikkāvu, a *tēvatāṉam* of this deity . . . , 500 *kuḻi* together totalling to [. .]+ 2 *mā* was given to last till the moon and the sun endure. The work (*in this temple*) should be on the model of that in (*the temple*) at Tiruvatikai. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

115 About A.D. 1207-08.

116 About A.D. 1209-10.

125 A.D. 1210

EO. 22 III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.
Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 .....mmārilonṟavaniyiṟkūṭa koṇṭu ...
2 ..... Jayaṅkoṇṭacoḻamaṇṭalattu Veṇku ....
3 ..... ittevaṟkku yāṇṭu 32-āvatu Tiru ....

TRANSLATION

1-3 ..... of Veṇku ..... Jayaṅkoṇṭacōḻa-maṇṭalam .... in the 32-nd year[117] of this king .....

---

126 A.D. 1211

EO. 331-350 II *Prākāra*, north wall (outside), middle.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulottuṅkacoḻatevaṟku yāṇṭu 33-vatu mutal uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanāṟku Vāṇakovaraiyar cāmanta mutalikaḷil Coḻakon Tevāramaḻakiyānen vaitta tirununtāviḷakku onṟukku Cakkaravattikkon vacam viṭṭa pacu 32 iṣapam 1 ivviḷakkeriya vaitta tirukkutti-viḷakku 1 iṭai [300]-l ivvāṇṭu mutal tiruviḷakku manṟāṭikaḷ vacam viṭṭa tiruviḷakkukku mutal Panṟikkon viḷakku arai Korṟan viḷakku arai Kātaṉ viḷakku kāl Ariyāṇṭi Perumāḷ viḷakku arai Ūrvāykkoṉ Perumāḷ viḷakku kāl Paṭṭakkoṉ viḷakku arai Malaiyakkoṉ makan Nilaṉ viḷakku arai Cūrakkon Aṇṇāmalai viḷakku kāl Vatavai viḷakku kāl Tevakkon viḷakku arai Viccūrp Perumāḷ makan Cūran viḷakku kāl Nallapiḷḷai viḷakku arai Ampakkon viḷakku kāl Veṇ-ṇaikkūttakkon viḷakku kāl āka viḷakku 5 1/4-kku viḷakku l-kku canti viḷakku 10 āka canti viḷakku 53 itu paṉmāhēśvara rakṣai :

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! From the year 33[118] (*in the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅkacōḻatēvar, Cōḻakōn Tēvāramaḻakiyān, a *cāmanta-mutali* of Vāṇakōvaraiyar, gave one lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār for which he endowed 32 cows and one bull which were entrusted to Cakkaravattikkōn. For burning the lamp one standing lamp weighing 300 (name of weight is not given) was given. The capital invested, from this year onwards, for the lamp, included 1/2 a lamp with Panṟikkōn, 1/2 a lamp with Korran, 1/4 of a lamp with Kātaṉ, 1/2 a lamp with Ariyāṇṭi Perumāḷ, 1/4 of a lamp with Ūrvāykōṉ Perumāḷ, 1/2 a lamp with Paṭṭakkōṉ, 1/2 a lamp with Nīlaṉ, the son of Malaiyakkōṉ, 1/4 lamp with Cūrakkōn Aṇṇāmalai, 1/4 of a lamp with Vatavai, 1/2 a lamp with Tēvakkōn, 1/4 of a lamp with Cūraṉ, the son of Viccūr Perumāḷ, 1/2 a lamp with Nallapiḷḷai, 1/4 of a lamp with Ampakkōn

117 About A.D. 1209-10.
118 About A.D. 1210-11.

and 1/4 of a lamp with Veṇṇaikkūttakkōn. The total of lamps came to 5 1/4[119]. At the rate of 10 *canti* lamps per lamp, the *canti* lamps numbered 53. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

127

13th c (?)

EO. 351-355 **II *Prākāra*, north wall (outside), middle. Incomplete.**

TEXT

1 Uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārku Ci[va]pontai Muṉaiyataraiyar Veṭṭum piḷḷai makaḷār Āḷavantanāyaṉār vaitta tirununtā viḷakku oṉrukku viṭṭa pacu 32 iṣapam 1 itukku viḷakku . . Cakkaravattikkoṉ vacam viṭṭatu uḷḷūr Ālakkoṉ viḷakku araiyum

TRANSLATION

1 To the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār Civapontai Muṉaiyataraiyar Veṭṭumpiḷḷai's daughter Āḷavanta nāyaṉār gifted one *nuntā* lamp, for which 32 cows and one bull were gifted. For this, this lamp . . . left in charge of Cakkaravattikkōṉ . Local Ālakkōṉ's lamp is 1/2 .....

128

A.D. 1213

S.I.I., VIII, 148 **Kiḻi-gōpura, south wall, east side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti [//*]

2 Tiripuvaṉaviratevaṟku yāṇṭu 35 - vatu Āṟakaḷuruṭaiya Irārātevaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉāṉa Vāṇakovaraiyaṉen

3 Mituṉanāyaṟṟueṭṭān tiyatiyum A[ṉu]ḷamum peṟṟa Tirunāyaṟṟukkiḻamai nāḷ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai u-

4 ṭaiyaṉāyaṉārai vantu kumpiṭṭu iṟṟaiṉāḷile tirukkoyil poṉmeyntu i[n*]nāyaṉārkkut tirumaṭai-

5 ppaḷḷippuṟamākavum pūcaiyum tiruppaṇikku muṭalākavun tevatāṉamāka viṭṭa Peṇṇai vaṭakaraic Ceṅkuṉṟa-

6 ṇāṭṭu Māttūrāṉa Irārānallūrum Vāṇaka[p]pāṭi Āṭaiyūr-nāṭṭu Meyūrāṉa Poṉ[para*]ppiṉanallūrum Jayaṅ-

7 koṇṭacōḻa-maṇṭalattup Palkuṉṟakkoṭṭattup Paṅkaḷa-nāṭṭut teṟkuvakai Ceñalūr-nāṭṭu Aṭṭaiyamaṅka-

8 lamāṉa Puṇṇiyavāṭiyanallūrum āka immuṉṟūrum ental pāntaluṭpaṭa nāṟpaṟkellaikkuḷpaṭṭa naṉ-

9 cai puṉcai nilamum meṉokkiṉa maramuṅ kiḻnokki[ṉa] kiṉaṟumuṭpaṭa tevatāṉamāka viṭṭeṉ [/*] ivvūrkaḷā-

10 l vanta āyam pāṭikāval taṟiyiṟai taṭṭārppāṭṭaṅ kuṟṟatteṇṭam paṭṭitteṇṭam āḷa(aḷa)ma[ñ]-

11 ciyum innāyaṉār tevatāṉaṅkaḷilum Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyilu tirukkoyililum Cipiṭavāriyilum ma-

12 ṟṟum epperpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷuluṅ kaḷañcu poṉ talaiyāka varumāp pon kaṭaiyākavum oru

13 kācu talaiyāka oru ciṉṉaṅ kaṭaiyākavum nāḻi nellu talaiyāka uṟiynelluk kaṭaiyākavum āḷa-

14 mañciyu muṭpaṭak koḷvāṉ civatturo[kiḻyumāyk komāṅsattai tiṉṟāṉumāy

movāy pukku mu-
15 laiyeḻuntāṉumāy oruvaṉukku morut-tikkum piṟavātāṉumāyk Keṅkaiyiṭai Kumariyiṭai
16 kurāl pacuk koṉṟāṉ ceyta pāvaṅ koḷvāṉ [/*] itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai ///-

TRANSLATION

1 Hail!

2-4 (*It is*) the 35th year of Tiripuvaṉa-vīratēvar. On Sunday the 8th day of the month of Mituṉam[120], when the asterism is Aṉuḻam, Irārātēvaṉ Poṉ-parappiṉāṉ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ of Āṟakaḻūr, visited and worshipped the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyaṉār.

4-8 (*On this day I*) covered the temple with gold (*sheets*). (*Then*) I gave as *tēvatāṉam* to this nāyanār as *tirumaṭaippaḷḷippuṟam* and for worship and works (*in the temple*), Māttūr *alias* Irārānallūr in Ceṅkuṉṟa-nāṭu on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai, Mēyūr *alias* Poṉparappiṉa-nallūr in Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu in Vāṇakappāṭi, and Aṭṭaiyamaṅkalam *alias* Puṇṇiyavāṭiyanallūr in Cēṇāḷūr-nāṭu of the southern area of Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu in Palkuṉṟakkōṭṭam in Jayaṅkoṇṭacōḻa-maṇṭalam.

8-16 (*I gave*) these three villages together with *ēntal* and *pāntal*, and wet and dry land within its four boundaries, up-facing tree, and down-facing well, as *tēvatāṉam*. From the incomes like *āyam, pāṭikāval, taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭār-pāṭṭam, kuṟṟaṭteṇṭam, paṭṭitteṇṭam* and *āḷamañci*, derived from these villages, and from the various incomes derived from this god's *tēvatāṉams*, from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, from the temple and from the Cīpīṭavāri (?), if any one misappropriates from a maximum of one *kaḻañcu* of *poṉ* to a minimum a *mā* of *pon*, from a maximum of one *kācu* to a minimum of one *ciṉṉam*, and from a maximum of one *nāḻi* of paddy to a minimum of one *uriy* including *āḷamañci*, he would be a traitor to Śiva, a beef-eater, one who is *mōvāy pukku mulai eḻuntān*, and one who is not born to a single man and a single woman, and he would incur the sin of one who has killed a tawny cow on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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129 — 13th c.

EO. 858 — **Kiḻi-gōpura, middle portion, southern platform, base. Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

1 ..... layuṅ koṇṭaruḻiya śri-Kulo .....
..
2 ..... tuc Ciṅkapura-nāṭṭuc Ceñci-yum..
3 ..... ruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāyaṉār ....
4 ..... ṉ [mā] .... ṉ pāva .....
5 ..... ñcai puṉcai nilamum meno .....

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119 The total number of lamps is only 5, not 5 1/4. There is probably an omission of the name of a person with whom 1/4 of a lamp was entrusted.

120 June 2, 1213 when the *nakṣatra* Aṉuḻam (Anurādhā) commenced after .13 of the day.

TRANSLATION

1-5 śrī-Kulō . . . . . Ceñci in Ciṅkapura-nāṭu, wet-land and dry-land . . . Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāyaṉār . . . . .

130

EO. 27

13th c.

III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.
Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 . . . . . toṟṟa . ma . . . . . viṟṟiruntaruḷiya mā . . . . .
2 . . . . . maṟuvu . navartta . . . .
3 . . . . . kecaripanmarāṉa uṭaiyār [śrī]-Kulo . . . .
4 . . . . . tuṅka . . . . . .
5 . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 . . . . . pleased to be seated . . . . .
2 . . . . . associated with . . . . . .
3 . . . . . *kēcaripanmar alias* [śrī]-Kulō . . .
4-5 Damaged

131

S.I.I., VIII, 118

13th c.

III *Prākāra*, Cidambarēśvara shrine, west wall.
Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉac[cakkaravarttikaḷ] śrī-Vīrarājen[ti]ra-
2 coḻatevaṟku . . . . . [ṇ]ṇait teṉkarai Me-
3 ykunṟa-nāṭṭu Put . . . . kum maṇṛāṭi Veḷḷaikko-
4 n Po[n*]nanen u . . . . . vaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nā[yaṉār]kku
5 en . . . . . viṭṭa tirununtāviḷak . . . . . .
6 . . . . . kuviṭṭa pa . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year . . . . . (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Vīrarājēntiracōḻatēvar . . . .
2-6 I, the shepherd Veḷḷaikkōn Ponnan residing at Put . . . . in Meykunṟanāṭu on the southern bank of the Peṇṇai . . . . . gave one *nuntā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār, and gave . . . . . cows . . . . . .

132

EO. 911

13th c.

Kiḷi-gōpura, south wall, east side.

TEXT

(In Grantha characters and in Sanskrit language).

1 Kāśyapō Bhāskarō ma-
2 ntrī putraś = Śiṁgaṇa-yajvanaḥ [/*] śrīmā-
3 nn-Aruṇagirīśa-gōpur-ō-
4 daya-kāraṇam [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 The minister Bhāskara of Kāśyapa-[gōtra*], the son of Śiṁgaṇayajvā, was the cause for the coming into existence of the *gōpura* of (*the temple*) of the lord of the illustrious Aruṇagiri.

133

13th c.

S.I.I., VIII, 133

Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east side.

TEXT

(In Grantha characters and in Sanskrit language).

1 Śrīmān Bhāskara-mantr-Īndraḥ putraś = Śiṁkaṇa-
2 yajvanaḥ [/*] Kāśyapaś = Śōṇaśai-
3 lēśa - gōpurōdaya - kāraṇam [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-3 The illustrious chief minister Bhāskara, the son of Śiṁkaṇa-yajvā, who belonged to the Kāśyapa-[gōtra*], was responsible for the coming into existence (building) of the *gōpura* of the god Śōṇaśailēśa.

134

13th c.

EO. 85, 89, 92

II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Fragmentary, right side built in.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvanaccakkara . . . .
2 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya . . . .
3 iṉ nāyanār tevatānattu iva . . . . . .
4 Comācipāṭi ellaikku teṟku . . . . . .
5 tān emmilicainta vi . . . . . .
6 laikkuḷḷu ivveri nir[pā] . . . . . .
7 yārkku oru veli nilam i . . . . . .
8 ivvāṟṟukku vaṭakaraiyil .
9 yāka viṭuvatu . . . . .
10 ki . . . . . .
11 ṉ . . . . . .
12 . . kaṭa . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! Tiripuvanaccakkara . . . .
2 the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya . . . . . .
3-4 to the south of Cōmācipāṭi . . . . . of the *tēvatānam* of this *nāyanār* (god) . . . .
5 the price agreed to amongst us . . . . .
6 the water from this tank . . . . in the boundary
7 one *vēli* of land to . . . . yār . . . . .
8 on the northern bank of this river . . . ...
9 giving away as . . . . . .
10-12 Damaged.

135

A.D. 1219

EO. 33 (6)

II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.

TEXT

1 Svasti [//*] Irācarācatevarkku yāṇṭu 3 - vatu uṭaiyār Tiru-
2 vaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku

Nākattāṉpūṇṭi
3 [. . ṇṇā] . ṟṟi . makaḷ Maruntāṇṭā] makaḷ Kāmā [ṇai] [iṭ]-
4 ṭa oru canti viḷakku [vaittu] itukku ivvūrc civappirā-
5 maṇaril Tirunāvukkaracu-nampi makaṉ Nāyakappiḷḷai-
6 āṉa Tiruccirṟampala-nampi vacam tanta kācu 5 ikkāci-
7 l policai āṭṭaikku ālālacuntaranāle
8 patiṉeṇṇāḻi eṇṇai Cantirātittavarai aḷappa-
9 tāka ikkācu . . mum kaikkoṇṭeṉ Tiruccirṟampala-nampiyen [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! (*In*) the 3rd year[121] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Irācarācatēvar, Kāmā[ṇai], the daughter of Maruntāṇṭā], the daughter of [. . ṇṇā] . . ṟṟi of Nākattāṉpūṇṭi endowed one *canti* lamp to (*the god*) Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār.

4-6 (*For this*) she entrusted 5 *kācu* with Nāyakappiḷḷai *alias* Tiruccirṟampala-nampi, son of Tirunāvukkaracu-nampi, a Civappirāmaṇa (Brāhmaṇa priest devoted to Civa) of this town.

6-9 I, Tiruccirṟampala-nampi, had received this amount and had agreed to measure out 18 *nāḻi* of oil by the measure called Ālālacuntaraṉ every year for the interest accruing on the amount till the moon and the sun endure.

136

A.D. 1221

S.I.I., VIII, 86

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Irājarājatēvaṟ-
2 ku iyāṇṭu añcāvatu Piḷḷaiyār Pirutikaṅkar kaṉ-
3 mikaḷukku Jayaṅkoṇṭacōḻak Kumaṇa-rāyaṉ Maruntaṉ-
4 ṉum Aḷakiyacōḻakaṅkan Maṭṭaiyāṉṭāṉum i[v*]viruvom
5 uṭaiyār caṉṉatiyile kal veṭṭi kuṭutta paricāvatu eṅkaḷ pirāṇaṉ-
6 num eṅkaḷ vaṅkcavuḷḷataṉaiyum Piḷḷaiyār śrīpātam viṭṭu ōṭip p-
7 okāte paṇiceyyakkaṭavomākavum Piḷḷaiyār śrīpātam viṭṭu
8 ōṭipponomākil eṅkaḷ miṇāṭṭimārai Cakkiliyarkku kuṭuttu[p*]
9 pāttiruntomāvom ivviruvom [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 5th year[122] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Irājarājatēvar. We two *viz.*, Jayankoṇṭacōḻak Kumaṇarāyaṉ Maruntaṉ and Aḷakiyacōḻakaṅkan Maṭṭaiyāṉṭāṉ, gave this document (*of undertaking*) inscribed on stone in the precincts of the god to the prince (Piḷḷaiyār) Pirutikankar's servants.

121 About A.D. 1218-19.
122 About A.D. 1220-21.

5-9 "As long as our lives and of our progenies exist we would serve (*him*) without running away from the feet of the prince. In case we ran away from the feet of the prince, we two would be considered (*to have done the bad act*) of giving our wives to cobblers and looking on".

137

A.D. 1223

EO. 1587-1598

II *Prākāra*, Ṛṣi-gōpura, entry-way, north platform, *Maniam's* office, east wall.
Badly damaged and fragmentary.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rājarāja-tevaṟku yāṇṭu eḻāvatu . . .

2 . . . . . Aṇṇā-nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiru[vaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya] ṉā . . . .

3 koyil tānattomum Cīmākecurak kaṇkāṇi ceyvārkaḷum tevakaṉmi ko-

4 yiṟ kaṇakkarum uḷḷiṭṭārum [Aṇṇānāṭṭu] . Kaṇṇamaṅkala . . . . . ku . . . . . .

5 ṭaiyān Tiruvekampamuṭaiyānāṉa Villavataraiyaṉukku kalveṭṭik kuṭutta paricāva -

6 tu innāya[nār] tevatānam Paṅkaḷanāṭṭuk Kaḷikkoṟṟappāṭiyil . [Pāḷ . .

7 ḷḷai veḷāṉ entalaik kuṭuttu uṭai kuḷamāy kiṭanta ental uṭpaṭa eri . .

8 ta . pā[ru]ḷṇṭe [ikkaṇa] . . . . . piriyātana . parā . ciya . . . . . ta .

9 . . . . . ve . . mpa . . . . . inta Perumāḷnallūrkku . . . ru

10 . . . . . ivvūr . ka . . . ca paḷḷattu . koṭa . tai

11 . . . . ta . co . . [pakkal] . . . . ṭaikku teṟkum Nākattānpūṇṭikkum . .

12 vaṭakku . . . . . ca . . . . . parru . . . . . ellai . . . [ṅkai] . . .

13 . . . . . veṭṭi . . man . . . . tirutti payiṟ ceyyak kaṭavatākavum ippaṭi cey -

14 tatu . . Villavataraiyar eḻuntaruḷuvitta Mayileṟum perumāḷ nāyaṉā . .

15 amutupaṭikkum [cepa ?]ki[ṇa]ṟu veṭṭavum i . rā . . . niyattukkuc ceyta

16 ka . . [ṭṭa] . . naṭatta . . . . . rippaṭṭi . ā . . . . . manṟāṭi pe . . . .

17 . . . . . koḷḷak kaṭavatākavum . . . . . Tiruvaṇṇāma . .

18 ṭaiya nāyanārkku tirumaṭaippaḷḷippuṟamā[vu]tākavum tiruttina āṇṭu pāṭikā . . .

19 koḷḷak kaṭavatākavum itan etirāmāṇṭu [kāl varicaiyum] pāṭikāvalum ko . . .

20 ṭavatākavum itan etirāmaṇṭu mutal . . vāṇṭum kāl . . . . .

21 [yum] pāṭikāvalum koḷḷak kaṭavatākavum puncai nilattu[kku] icainta

22 kku kuṭuttu Kaḷikoṟṟappāṭikkum [akka . yivattār . .]ttārku . . . . . mā . .

23 . . . . . lai . . . . . cempilum [kallilum] ve . .

24 . . . . . virrorrippa . . . . . tā . .

25 . . . . . tom [//*] [itu panmāheśvara] rakṣai

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 7[123] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rājarājatēvar.

2-5 We, the *tānattōm* of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāya-

123 About A.D. 1222-23.

[nār] of Aṇṇā-nāṭu . . . . . , *Cīmākē-curakkaṇkāṇiceyvārkāḷ, tēvakaṉmi* and *kōyiṟ kaṇakkar* together, gave the deed engraved on stone to . . . . . ṭaiyāṉ Tiruvēkampamuṭaiyān *alias* Villavataraiyaṉ of . . . . . Kaṇṇa-maṅkalam in Aṇṇā-nāṭu . . . .

6-9 (*The village*) Pāṇ . . ḷḷai vēḷāṉ ēntal in Kaḷikkoṟṟappāṭi in Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu, a *tēvatānam* of this god was given and it was in a ruined condition . . . . for this Perumāḷnallūr . .

10-12 . . . . for this village . . . . . to the south . . . . . to the north of Nākat-tānpūṇṭi . . . . parru, ...

13-17 . . . . . removing . . . . . cutting off . . . . crops could be raised. After doing this, to provide for food offerings to the god Mayilērum-perumāḷ (*i.e.*, Subrahmaṇya) set up by Villavata-raiyar, and for digging up a well . . . . (*ē*)*ripaṭṭi* . . . . . *maṉṟāṭi* . . . . . could be received.

17-21 (*This land*) would become the *tiruma-ṭaippaḷḷippuṟam* of the god Tiruvaṇ-ṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār. (*For this land*) the levy for the year in which it was brought under cultivation would be *pāṭikāval*. For the year opposite to this, 1/4 *varicai* (normal payment) and *pāṭikāval* would be received. From the year opposite to this onwards for every year, 1/4 . . . . and *pāṭikāval* would be received.

21-23 For the dry land, the agreed . . . . . for Kaḷikkoṟṟappāṭi . . . . . (*could be*) engraved on copper and stone . . . .

24-25 We gave (*this together with*) the right to sell and mortgage . . . . . This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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138 A.D. 1227

EO. 438-440 II *Prākāra*, Ṛṣi-gōpura, south platform, west wall. Fragmentary and very much damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkara-vattikaḷ śrī-Rājarājatēvarkku yāṇṭu [11]-vatu [uṭaiyār] . .

2 . . . . . tiyarāyar makaḷār Cittiya-raicar teviyarāṉa

3 . . . . . ṭaiyār Ci[mā] . tu uṭaiyār Tiru-vaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya

4 . . . . . kkut tiruppaḷḷittāmañ cāṭṭi-yaruḷukaikku . . . . . .

5 . . . . . cama . ta . [ceykiṟa]tukum . . . Ceṅkeṇikkum vaḷikku . . . .

6 . . . . . ttu . ruva . . kum . . tarappaṭi [kuḷi] tiru-nantavaṉat-

7 tukku kiḻakkum . . . [ṭai ?] ya ne . . . . meṟku āka nāṟpāṟ kellaikku-

8 ṭpaṭṭa kuḷi 500 ikkuḷi aiññuṟṟukkum paṇṭārattukku kuṭutta poṉ *poṉ* 10 ippoṉ pa-

9 tiṉ kaḻañcum . . . . . kuṭuttum . . . . kaikkoṇṭu innilattu menokkiṉa maramuṅ kiṉok-

10 kiṉa kiṉaṟum . . . . . uṭpaṭa kaikkoṇṭu nāyanārku . . . . . nittam

11 [vaḻ]rukkut tiruppaḷḷittāmam . . . . tāka . . . . . Umai [yāḻvāḻen ?] ittaruma-

12 m miṟakkuvāṉ Keṅkaikkaraiyil kā-rāmpacuvaik koṉṟa pāvaṅkoḷvāṉ ೭

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*In*) the year [11][124] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*)

124 About A.D. 1226-27.

Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rājarājatēvar, the wife of Cittiyaraicar and the daughter of . . . tiyarāyar . . . . for adorning the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya [nāyanār] with flower garlands,

5-8 500 *kuḻi* of land situated within the four boundaries . . . . . Ceṅkeṇi and road . . . . . to the east of the temple garden to the west of . . . . . .

8-9 An amount of poṉ *poṉ* 10 was given to the treasury for this 500 *kuḻi* (*of land*) and by paying this 10 *kalañcu* of *poṉ* it was taken possession of.

9-11 Along with it, the up-growing tree and the dug-up well were also taken over. With the help of this (*grant*) garland for the deity should be provided everyday. This was the order of Umaiyāḻvā[ḷ].

11-12 One who destroyed this gift would acquire the sin of one who had killed a black cow on the banks of the river Gaṅgā.

139

A.D. 1228

EO. 450-451 **II Prākāra, Ṛṣi-gōpura, entry-way, north wall, west end. Very badly damaged.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Rājarājatevaṟ-
2 kku yāṇṭu 12-vatu tiru-
3 . . . . . [yan] teviyā-
4 . . . ttil ṅkāc-
5 . . . . . .
6 . . . yār . . kal . .
7 . . . . uṭaiyār Ti-
8 ruvaṇṇāmalai yuṭaiya
9 nāyanārkku tirununtā viḷa-
10 kku[kku] nāḷ oṉṟukku aḷakku-
11 m ney uḻakkukkumiṭṭa pacu
12 [3]0 . Tiruvaṇṇāmalai
13 . . . . kaḷukku ko
14 . . . viḷakkukkuṭutt-
15 . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*In*) the year 12[125] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Rājarājatēvar.

3-6 Damaged

7-12 For one *nuntā* lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, 30 cows are endowed to supply one *uḻakku* of ghee daily. Tiruvaṇṇāmalai . . . .

13-15 Damaged.

140

A.D. 1229

A.R.E., 66/45-46 (EO. 385-386) **Kiḻi-gōpura, south wall, west side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉacakkaravattikaḷ Rācarācatevaṟku yāṇṭu [13]-vatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanāṟku Uṭaiyāṉ

2 Muṭiyaṇāṉa Nittaviṉota Makatarāyaṉ tirununtā viḷakkukku viṭṭa [pacu] 32 iṣapam 1 itu paṉmaheśvara rakṣai [/*]

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125 About A.D. 1227-28.

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the [13th] year[126] (*in the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉacakkaravattikaḷ Rācarācatēvar. Uṭaiyāṉ Muṭiyaṉ *alias* Nittaviṉōta Makatarāyaṉ endowed 32 cows and one bull for a *nuntā* (perpetual) lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyanār. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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141 A.D. 1231

EO. 443-444 II *Prākāra*, Ṛṣi-gōpura, rear platform, south side. Damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Rājarāja-
2 tevaṟku yāṇṭu [15]-
3 āvatu Kāttikai māta[t-]
4 tu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇ-
5 ṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanāṟ-
6 ku Ceyaṅkoṇṭacoḷa-maṇ-
7 ṭalattu [Kuṉṟa]ttūr-
8 koṭṭattu [Ni]ṉṟaiyūr-nā-
9 ṭṭu [Niṉṟai] . . ttuḷā-
10 ṉ Tirukkāḷatti uṭaiyān Ammai Appa-ṉāṉa Villavatara-
11 yaṉeṉ vaitta tirununtā viḷakku oṉṟum canti .
12 [. rai] . . . . . [ṭṭa] paṭi . . . . . .
13 . . . . . [Veṭṭa]koṉ Aṇṇāmalai . . . . . .
14 ṟaiyum Tevakkon Malaiyan vaitta viḷakku a-
15 raiyum āka viḷakku oṉṟukku nāḷ oṉ-ṟukku uḷa-
16 kku neyyāka aḷantu Caṉtirātittavarai celut-
17 tak kaṭavarkaḷāka viṭṭatu itu paṉmā-
18 hēśvara ira-
18 kṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-11 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month Kāttikai of the year [15][127] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Rājarājatēvar, Tirukkāḷatti uṭaiyān Ammai Appaṉ *alias* Villa-vatarayaṉ of Niṉṟai in Niṉṟaiyūr-nāṭu in [Kuṉṟa]ttūr-kōṭṭam in Ceyaṅkoṇṭacoḷa-maṇṭalam gifted one *nuntā* (perpetual) lamp and half of a *canti* . . . . to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār.

12-15 . . . . . [Veṭṭa]koṉ Aṇṇāmalai . . . . half, half of a lamp gifted by Tēvakkōn Malaiyan, totalling to one lamp.

15-17 For (*burning*) this lamp, ghee at one *uḻakku* a day was agreed to be measured out by them till the moon and the sun endure.

17-18 This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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142 A.D. 1231

EO. 296-298 III *Prākāra*, Cidambarēśvara shrine, north wall. Badly damaged.

TEXT

1 [Svasti śrī //*] [Tiru]puvaṉaccakka-
ravattikaḷ śrī . . . .
2 . . varkku yāṇṭu 15-vatu . . . . .

126 About A.D. 1228-29.
127 About A.D. 1230-31.

3 .....
4 tuvikaṅka ..... ivar makaṉ Comāṉ -
5 .. kkum .... tti .....
6 . colac Campuvarāyanukku[m] Atti Appanā .
7 . jentiracolac Campuvarāyanu .....
8 . tavane . Campuvarāyanum .... Campuvarāyanu-
9 m [Otuvā]num iṉṉālvom . . . kku kalveṭṭikkuṭut-
10 ta paricāvatu immuvaraiyum ....
11 .....
12 .....
13 . rākavum ivarkaḷu ..... mūvark-
14 kum i ..... ṇā .. ippaṭi
15 .....
16 . rākavum ivarkku ..... ivarkaḷ ...
17 kum orukālamum pilaiyātomāka .... apaya
18 ... tu . num ivan ..... oru
19 kālamum . . . ceyyātomākavum . tu . ttu ...
20 ..... kavum ippaṭi icaintu kaḷveṭṭik kuṭuttom
21 na .... lom ikkal veṭṭinapaṭi pilaittomākil . lla
22 va ... [kurravā]vom pilai kāṭṭumpotu koyililum mu-
23 [vo] . . pa . . tār kaḷveṭṭu [p]pilaittārāvar ....

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) in the 15th year[128] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī .....
3-10 ..... to [Piru]tuvikaṅkar, his son Cōmāṉ ..... cōlac-Campuvarāyaṉ, we four *viz.*, Atti Appan *alias* Rājēntiracōlas-Campuvarāyan, ... c-Campuvarāyan, ... Campuvarāyan, and Ōtuvān gave this record engraved on stone.
10-13 We would not ..... these three persons.
13-16 To them ..... to these three .... we would never do .....
16-19 We would never be disloyal to them . ..... we would never do .....
20-23 Having thus agreed, we have given the record engraved on stone. If we are not loyal as recorded on stone . . .. when the disloyalty is pointed out, in the temple and in .... we would be considered as contraveners of (*the agreement*) recorded on stone.

143

EO. 1740

13th c.

III *Prākāra*, yāgaśālā, floor. **Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 ..... tuvikaṅkaṉ Coman makan tiru . ...
2 ..... uṭaiya nāyaṉārku ennāṭṭu ....
3 ..... ṭu Nilaṉ Tiruttikkuṭiyum Erritiru ....
4 ..... rai celvatāka vitteṉ Tiruva ....
5 ..... itu panmāhēśva ...

TRANSLATION

1 ..... Tiru .... son of [Piru]tuvikaṅkaṉ Cōman

128 About A.D. 1230-31.

2 ..... uṭaiya nāyanār, in my *nāṭu* ...
3 ..... Nīlaṉ Tiruttikkuṭi and Erritiru . ....
4 gifted it ..... Tiruva .....
5 This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

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144 A.D. 1231 ?

EO. 299-303 III *Prākāra*, Cidambarēśvara shrine, north wall. Badly damaged.

TEXT

1 ..... puvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ .....
2 tu Attimallaṉ Ammai Appan nāṉa .... ..
3 .... ḷac-Campuvarāyanukkum Nāyaṉā ....
4 ..... c-Campuvarāyanukkum Ciyaṉāṉa Rājagaṁbhī ...
5 ... varāyanukku . tu ... kkum Appakai ..
6 ... ttāṭuntevanāna Rājakempira Piru[ti*]vikaṅkaṉum eṉ ..
7 .. Cōmāṭānum Miṇṭam Ciyan Aḷakiyāṉa Vikkira[ma]-
8 coḷac-Campuvarāyanum immuvom veṭṭikkuṭutta paricā-
9 vatu innālvaraiyum attakāṇi pirāṇakāṇi ....
10 kili .. tecakāṇi eṉru niṉaiyāto-mākavum ivarkaḷ pakai e-
11 ṅkaḷ pakaiyāvatākavum ivarkaḷuṟavu eṅkaḷuravāvatākavum
12 ivarkaḷ ..... m .....
13 ... ṇā ? malai ... yaṉum [malla]vāṇṭānu ... orukā
14 lamum uṟavu ceyyātomākavum ippaṭi icaintu kalveṭṭi-
15 k kuṭuttom immuvom ikkal veṭṭiṉapaṭi piḷaitto-
16 mākilp paṟaiyanukku . . vom piḷai nāṭumpotu itte-
17 . . . . pam muventar . . ya ventirar kalveṭṭuppiḷaittu
18 ... ra . . kaḷ

TRANSLATION

1 ..... [Tiru]puvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ . ....
2-9 To Attimallaṉ Ammai Appan *alias* ... . ḷac-Campuvarāyan, Nāyaṉā .... c-Campuvarāyan, and Cīyaṉ *alias* Rājagambhī ..... varāyaṉ, ..., we three, viz., Appakai .... Kūttātuntēvan *alias* Rājakempīra Pirutivikaṅkaṉ, my [son] Cōmāṇṭāṉ and Miṇṭan Cīyan Aḷaki *alias* Vikkiramacōḷac-Campuvarāyan gave this record engraved (on stone).
9-11 We would not think of causing harm to the wealth, life, . . . and residence of the above-mentioned four persons. Their enemy would be our enemy ; their friend would be our friend.
12-13 Damaged
13-15 We would never enter into friendship ..... Having thus agreed, we three have given this record engraved on stone.
15-18 If we are not loyal as per the stone record, we would .... to Paṟaiyan. When the disloyalty is preceived .... we would be considered as contraveners of (*the agreement contained*) in the stone record .....

145

13th c.

EO. 64, 82

II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side (outside), (middle portion engraved on the wall, behind the idol of the Subrahmaṇya shrine). Badly damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvaṉaccakra-
vattikaḷ . . . . . [Ā]ṭaiyūr
2 . . vāṟkum . . . . . nal . . . keṅkanum
3 makaṉ . . . . mārum kalveṭṭi . . . . . tai
4 kavum eṅkaḷ pakai ivarkaḷ pakai . . . . . .]
5 . yum ivarkaḷukkup piḻaiyāte . . . . . ve
6 . vviruvom ikkalveṭṭu . . . . . ā
7 . . . kkalaccorrai . . . . . .
8 . . . . . vā . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 Hail! Prosperity ! Tribhuvaṉaccakra-
vattikaḷ . . . . . Āṭaiyūr
2-3 . . . . . keṅkan and . . . . son of . . . . (*gave this record*) engraved on stone . . . . .
4 . . our enemy would be their enemy . . . . .
5 without being disloyal to them . . . . . .
6 We two (*gave this*) recorded on stone . . . . .
7 . . . a *kalam* of *cōṟu* (cooked food).
8 . . . . . .

146

A.D. 1232

EO. 445

II *Prākāra*, Ṛṣi-gōpura, rear platform, south side. Very much damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Rājarāja-
2 tevaṟku [yāṇṭu] [16]
3 vatu Kārtikai . . . . . .
4 . rāki . . . . . .
5 vā . . . . . .
6 tti . . . . . .
7 . . . . . .
8 . ntavaṉ . . . . . .
9 tava . . . . . ttiyi . . . .
10 . . . . rā . . . . . .
11 . ttukum . . . nāyaṉārai [kā]liya . .
12 . raiyaṉeṉ vaitta canti viḷakku
13 oṉṟum āka viḷakku iraṇṭum Ca-
14 ntirātittavarai celuttuvatāka iṉṉā-
15 yaṉār koyil uṭaiya Tiruvaṇ-
16 ṇāmalai paṭṭaṉ [vacam] . . nitacap-paṭi[129]

TRANSLATION

1-11 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) in the year 16[130] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Rājarājatēvar, (the month) of Kārttikai . . . . . .

12-14 and I, ... , gave a *canti* (twilight) lamp totalling to two, which should burn till the moon and the sun endure.

14-16 To this end it is arranged with Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-paṭṭaṉ who has the right (*nilai*) in the temple of this nāyaṉār, that (he should) daily . . . .

129 The rest is missing.
130 About A.D. 1231-32.

147 A.D. 1232

S.I.I., VIII, 74 — II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkara-[va]ttikaḷ śrī-Rājarājateva[r]k[ku yā]ṇṭu 16-āvatu Iṣapa-nāyaṟṟu irupatteṭṭān tiyatiyum Ca[ṉi]k[kiḻamaiyum perṟa Mirukacirişattunāḷ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya

2 nāyaṉār koyil Cimāheśvarak kaṅkāṇi ce[y*]v[ā*]rkaḷum tevarkanmi koyiṟ kaṇakkaṉum Tiruveṇṇainallūruṭaiyān Meykaṇṭatevan Ūruṭaiya(p)perumāḷāṉa Eṭuttatuvaliyave[ḷ]rkku kal veṭṭikkuṭutta paricā-

3 vatu [/*] innāyanār teva(r)tāṉañ Ceṅkuṉṟa-nāṭṭu Māttūrāṉa Irārānallūril ivar veṭṭuvitta Meykaṇṭatevapputterikku kaṭamai yiṟukkumiṭattu tiruttiṉa āṇṭu kuḻi nāḻiyum pāṭikāva(ḷ)luṅ koḷḷakkaṭavatākavum itan e -

4 tirā[mā]ṇṭu kālvaricaiyum pāṭikavalum iṟukka kaṭavatākavu[m*] itan etirāmāṇṭu mutal kāle araikkāl varicaiyum pāṭikāvalum uṭpaṭa vēli eṇpatin kalam iṟukkakkaṭavatākavum ivventalukku ellai aracukku kiḻakku nireṟiṉa

5 nilam tirittip payir ceyyakkaṭavatākā(ka)vu[m*] i[v*]ventalukku puñcainilam araicukku kiḻakku Tirukkovalūr peruvaḻikku vaṭakku i[v*]ventalaic cū[l*]nta nilattile añcu veli taṟai ellaiyāy paṇṭārattukku kaṭamai iṟukka kaṭavatākavum ivventalil

6 tiruttuppaṭṭa nilattile ivvirārānallūril eḻuntaruḷivikki[ṟa] uṭaiyār Me[y*]kaṇṭicura muṭaiyanāyanā[r*][k*]ku pūcaikkum amutupaṭikkum muṉṟil oṉṟu tevatāṉa[m] āvatākavum ivverikku eri[p]paṭṭi maṉṟāṭṭuppaṭṭiyumāka aiññūṟi kuḻi viṭakkaṭavatā[ka]vum ivve[ntal*]

7 tam poruḷittu veṭṭuki[ṟa] nila[m*] ivveriyum nilamuṅ kuṭiniṅkā tevatāṉamāy ivarkku Cantirātittavaraiyum kāṇiyāy viṟṟoṟṟip parikkirakañ cellakkaṭavatākavum [/*] ippaṭi sammatittuk kal veṭṭi[k*] kuṭuttom ivvaṉaivom [1*] itu panmāheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*This is*) the 16th year (*in the reign*) of (*king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Rājarājatēva[r]. On Saturday, the 28th day of the month of Iṣapa with the asterism Mirukacirişam(current)[131] the supervisors of the *Cīmāhēśvaras*, *tēvarkanmi* (servants of the god), and the temple accountant of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār gave this document engraved on stone to Meykaṇṭatēvan Ūruṭaiyapperumāḷ *alias* Eṭuttatuvaliyavēḷār of Tiruveṇṇainallūr.

3 When (*he is*) paying the *kaṭamai* (a tax) in repsect of Meykaṇṭatēvapputtēri which was caused to be dug up by him in Māttūr *alias* Irārānallūr, a *tēvatāṉam* of this god, in Ceṅkuṉṟa-nāṭu, they (the temple people) would get (*from him*) a *nāḻi* (of paddy ?) per *kuḻi* and (*the levy of*) *pāṭikāval* for the year in which the land was brought under cultivation. The next year opposite to this

131 May 22, 1232.

4 he should pay one-fourth of the produce and *pāṭikāval*. And from the year opposite to this he should pay 80 *kalam* (of paddy ?) per *vēli* inclusive of 3/8 of the produce and *pāṭikāval*. He could bring under cultivation and raise crops in the land under

5 water situated to the east of the pipal tree on the border of this *ēntal*. The dry land pertaining to this *ēntal* lies to the east of the pipal tree and to the north of the highway leading to Tirukkōvalūr. He should pay *kaṭamai* to the treasury in respect of 5 *vēli* of land (*conidered*) as boundary land (?) of the land surrounding this *ēntal*.

6 Of the land brought under cultivation in this *ēntal*, 1/3 would become the *tēvatāṉa* to provide for the worship and food offering to the god Meykaṇṭīcuramuṭaiyanāyanār who is caused to be set up in this Irārānallūr. He should set apart 500 *kuḻi* (*of land*) for both *ērippaṭṭi* (tank site) and *maṉṟāṭuppaṭṭi* (grazing ground).

7 This *ēntal* (*consists*) of land dug up by using his money. (*So*), this *ēri* (tank) and land, (*falling under the category of*) *kuṭinīṅkā tēvatāṉam* (i.e., a *tēvatāṉa* land from which the existing tenants are not removed), would become his *kāṇi* till the moon and the sun endure, which could be sold, mortgaged or otherwise disposed of (*by him*). All of us (*the temple people*), having thus agreed, gave this (*document*) engraved on stone. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

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148 A.D. 1234

EO. 304-307 III *Prākāra*, Cidambarēśvara shrine, south wall. Badly damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] [Tiripuvaṉa]lccakka-
ravat . . . . śrī-Rājarājatevaṟku yāṇṭu
2 [1]7-āvatu Miṉa-nāyaṟṟu pūṟuva-
pakṣattu Viyāḻakkiḻamaiyum aṭṭami-
3 yum perṟa . Rocaṇi nāḷ uṭaiyār Tiru-
vaṇṇāmalai yuṭaiya ṉāya-
4 ṉār koyil tāṉa[t*] tom ṉā . . . . . .
5 . . . . Villiyāḻvi makaḷ Paṭaiv . . vaṉāc-
ciyārkku kalveṭṭik kuṭut-
6 ta paricāvatu ivaḷ makaḷ Kaṭam-
pāṇṭaikkum ivaḷ tampi Kettaṉāya[ṉu]-
7 [k]ku naṉṟāka Meyyūrellaiyil . . . .
yark kāṇiyāṉa Paṟaiyaṉ e-
8 ntalum eṉ tambikku uṭalāṉa ? kollai
Marutampaḷḷattukku meṟku po
9 kol . . . . . kāṇiyā . . . . . kku e . .
10 . . . . mum kaikkoṇṭu iveṉtal naṉcai
ṉilattāl vaṉta kaṭamai-
11 yum puṉcai nilattāl vaṉta kaṭamai-
yum erimīn uḻpaṭṭa kācāyaṅ-
12 kaḻum maṟṟuḷḷa āyam antarāyaṅka-
ḻum kaikkoṇṭu Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-
13 yile maṭappuṟamāy Māheśvararai
Caṇṭirāti[t*]tavarai amutu cey
14 [vikka] kaṭavatā . . . . . k kuṭuttom . . .
Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya ṉāyaṉār ko-
15 yilil tāṉa . . . m itu māṟuvāṉ Keṅkai
iṭai Kumari iṭai kurāl pacuk
16 ko[ṉ*]ṟān pāvaṅkoḻvāṉ itu paṉmāhē-
śvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! On Thursday the 8th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Mīna when the asterism

Rōcaṇi was current in the 17th year[132] (*of the reign*) of (*king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rājarājatēvar, we, the *tāṉattār* of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār gave the document to Paṭaiva . . nācciyār, the daughter of Villiyāḻvi.

6-7 For the welfare of her daughter Kaṭampāṇṭai and her younger brother Kēttaṉāyan

7-10 we have taken possession of Paṟaiyaṉ ēntal on the borders of Meyyūr, which was (*her*) *kāṇi* (hereditarily owning right), and ..... to the west of Kollai Marutampaḷḷam which belonged to her younger brother and which was the *kāṇi* of .....

10-12 We would receive the *kaṭamai* accruing from the wet and dry lands of this *ēntal* as well as cash incomes including that derived from *ēri-mīn* (tank fish), besides all other *āyam* and *antarāyam*.

12-15 We, the *tāṉattār* of the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyaṉār, have agreed to feed the *Māhēśvaras* at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai till the moon and the sun endure, by using the above incomes as *maṭappuṟam*.

15-16 One who changes this (gift) would incur the sin of one who has killed a tawny cow on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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149 A.D. 1233-34

EO. 308-309 III *Prākāra*, Cidambarēśvara shrine, south wall. Badly damaged.

TEXT

1 .... vaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ.....
2 yāṇṭu 17-āvatu Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamān [Periyuṭai]-
3 yān Iraiyūraṉāṉa i.....
4 kaiyan Kūttāṭuntevaṉāṉa Irājarājap-[pirutuvi-]
5 kaṅkan.....
6 ..... rākavum ivar pakai en pakai-yāvatā-
7 kavum ivaṉ arttakāṉi pir[ā*]ṉakāṉi teca[kāṉi]...
8 na . niṉaiyātenāgavum ivaṟku viṉai [yuḷṭāṉa..
9 ... yaik kaṭa.....
10 kkāṭṭak kaṭavenākavum ivarum nānum uḷḷataṉai-
11 yum yivaṟkup piḻaiyātenākavum mippaḍikku icai-
12 ntu kalveṭṭikkuṭutten Irājarājappirutivika-
13 ṅkaṉeṉ ikkal veṭṭin ... piḻaittenākil
14 .....
15 [ṭu] ceruppuṅ kalaicappāṉaiyum eṭuttenāveṉ
16 oruvarai oruvar piḻai nāṭumpotu ikkoyilil
17 mmuventirai.....

TRANSLATION

1-5 ..... (*It is*) in the year 17[133] (*of the reign*) of (*king*) [Tiripu]vaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ ..... to Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamān Periyuṭaiyān Iraiyūraṉ *alias* ..... *alias* Irājarājp-pirutuvikaṅkan [gave this record].

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132 About A.D. 1232-33.
133 About A.D. 1232-33.

6-10 His enemy would be my enemy ; I would not think of harming his wealth, life and residence ; if he experienced troubles I would .....

10-13 Till he and I live, I would not be disloyal to him. Having agreed thus, I, Irājarājapirutivikaṅkaṉ, gave this record engraved on stone.

13-15 If I commit disloyalty as per this stone record, I would be considered as having borne the chappals, and the pot of .....

16-17 When mutually one finds fault with the other, we would ..... in the temple.....

150

S.I.I., VIII, 80

A.D. 1233-34

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirupuvanaccakkaravattika[ḷ] śrī-[Rā*]jarājateva[r*]ku yāṇṭu [17] - vatu Ārakaḷūruṭaiya Tempaiyāḷvāṉ Irārātē[va*]ṉ Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉeṉ

2 [u]ṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nā-[ya]ṉārkkut tirumaṭappaḷḷippuṟamāka Nāyanār Poṉparappiṉaperuma(ḷ)ḷukku naṉṟāka Poṉparappiṉa-perumāḷ ca-

3 ntik[ku]m Eṭuttutūrvalapperumāḷ tirunāḷaikkum muṭalāka viṭṭa Rācarāja(ja)-vaḷanāṭṭu Vāṇakoppāṭi Peṇ-[ṇai] tenkarai [M]e[y*]kuṉṟāṉāṭṭu Kūvaṉūr nā-

4 ṟpā[le]llaik[ku]ḷḷu[m*] ental tāṅkal u[ḷ]-paṭṭa naṉcai nilamum menokkina maramuṅ kiḻnokkina kiṇaṟun taṟiyiṟai taṭṭārp[ā]ṭṭam āḷamañci yeṟc[o]ṟu

5 kuṟṟataṇṭam paṭṭitaṇṭamum maṟṟum epperpaṭṭa pallāyaṅ[ka]ḷu(ḷaru)m uṭapaṭa uṭaiya nā[yanā*]ṟku tevatāṉamāka Cantirātittavarai celvatāka viṭṭeṉ

6 Vāṇakovaraiyaṉeṉ [/*] māṟuvāṉ civatu[ro]kiyumāy movāy pukku mulai yeḻuntāṉumā yoruvaṉukkum yoruttikkum piṟaṇtāṉu mallātānāy kōmāṅ-

7 kicattai
puji[p*]pāṉumāy Kaṅkaiyiṭai Kumariyiṭai kurālpacu koṉṟāṉ pāvam koḷvāṉ [/*] itu paṉmāheśvara yirakṣai : //

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*This is*) the 17th year[134] (*in the reign*) of (*king*) Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (the emperor over the three worlds), śrī-Rājarājatēvar.

1-3 I, Tempaiyāḷvāṉ Irārātēvaṉ Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ of Ārakaḷūr gave the land (*detailed below*) as *tirumaṭaippaḷḷippuṟam* (land to meet the kitchen expenses), to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār to provide for the service called Poṉparappiṉaperumāḷ-canti instituted for the welfare of Poṉparappiṉaperumāḷ and for the festival called Eṭuttutūrvalapperumāḷ.

3-5 (*The gift was of*) the wet land including *ēntal* and *taṅkal* within the four boundaries of Kūvaṉūr in Meykuṉṟā-nāṭu on the southern bank of the Peṇṇai in Vāṇakōppāṭi in Rācarāja-vaḷanāṭu, together with the upfacing trees and down-facing wells,

134 About A.D. 1232-33.

the (*levies like*) *taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭār-pāṭṭam* (tax on goldsmith), *āḷamañci, yēṟcōṟu, kuṟṟuṭṭeṇṭam, paṭṭiteṇṭam,* and with all other kinds of revenue.

5-6 I, Vāṇakōvarayaṉ, gifted (*this*) as *tēvatāṉam* to the god (*to last*) till the moon and the sun endure.

6-7 One who changed (*this gift*) would be (*considered*) a traitor to Śiva, a *mō-vāy pukku mulai eḻuntāṉ,* as one who is not born to a single man and a single woman, as one who eats beef and as one incurring the sin of one who killed a tawny cow on the Gāṅgā and at Kumari.

7 This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhē-śvaras.*

151

A.D. 1234

S.I.I., VIII, 84

II *Prākāra,* north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirupuvaṉaccakkara-
vattikaḷ śrī-Irāja irājatevaṟku yāṇṭu
18-āvatu Kāttikai - mātam piṟanta
patiṉēḻāṉ tiyati[y]āṉa Nāyaṟṟukkiḻa-
maiyum Revatiyum daśamiyum perṟa
2 iṉṟu Ceṉṉa(t)tikkāṉaiyāṉa Yātava-
rāyar mutalikaḷil Niṉṟaiyil Kuḷattuḷāṉ
Tirukkāḷattiuṭaiyāṉāṉa [Vi]llavarāyar
makaḷār Yacciyapāṭiyil Kaliccittaṉ
Tiruvēkampamuṭaiy-
3 ārkkup pukka Komaḷavalliyeṉ uṭai-
yār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāya-
nā[r*]kku vaitta tirununtāviḷakku oṉ-
ṟukku viṭṭa cāvā mūvā vāṭu nūṟu
i[v]vāṭu nūṟuṉ tiruviḷakkumaṉṟāṭiva-
4 cam viṭṭuc Cantirātittavarai celva-
tāka viṭṭeṉ Komalavalliyeṉ [/*] itu
paṉmāheśvara rakṣai // - piṉpu viṭṭa
āṭu irupatum āka āṭu nūṟṟu irupatu
ivvāṭu Koṭantai ma-
5 rumakaṉ Naṅkaikoṉvacam viṭṭatu // -

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 18th year (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tirupu-vaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Irāja irājatēvar. On Sunday, the 17th day in the month of Kāttikai with Rēvati and 10th lunar day (*daśamī*)[135] were current of this year, I, Kōmaḷavalli, the wife of Kaliccittaṉ Tiruvēkam-pamuṭaiyār of Yacciyapāṭi, and the daughter of Niṉṟaiyil Kuḷattuḷāṉ Tirukkāḷatti uṭaiyāṉ *alias* Villava-rāyar, one of the *mutalis* of Ceṉṉa-tikkāṉai *alias* Yātavarāyar, endowed on this day a *nuntā-viḷakku* to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, and gave for this, 100 never-dying and never-ageing sheep. I, Kōma-ḷavalli, entrusted this 100 sheep to the shepherd (*who undertook to provide for the holy lamp*), to last till the moon and the sun endure. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.* Subsequently twenty sheep were given. Therefore, the (*total number of*) sheep was 120. These sheep were entrusted to Naṅkaikōṉ, the nephew of Koṭantai.

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135 November 13, 1233. On this date, however, the *daśamī tithi* lasted upto .12, and the *nakṣatra* Rēvatī commenced after .11 part of the day.

152

A.D. 1234

S.I.I., VIII, 105

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Tiripuvaṉacakkaravarttikaḷ śrī-Irā-
carācatēvaṟku yāṇṭu 18 - āvatu
Vaikācimāta[t]til Maṇañcerik Kuṭaic-
ciyār Tēvāṉṟāḷ makan [Ti]-

2 ruppaṭic Ceyapālaṉ Toṇṭaṉ Tiruve-
ṭuttuk[ka]ṭṭi aḻivu corattanta kācu
[pa]tiṉāyiram // -

TRANSLATION

1-2 (*It is*) the 18th year[136] (*of the reign*) of (*king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Irācarācatēvar. In the month of Vaikāci, the devotee Tiruppaṭi Ceyapālaṉ, the son of Tēvāṉṟāḷ of Maṇañcēri gave 10,000 *kācu* (a variety of coin) to make good the loss due to the ruination of the *Tiruveṭuttukkaṭṭi* (platform lining the wall).

153

A.D. 1235

S.I.I.,VIII, 142

Kiḻi-gōpura, south wall, west side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] [Tiri]puvaṉaccakkara-
vat[ti]kaḷ Irājarājate-

2 vaṟku yāṇṭu 1[9] - vatu [Vi]racōḻaṉ
At[ti]mallaṉ Campuvarāyanāyaṉāṉa
Etirili-

3 cōḻac Campuvarāyaṉeṉ uṭaiyār Tiru-
vaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkkuc
Can-

4 tirātitta varai celvatāka tirununtāvi-
ḷakku oṉṟukku viṭṭa pacu muppatti-

5 raṇṭum iṣapam oṉṟum viṭṭeṉ [/*] itu
paṉmāheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 19[137] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) Irājarājatēvar. I, Vīracōḻaṉ Attimallaṉ Campuvarāyanāyaṉ *alias* Etirilicōḻac Campuvarāyaṉ gave 32 cows and one bull for a *nuntā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) to last till the moon and the sun endure, to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyā nāyanār. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

154

A.D. 1236

EO. 135-136

II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Left end built in. Very badly damaged.

TEXT

1 . . . . . ttikaḷ śrī-Rājarājatevarkku

2 yāṇṭu [20]-vatu . . . . . .
. . . . . ṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkku

136 About A.D. 1233-34.
137 About A.D. 1234-35.

tiruvottacāmattil .....

3 ..... nṟum iṣapamiraṇṭum veḷḷi . [.]-ṇṭam onṟiṉāl āl veḷḷi . . . unā nūr .....

TRANSLATION

1 ..... (*It is*) in the year 20[138] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) śrī-Rājarājatēvar.

2 During the *tiruvottacāma* (*ardhajāma*) service of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyā nāyanār .....

3 ..... two bulls one . . ṇṭam in silver . . . .

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155 A.D. 1236

S.I.I.,VIII, 83 II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rājarājateva[ṟ*]kku yāṇṭu 20-āvatu Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār koyil Śrīmāheśvara kaṇkāṇiceyvārun tāṉattarun tevakaṉmikaḷ koyil kaṇakkarum Arumuḷaikiḻāṉ Cittāṇṭaikkum Viṭuruṭai-

2 yān Pirāṭṭiyāḷvān Malaiki[ṉi*]yaninṟān Arintavan Pallavaraiya[ṟ*]kkum Catācivatevar Aruṇakirikkaṉparkkum Putuvūruṭaiyān Koṇṭi Tirunāṉacampantave[ḷā*]rkum ivū[r*]k kāṇi-[yu]ṭaiya Tiruvāmpūr Savanan I[ḷai-yāḷvi Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[p*]perumāḷukkum Veṭcikiḻāṉ Peruṅkan Atireka-

3 tirave[ḷā*]rkkum Miṭṭāṉ Miṉavan-Pallavaraiya[r*]kkum tevaraṭiyāḷ Tiruvampalampiriyāta-piḷḷaiyāṟkum kalveṭṭikkuṭutta paricāvatu [/*] Aruṅkuṉraṅkiḻāṉ Nāṟpatteṇṇāyirapiḷḷaiyum ivar tamakkai Maṅkaiya[r]kkaraciyārun taṅkaḷ poruḷiṭṭu Āṇṇānāṭṭu ellaiyil Tiruntikaiyāṟṟai aṭaittu eriyum

4 mveṭṭi tūmpum iṭṭu Cimāheśvara-nallūreṉṟu pe[rumiḷṭṭu ci[ṟitu] nilamun tiruttukaiyaley itukku ellaikaḷum viṭṭu kal veṭṭikkuṭuttu potukaccey Maṅkaiya[r*]kkaraciyārum marittu Nāṟpatteṇṇāyirappiḷḷaiyum taḷantu ivveriyum pala iṭankaḷilum uṭaintu ārum uṭaiñcu kaḷaṉiyum kā-

5 ṭeḻuntu neṭunāḷ pāḷkiṭakka tammāl ceyarpaṭāma[l ta]m marumakan K[āṅ]-kaiyar makaḷ Toṇṭaimānācciyār iveri maṭaikaḷum ārum aṭaittu kaliṅkum iṭakkaṭava[ḷā]ka iraṇṭāvatu nāḷile kal veṭṭikkuṭukka ivaḷum pattonpatāvatuvaraiyum iveri maṭaikaḷum aṭaippiyāte kaliṅkum iṭāte

6 pāḷkiṭak[k]aiyāle Nāṟpatteṇṇāyira[p]-piḷḷai mak[ka]ḷ Kuṉṟan Pallavarāyaṉum Kampan Nāṟpatteṇṇāyirapiḷḷaiyum u]ḷiṭṭār eṅkaḷāl ārum aṭaittu eriyil maṭaikaḷum aṭaittu kaliṅkum iṭa muṭiyātu nīṅkaḷ uṅkaḷ poruḷiṭṭu ivveri maṭaikaḷum ārum aṭaittu kaliṅkum iṭṭu nāṅka-

7 ḷ munpu ceytatukku ellai kollai kāṭu ka[ḷa]ni mūṉṟil o[ṉṟu eṅ]kaḷukku viṭṭu irukūṟu niṅkaḷ aṉupokiyuṅko ḷeṉṟu iva[r]kaḷukku ivarkaḷ eḷuti eḻuttiṭṭukkuṭukkaiyāley iva[r*]kaḷ irukūṟṟil Arumuḷaikiḻāṉ Nampi Cittāṇṭaikku irukūṟum Viṭuruṭaiyān Pirāṭṭiyāḷvān Malaikiniyaninṟān Arintavan-pa

8 llavaraiya[r*]kku irukūṟum Catācivatevar Aruṇakirianpa[r*][k]ku orukūṟum Putuvūr uṭaiyān Koṇṭi Tirunānacampanta veḷāṉukku orukūṟum Tiruvāymūr Sa[va]na[n] I[ḷai]yāḷvi

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138 About A.D. 1235-36.

Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[p]perumāḷukku orukūṟum Veṭcikiḻān Peruṅkan Atirekatiraveḷ[ā]rkku orukūṟum Miṭṭān Minavan pallavaraiyar-

9 ku orukūṟum tevara[ṭi]yāḷ Tiruvampalampiriyātapiḷḷaiyārku orukūṟum āka pattukkūṟāka niṟpākaḷākavum [/*] ivvūrkku ellai Malaippānpāṭikku poṉa valikku vaṭakku Tiruntikai ārṟukkumeṟkum Tiruntikaikku teṟkum melpāṟkellai munpu veṭṭiṉa ācāriyan kal

10 aṭukkai cera veṭṭina tiruccūlakkallukkum itukku vaṭakku kuttukkallil veṭṭiṉa tiruccūlattukkum itukku vaṭakkum Paṭṭental tenkaṭaiyil pāṟaiyil veṭṭiṉa tiruccūlattukkum kiḻakkum [/*] inta nāṟpāṟkellaik kuḷpaṭṭa naṉcai puṉcai kaṭamai ko-

11 ḷḷum iṭattu tiruttina āṇṭu pāṭikāval koḷḷakkaṭavatākavum itan etirāmāṇṭu kuḷi nāḷiyum pāṭikāva(l)lum ko[ḷ]lakkaṭavatākavum itaṟku etirām āṇṭumutal ellā āṇṭum veli aṟupatinkala nellum pātikāvalum koḷḷakka[ṭa]vatākavum tāḷmāṟi kārukku

12 pacāṉattukku onṟumukkāl koḷḷakkaṭavatākavum varakukku kāril onṟumukkāl koḷḷakkaṭavatākavum tiṉaikkum keḻvarakukkum varakukku onṟumukkāl koḷḷakkaṭavatākavum eḻlukku veli[kku] aṟukalane irutūṇi koḷḷakkaṭavatākavum puṉcai nilattukku oṭṭu[p]-

13 paṭi patiṉaiṅkala varakum muṉṉūṟu kācum koḷḷakkaṭavatākavum eripaṭṭi manṟāṭṭuppaṭṭi viṭu[miḷ]ttu muppatiṟṟu veli taṟai tirutta eripaṭṭi iraṇṭu veliyum manṟāṭṭuppaṭṭi oruveliyum viṭakkaṭavatākavu[m] itu viṭum iṭattu tiruttina nilaviḻukkāṭṭi -

14 le viṭakkaṭavatākavum ippaṭi ivarkaḷukkuk kuṭiniṅkāṭ tevatānamāy viṟṟorṟip parikkirakañ celvatākavum ā]amañcitevai koḷḷakkaṭavatallavākavum erimin i[v*]veriyile kuḻi veṭṭakkaṭavatākavum ippaṭi cammatittuk kal veṭṭikkuṭuttom Tiruvaṇṇā-

15 malaiuṭaiya nāyanār koyilt tānattom [/*] itu panmāhēśvara rakṣai : -

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*This is*) the 20th year[139] (*in the reign*) of (*king*) Tirupuvaṇaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor of the three worlds) śrī-Rājarājatēvar. The supervisors of the *Srī-Māhēśvaras*, the *tāṉattār*, the *tēvakaṉmis* [and] the temple-accountant (*kōyilkaṇakkar*) of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyā nāyaṉār, gave this document engraved on stone to the persons named Arumuḷaikiḻāṉ Cittāṇṭai, Pirāṭṭiyāḻvān Malaikiniyaniṉrān, Arintavan-Pallavaraiyar of Viṭūr, Catācivatēvar Aruṇakirikkanpar, Koṇṭi Tirunāṉacampanta-vēḷār of Putuvūr, Savanan Iḷaiyāḻvi Tiruvaṇṇāmalaip-perumāḷ of Tiruvāmpūr who has property in this village, Vēṭcikiḻān Peruṅkan Atirēkatīravēḷār, Miṭṭān Mīṉavan-Pallavaraiyar and the *tēvaraṭiyāḷ* Tiruvampalampiriyāta-piḷḷaiyār.

3-4 Aruṅkunṟaṅkiḻān Nāṟpatteṇṇāyirapiḷḷai and his elder sister Maṅkaiyarkkariciyār, by investing their money, brought under cultivation an area on the border of Aṇṇā-nāṭu, after bunding the Tiruntikai river, digging up a tank, and providing a chute and naming it as Ćināhēśvaranallūr began to level up some land and demarcated it with boundaries and ultimately gifted it away with a record engraved stone.

4-5 (*In the meantime*) Maṅkaiyarkkarciyār died, and Nāṟpatteṇṇāyirapiḷḷai became weak. So, this tank breached

139 About. A.D 1235-36.

in several places, the river (bund) was breached, and shrubs grew up in the fields, and so the land was in ruins for a long time. Being unable to do anything in the matter, he (i.e., Nāṟpatteṇṇāyirapiḷḷai) required, under a document engraved on stone on the 2nd day (2nd year of the king ?) his nephew Kāṅkaiyar's daughter Toṇṭaimānācciyār to close the breaches in the water-courses, the tank and the river and to provide a sluice.

5-7 She too did not close the breaches in the water-courses of the tank and provide a sluice till the 19th year, and so (*they*) remained in a ruined condition. At that time Kuṉṟan-Pallavarāyaṉ and Kampan Nāṟpatteṇṇāyirapiḷḷai, the sons of Nāṟpatteṇṇāyirapiḷḷai said to the (*the above-mentioned people*) : "It is not possible for us to bund the river, close the breaches of the water-courses in the tank and provide the sluice. You can close the water-courses of the tank and bund the river as well as provide the sluice by using your money. You could give one third of the demarcated land, garden, jungle and fields which we had brought under use earlier, and enjoy the remaining two-thirds". Thus saying they had given a document to them in writing.

7-9 Their two shares (*were further divided and allotted amongst themselves*) in the following manner : two shares for Arumuḷaikiḻān Nampi Cittāṇṭai, two shares for Pirāṭṭiyāḷvān Malaikiniyaninṟān Arintavan-Pallavaraiyar of Viṭūr, one share for Catācivatēvar Aruṇakiri-anpar, one share for Koṇṭi Tirunānacampantavēḷān of Putuvūr, one share for Savanan Iḷaiyāḻvi Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ of Tiruvāymūr, one share for Vēṭcikiḻān Peruṅkan Atirēkatīravēḷār, one share for Miṭṭān Mīnavan-Pallavaraiyar, and one share for *tēvaraṭiyāḷ* Tiruvampalampiriyā[ta]-piḷḷaiyār. They, therefore, became the ten share-holders.

9-10 The boundary for this village is that it lies to the north of the road leading to Malaippānpāṭi, to the west of the Tiruntikai river, to the south of Tiruntikai ; the western boundary is that it lies to the east of the trident (*tricūla*) cut on the rock on the south of Paṭṭēntal which is on the north of the trident cut on the standing stone slab which is on the north of the trident cut closely on the layer of stone of the *ācāriyan* (teacher) which was cut previously.

10-14 When the *kaṭamai* for the wet and dry land within these four boundaries is being received, *pāṭikāval* could be received for the year when the land is first brought under cultivation. In the year opposite to this one *nāḻi* (of paddy ?) *per kuḻi* (*of land*) and *pāṭikāval* could be received. From the year opposite to this (i.e., from the third year), and for the years thereafter, 60 *kalam* of paddy and *pāṭikāval* could be received. 3/4 of the yield of the short-term crops raised as recropping during the long-term crop period, could be received. 3/4 of the short-term yield of (*varaku* = a millet) could be received. 3/4 of what is given for (*varaku*) could be received for *tiṉai* and *kēḻvaraku*. 6 *kalam* and two *tūṇi* of sesame per *vēḷi* could be received. 15 *kalam* of *varaku* and 300 *kācu* could be received for the dry-land as per agreement ? (*oṭṭu*). When the question of allotting lands for *ērippaṭṭi* (tank site) and *maṉṟāṭṭuppaṭṭi* (grazing ground) comes, two

vēli as *ērippaṭṭi* and one *vēli* as *maṉ-rāṭṭuppaṭṭi* should be set apart for every 30 *vēli* of land brought under cultivation. These lands should be allotted from the cultivable land.

14-15 Thus this village would be theirs under the category of *kuṭinīṅkā tē-vatānam* (land gifted to god from where the tenants are not evicted), with the right to sell, mortgage or to dispose of in any other manner. They cannot have the facilities of *āḷa-mañci*. The fish-yield from the tank should be used for digging up in the tank. We, the *tāṉattār* of the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, having agreed as above, gave this document engraved on stone. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

156

A.D. 1237

S.I.I.,VIII, 91

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirupuvanaccakkira-vattikaḷ Rājarājate[va]r̲ku yāṇṭu 2[1]-vatu Rājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭu Tirumuṇai-[p]pāṭit Tiruve-

2 ṇṇainallūr-nāṭṭup [Pi]ramat[e]cam Ti-ruveṇṇainallūr uṭaiyār Āṭkoṇṭatevar koyil Kaik-

3 koḷaril Aṟamuṭaiyāḷ makaṉ̲ [Ti]ruma-laiyaḷakiyāṉāṉa Vira-Virappallava-raiyaṉe̲ṉ uṭaiyār Tiru[va]ṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nā-

4 yaṉār̲kut tirununtā viḷakku on̲rukkuc Cantirātittavarai celvatāka [viḷṭa pacu 32 iṣapam 1 [/*] iviḷak keri[ya] iṭṭa kuttu-

5 viḷakku 1 [/*] itu pa[ṉ*]māheśvara irakṣai //

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 21st year[140] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tirupuvanaccakkiravattikaḷ (emperor of the three worlds) Rājarājatēvar. I, Tirumalaiyaḷakiyāṉ̲ *alias* Vīra-Vīrppallavaraiyaṉ̲, the son of Aṟamuṭaiyāḷ of the Kaikkōḷa community, belonging to the temple of the god Āṭkoṇṭatēvar of Piramatēcam Tiruveṇṇainallūr in Tiruveṇṇainallūr-nāṭu of Tirumuṇaippāṭi in Rājarāja-vaḷanāṭu gave 32 cows and one bull for burning one *nuntā* lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṇār, to last till the moon and the sun endure. A standing lamp was given for this purpose. This is protected by the *Paṉ̲-Māhēśvaras*.

157

A.D. 1239

EO. 451 A

II *Prākāra*, Ṛṣi-gōpura, entry-way, north wall. Very badly damaged and Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkara-

2 vattikaḷ Rājarāja-tevarkku 23-vatu ..... makaṉ̲

140 About A.D. 1236-37.

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 23rd year[140A] (*in the reign*) of (*the king*) of Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Rājarājatēvar ..... son .....

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158 A.D. 1240

S.I.I.,VIII, 87 — II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirupuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rājarājatēvaṟku yāṇṭu 24-vatu Kiḻiyūruṭaiyāṉ Ākāracūraṉ Tiruvaṇṇāma-

2 laipperumāḷāṉa Irācakempīrac Cetiyarāyaṉeṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉāṟkut

3 tirumaṭaippaḷḷi[p]puṟamāka viṭṭa eṉṉāṭṭil Peṇṇai vaṭakaraikku Koṭiyāṉa Coḻaneṟkappiṟantāṉ-

4 nallūr nāṟpālkellaikku uḷpaṭṭa naṉcai puṉcai nilamum taṟiyiṟai taṭṭārppāṭṭamum marrum epperpaṭṭa pallāyaṅka-

5 ḷum uḷpaṭa tevatāṉamākac Cantirātittavarai viṭṭeṉ Rājagambhīrac Cetiyarāyaneṉ [/*] itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai [//]

6 [141] Dṛipyad-vairi-viḷāsinī-stana-taṭī-vinyasta-patrāṁkura-śrēṇī-bhaṁga-gabhīrādōs-samudayaś = Śōṇā[dri]-

7 nāthāhvaya[ḥ*] [/*] Cēdīśa[ḥ*] Paravīrasiṁha-tanaya[ḥ*] Śōṇācalādhyāsinē Cōḻādhīśvara-vācyajātanṛipati-grāman = dadau Śaṁbhavē [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 24[142] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tirupuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Rājarājatēvar. I, Ākārācūraṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ of Kiḻiyūr *alias* Irācakempīrac Cētiyarāyaṉ, donated Kōṭi *alias* Cōḻaṉēṟkappiṟāntāṉ - nallūr on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai in my *nāṭu* as *maṭaippaḷḷipuṟam* (i.e., land to provide for the kitchen,) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār.

4-5 I, Rājagambhīrac Cētiyarāyan gave the wet and dry lands within the four boundaries of the village, and the weaving tax, tax on goldsmith and all other incomes as *tēvatāṉam* till the moon and the sun endure. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

5-7 Cēdīśa also called Śōṇādrinātha, the son of Paravīrasiṁha, whose arms are capable of breaking the series of shoots spread on the dripping bosom part of the beloved women of the enemies ; gave the village named Cōḻādhīśvaravācyajātanṛipatigrāma (i.e., Cōḻaṉērkappirantāṉ-nallūr), to Śaṁbhu who resided on the Śōṇācala.

140A About A.D. 1238-39.

141 The text in lines 6 and 7 is in Grantha script and in Sanskrit language

142 About A.D. 1239-40.

159

A.D. 1241

S.I.I., VIII, 92

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rājarājatevaṟku yāṇṭu 25-vatu Malai-maṇṭalattu

2 Kuḷamukku-nakarattu Eṟanampiceṭṭiyeṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiuṭaiya nāya-

3 ṉāṟkut tirununtā-viḷakku 1 - kku viṭṭa pacu 32 iṣapam 1 [/*] itu paṉmāhēśvara rakṣai : // -

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 25th year[143] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Rājarājatēvar. I, Eṟanampi-ceṭṭi of Kuḷamukku-nakaram in Malai-maṇṭalam (i.e., Kēraḷa) gave 32 cows and one bull for burning a *nuntā* lamp in the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

160

A.D. 1241

EO. 33 (8)

II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rājarājatevaṟku yāṇṭu 25-āvatu Ceṅkeṇi Kaṇṇuṭaip Pe-

2 rumāḷ Aḷakiya Pallavaṉāṉa Vikkiramacōḷa Campuvarāyaṉeṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyu-

3 ṭaiya nāyaṉāṟku Aḷakiya Pallavaṉ [caṉ]tikku amutupaṭi āka viṭṭa Jayaṅkoṇṭacoḷamaṇṭalattu

4 palkuṉṟak-koṭṭattu Uttamacoḷa-vaḷanāṭṭuk Koṭṭappūṇṭi nāṟpālellaikkuḷ [ḷi]-

5 [ṭṭa] ental tāṅkal uḷpaṭa naṉcai puṉcai nilattil uḷḷūrt tevarkaḷ tevatāṉa-

6 mum paṭṭaviruttiyum nikki nikki niṉṟa nilamum āyamantarāyan taṟi iṟai taṭṭārppāṭṭam

7 āḷamaṅci eṟcoṟu kuṟṟaṭteṇṭam paṭṭitteṇṭam veṭṭi taṉiyāḷ poṉvari eri-

miṉu-

8 ḷḷiṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷumuḷpaṭa uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiy uṭaiya nāyaṉārku tevatāṉamākac Cantirātittavarai celva-

9 tāka viṭṭuk kalveṭṭi koṭutteṉ Aḷakiya Pallavaṉāṉa Vikkiramacoḷac Campuvarāyaṉeṉ ivvūr na . . vaṅśattilu

10 ..... māṟuvāṉ Keṅkai iṭai Kumari iṭai kurāl pacukkoṉṟāṉ pāvaṅkoḷvāṉ [//*].....

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 25th year[144] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rājarājadēvar. I, Ceṅkēṇi Kaṇṇuṭaip Perumāḷ Aḷakiya Pallavaṉ *alias* Vikkiramacōḷa Campuvarāyaṉ donated (*the following village*) to the god

143 About A.D. 1240-41.

144 About A.D. 1240-41.

Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār, for food offering at the service of Aḷakiya Pallavaṉ *canti*.

3-4 (*The village was*) Kōṭṭappūṇṭi in Uttamacōḷa-vaḷanāṭu in Palkuṉṟakkōṭṭam in Jayaṅkoṇṭacōḷa-maṇṭalam.

4-9 (*It*) included the *ēntal* and *tāṅkal* (*attached to it*), wet and dry lands within its four boundaries excepting the *tēvatāṉa* lands belonging to the local deities and the *paṭṭavirutti* (lands belonging to the Brāhmaṇas). Besides this (*gift*) land, various incomes including *āyam, antarāyam, taṭṭārppāṭṭam, āḷamañci* (unpaid labourer), *ēṟcōṟu, kuṟṟateṇṭam, paṭṭittenṭṭam, veṭṭi* (a tax), *taṇiyāḷ, poṉvari*, and *ērimīṉ* were gifted to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉar. I, Aḷakiya Pallavaṉ *alias* Vikkiramacōḷac Campuvarāyaṉ gave this to last till the moon and the sun endure by engraving the record on stone.

9-10 In case, I or my family ..... changed (*the gift of*) this village, (I or he) would reap the sin of one who killed a *tawny* cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā and at Kumari .....

161

A.D. 1242

S.I.I., VIII, 96

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rājarājatevaṟku [yā]ṇṭu 26 - vatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-

2 uṭaiya nāyaṉār koyil Ciuruttira Cimāhecurarum Cimāhecurak kaṇkāṇi ceyvārum tāṉapatimāhe-

3 curarum tevakaṉmikaḷuṅ koyiṟkaṇakkarum Tiyākacamuttirappaṭṭai Cittamaracar Tikkāṉaipperumāḷukku

4 kal veṭṭikkuṭutta paricāvatu [/*] Aṇṇānāṭṭil Kalamuḷārpūṇṭi eri etir-vāyil it - Tikkāṉaipperumāḷ kāṇiyā-

5 kac Caṇṭecurapperuvilaiyākak koṇṭu eri veṭṭiṉa Tikkāṉaipperumāḷnallūṟku kaṭamai koḷḷumiṭattu tiru-

6 ttiṉa vāṇṭu kuḷi nāḷi koḷḷakkaṭavatākavum itaṉ piṟṟai yāṇṭu kuḷi nāḷiyum pāṭikāvalum koḷḷakkaṭavatāka-

7 vum itaṉ piṟṟaiyāṇṭu mutal ellāvāṇṭum pāṭikāvaluṭpaṭa nūṟukuḷikku

8 [ṭa]vatākavum kārceyta nilattukku nūrukuḷikku mukkala nelluk koḷḷakkaṭavatākavum variyantarāyam koḷḷakkaṭavatallavāka-

9 vum iṉṉilattāluḷḷa kaṭamai uṭaiyāṟku tirumeṟpūccuk kuṭalāvitākavum iverikkut teṟkum vaṭakkum irupatiṉkala varaku-

10 vitai ivaṟku kāṇiyākap puṉcai nilamum viṭṭu ippaṭikku kal veṭṭikkuṭuttom ivvaṉaivom [/*] itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 26th[145] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Rājarājatēvar. The Cī-Uruttira-Cī-Māhecuras, the supervisors of the

145 About A.D. 1240-41.

Māhēcuras, the Māhēcuras who are the *tāṉapati* (*sthānapatis*), the temple servants, and the temple-accountant of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār gave this document inscribed on stone to Tiyākacamuttirappaṭṭai Cittamaracar Tikkāṉaipperumāḷ.

4-5 This Tikkāṉaipperumāḷ, by paying money to the temple, bought as *kāṇi*, some land at the mouth of the tank at Kaḷamuḷārpūṇṭi in Aṇṇā-nāṭu and this land was converted into a village called Tikkaṉaipperumāḷ-nallūr, after digging up of a (tank).

5-10 Regarding the receiving of the *kaṭamai* tax (*for this land*), during the year (*when it was*) first brought under plough, a *nāḷi* (*of paddy*) per *kuḷi* should be taken ; in the next year a *nāḷi* (of *paddy*) per *kuḷi* and *pāṭikāval* should be taken and from the year after this and for all the years (*thereafter*) 3 *kalam* and *tūṇippatakku* of paddy, together with *pāṭikāval*, per 100 *kuḷi* should be taken ; and for the land where the second crop was raised, 3 *kalam* of paddy per 100 *kuḷi* should be taken, but no taxes and levies should be taken. The *kaṭamai* revenue from this land is set apart for (*the offering of material*) for the smearing of the body of the god. (*Besides*),on the north and south of this tank (*i.e.*, the village) an area of dry-land (*which can take*) 20 *kalam* of *varaku* as seeds was given to him, as his *kāṇi* (property). We, all the temple servants (*mentioned above*), accordingly gave (*the document*) inscribed on stone. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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162 A.D. 1245

S.I.I., VIII, 152 **Kiḻi-gōpura, south wall, west side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Ti-
2 ripuvanaccakka-
3 ravattikaḷ śrī-
4 Irājarāja-
5 tevarkku yā-
6 ṇṭu 2[9] - ā-
7 vatu Nallū[r]-n-
8 āṭṭu(nāṭṭu) Nāya(Nāya)nār Kaṇṭakopālar peraṭaikaḷil Kollai
9 Iruceyan uṭaiy[ār*] Tiruvaṇṇāmalai yuṭaiya nāyanārkku tirunun-
10 tā viḷakku kālukku viṭṭa cāvā mūvāp perāṭu 24 [/*] itu panmāheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-10 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*In*) the year 2[9][146] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Irājarājatēvar, Kollai Iruceyan, one of the *peraṭaikaḷ* (servants ?) of Nāyanār Kaṇṭakōpālar of Nallūr-nāṭu gave 1/4 of a *nuntā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār and for this he endowed 24 never-dying and never-ageing sheep. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

146 About A.D. 1244-45.

163

A.D. 1245

S.I.I., VIII, 85

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Savasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rājarājatevaṟku yāṇṭu 30-vatu [Ti]yākacamuttirappaṭṭai Cittamaracar Tik-

2 kāṉaipperumāḷāṉa Tirukkāḷattitevaṉeṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāyaṉāṟkut tirumaṭaippaḷ-

3 ḷippuṟamākavum Calamikkakaṇṭan cantik kuṭalākavum viṭṭa Rācarācavaḷanāṭṭu Vāṇakoppāṭip Peṇṇait teṉkarai

4 Meykuṉṟānāṭṭuc Ciṟṟāmūr nāṟpālellaik kuḷḷu[m] ental tāṅka luḷpaṭṭa naṉcai puṉcai nilattil uḷḷūrt tēvar-

5 kaḷ tevatāṉa iṟaiyiliyāy varukiṟa nilam nikki nikki niṉṟa naṉcai puṉcai nilam ivvāṇṭai Āṭimātamutal

6 āya mantarāyan taṟiyiṟai taṭṭārppāṭṭam āḷamañ[ci] eṟcoṟu kuṟṟattaṇṭam paṭṭittaṇṭam māvaṭai maravaṭai veṭṭi taṉi[yāḷ]-

7 ḷ erimiṉ maṟṟum epperppaṭṭa pala āyaṅkaḷumuṭpaṭac Cantirātittavarai celvatāka viṭṭeṉ Cittamaracaṉ Tirukkāḷattitevaṉeṉ

8 ivvūr māṟuvāṉ civatturo[ki]yumāy kōmāṅsattait tiṉṟāṉumāy Keṅkaiyiṭai Kumariyiṭai kurālpacuk koṉṟāṉ

9 pāvaṅ koḷvāṉ [/*] itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai ☙ iccantikkuc cel pālamutukku nāḷ oṉṟukkuk kuṟuṇi irunāḷi pāl

10 aḷappatāka viṭṭa pacu 32 iṣapam 1 [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 30th year[147] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor of the three worlds) śrī-Rājarājatēvar. Tiyākacamuttirappaṭṭai Cittamaracar Tikkāṉaipperumāḷ *alias* Tirukkāḷattitēvaṉ gifted Ciṟṟāmūr in Meykuṉṟā-nāṭu, on the southern bank of the Peṇṇai, in Vāṇakōppāṭi in Rācarāca-vaḷanāṭu, to provide for the *maṭaippaḷḷi* (i.e., the kitchen), and for the service called Calamikkakaṇṭaṉ-canti.

4-7 (*The gift included*) the *ēntal* and *tāṅkal* and the wet dry lands within the four boundaries (*of the village*) excepting the existing tax-free *tēvatāṉam* lands belonging to the deities of the village. I, Cittamaracaṉ Tirukkāḷattitēvaṉ, gifted the remaining wet and dry lands (*and the taxes and levies like*) weaving tax, tax on goldsmith, free labour, *ēṟcōṟu*, penal tax, and village tax, and the fauna and flora, and (*the village servants*) *veṭṭi* and *taṉiyāḷ* and the fish of the tank besides all other incomes to last till the moon and the sun endure, from the month of Āṭi of this year.

8-9 One who changed this village would become a *civatturōki*, one who ate beef and one who incurred the sin of one who had killed a tawny cow on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

9-10 To provide for the offering of milk at *kuruṇi irunāḷi* a day during this *canti* (service) 32 cows and one bull were given.

147 About A.D. 1245-46.

164 A.D. 1245

S.I.I., VIII, 94 — II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Irājarājatevar[k]ku yāṇṭu 30-vatu Taṉunāyarru aparapakṣattu trayodaśiyum

2 Aṉiḻamum perra Nāyarrukkiḻamai nāḷ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nā[yaṉā*]rkku tirununtā viḷakkukku Avaṉi-Āḷappiṟantāṉ

3 Kop-Peruñciṅkaṉ mutalikaḷil Ceṅkaṉivāyaṉ Cōḻakoṉ tampi Perumāḷpiḷḷaiyāṉa Veṇā[vuḷ]taiyāṉeṉ viṭṭa pacu 50 [/*] itu

4 panmāheśvara rakṣai :

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 30th year (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Irājarājatēvar. On Sunday, the 13th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Tanu (*when the asterism*) Aniḻam was current (*in this year*)[148], Perumāḷpiḷḷai *alias* Vēṇāvuṭaiyāṉ, the younger brother of Ceṅkaṉivāyaṉ Cōḻakōṉ, one of the *mutalis* of Avaṉi-Āḷappiṟantāṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ gave 50 cows for (*burning*) a *nuntā* lamp (*in the temple*) of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

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165 A.D. 1246

S.I.I., VIII, 100 — II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkarava[r*]ttikaḷ śrī-Irācarācatevaṟku yāṇṭu 30-vatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉāṟku Ilakkumatevar

2 teviyār Umaiyāḷvār iṭṭa tirukkuttuviḷakku 1 - ṉāl[149]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 30th year[150] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Irācarācatēvar. Umaiyāḷvār, the wife of Ilakkumatēvar gave a standing lamp (of the weight of . . . . .)to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār.

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148 December 17, 1245. But on this day the twelth *tithi* was current upto .71 part of the day while the *nakṣatra* Aniḻam (Anurādhā) was current upto .77 part of the day.

149 The inscription is incomplete.

150 About A.D. 1245-46.

166 A.D. 1247

S.I.I., VIII, 77 — II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Rājarājatevaṟku yāṇṭu 3[1]vatu Kūṭalāḷappiṟantāṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Cāṭumperumāḷ nampirāṭṭiyār Peṇṇaraciyārāṉa Uṭaiyāḷvār tirumakaḷār Miṭṭāṇṭār nācciyārāṉa Nampirāṭṭiyār Nācciyār uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai -

2 uṭaiya nāyaṉāṟku iṭṭa tiruṉiṟṟukkoyil 1 - ṉāl ivar coṟpaṭi 9 - māṟi poṉ ? - ? ipponṉum uṭkaruc cempum arakkum uṭpaṭa eṭai 325 ? ? cuṭṭi 1 - ṉāl ponṉum nilam 1 - m parumuttu 1 - m muttu 80 - m arakkum nūlum utpaṭa eṭai 3 - ? ? ? ? : tirumuttuvāḷi 2 - ṉāl ponṉum

3 aruvaṭaccuri[vu]kal 4 - m muttu 12 - ṉālum eṭai 3 - ? ? tiruvalātti 1 - ṉāl veḷḷi ? ? - ? ? tiruvālatti 1 ṉāl veḷḷi 95 - ? ? munṉāḷil iṭṭa paṭṭam 2 - ṉāl 8 3/4 māṟi poṉ 10 - ? ? —

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 31st year[151] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) Rājarājatēvar Mittāṇṭār-nācciyār *alias* Nampirāṭṭiyār Nācciyār, the daughter of Peṇṇaraciyār *alias* Uṭaiyāḷvār, the wife of Kūṭal Āḷappiṟantāṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Cāṭumperumāḷ gave one *tirunīṟṟukōyil* (ash receptacle) for which 9 - *māṟi poṉ* ? - ? was given according to her word. The (*total*) weight including that of the *poṉ*, of the copper receptacle and of the lac came to 325 - ? ?. For a *cuṭṭi* (head ornament), one *poṉ*, one sapphire, one big pearl, pearls 80 lac and thread (*were required*) and together all of them weighted 3 - ? ? ? ? : For two *tirumuttuvāḷi* (ring of pearls), one *poṉ* ; for a six-stringed *curivu* (necklace ?) 4 stones and pearls 12, (*all of which*) weighted 3 - ? ? ? ?. For a *tiruvālatti* ? ? - ? ? of silver, for another *tiruvālatti* 95 - ? ? of silver and for two *paṭṭams* (diadem) donated earlier 8-3/4 *māṟi poṉ* 10 - ? ? (were given).

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167 A.D. 1247

S.I.I., VIII, 101 — II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svastiśrī [//*] Tiripu[va*]ṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Irājarājatevaṟku yāṇṭu 31āvatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉāṟkku

2 Kaṭṭi-aracar teviyār Vaṭavāyilāṇṭai vaicca tirununtāviḷakku onṟukku viṭṭa pacu 32 iṣa[pam*] 1 [/*] itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai : -

3 ittirununtāviḷak keriya iv-Vaṭavāyilāṇṭai iṭṭa muṉṟunilai kuttuviḷakku 1 - ṉāl iruppu nārācumum maṇṇum[152]

151 About A.D. 1246-47.

152 This inscription is incomplete.

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 31st year[153] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṇaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) Irājarājatatēvar. Vaṭavāyilāṇṭai, the wife of Kaṭṭi-aracar gave one *nuntā* lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār, and endowed 32 cows and 1 bull for it. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*. This Vaṭavāyilāṇṭai gave a three-tiered standing lamp for burning this *nuntā* lamp., for which iron *nārāca* and earth, ...

168

A.D. 1248

S.I.I., VIII, 81

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Irājarājatevarkku yāṇṭu 32-vatu Kumpanāyaṟṟu pū[rvva]pakṣattu tu[v]ādaśiyum Veḷḷi[ḷi]kkiḻamaiyum perṟa Puṇarpūcattu nāḷ Tirumayilāppūr Talaikkāviri Āḷumpiḷḷai āṉa [N]āyakkar Nārāyaṇaṉ[e]ṉ uṭaiyār Tiru-

2 vaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkku vaitta tirununtā viḷakku 1-kku viṭṭa pacu 32 iṣabham 1 [/*] itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai : //

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 32nd year (*in the reign*) of (*king*) Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds), śrī-Irājarājatēvar. On Friday, the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kumpa, when (*the asterism*) was Puṇarpūcam (*of this year*)[154], Talaikkāviri Āḷumpiḷḷai *alias* Nāyakkar Nārāyaṇaṉ of Tirumayilāppūr endowed one *nuntā* lamp for which he gave 32 cows and one bull. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

169

A.D. 1248

S.I.I., VIII, 93

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirupuvaṉaccakkara-[va]ttikaḷ śrī-[R]ājarājatevarku yāṇṭu 32-vatu Meṣa-nāyaṟṟu aparapakṣattu trayodaśiyum Putaṉkiḻamaiyum perṟa Irepati nāḷ

2 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār koyil Ciuruttira Śimāheśvararum Śimāheśvarak kaṇkāṇiceyvārum tāṉattomum tevakaṉmi koyilkaṇa-

3 kkarum Ilakkumatevar teviyār Umaiyāḷvārkku kalveṭṭik kuṭuttapaṭi [/*] uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku nāḷ 1 - kku 25 tiruc-

4 ceṅkaḷuṉir tiruppa[ḷḷi]ttāmañ cāttivikka kaṭavarākavum itukkut tirucceṅkaḷuṉir ceykiṟa Kuvaḷai-kiḻavaṉukku jivitattukku Tikkāṉaipperumāṉallūrile

5 ivvumaiyāḷvār 500 kuḻi koṇṭu cipaṇ-

153 About A.D. 1246-47.
154 February 7, 1248.

ṭārattil oṭukkiṉa kācu 2000 [//*] ikkācu iraṇṭāyiramuṅ kaikkoṇṭu ikkuḻi aiññūṟum ivvumaiyāḻvārkku
6 tirucceṅkaḻunirpuṟamāka kuṭuttom ivvaṉaivom [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Rājarājatēvar. On Wednesday, the 13th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Mēṣa, when (*the asterism*) Irēpati (Rēvatī) was current in this year[155], Cī-Uruttira-Śī-Māhēśvaras, the supervisors of the Sī-Māhēśvaras, *tāṉattār*, the temple servants and the temple-accountant of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār gave (*this document*) inscribed on stone to Umaiyāḻvār, the wife of Ilakkumatēvar.

3-4 She should arrange for adorning the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār daily with 25 garlands made of red lilies.

4-5 For this, for the maintenance of Kuvaḷaikiḻavaṉ who supplies the red-lilies, this Umaiyāḻvār purchased 500 *kuḻi* (*of land*) in Tikkāṉaipperumaṇallūr for which (she) put 2000 *kācu* in the treasury (*of the temple*). Having received the amount of 2000 *kācu* all of us (mentioned above), gave this 500 *kuḻi* (*of land*) to this Umaiyāḻvār as *tirucceṅkaḻunīrpuṟam*.

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170 13th c.

EO. 310-313 III *Prākāra*, Cidambarēśvara shrine, south wall. Badly damaged.

TEXT

1 . . . . . Tribhuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Irājarā[ja*]devaṟku
2 yāṇṭu . . . vatu Appakaiyaṉ . . kka . .
3 . . . . . Pirutuvikaṅkan Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamān
4 . . . . . Iraiyūraṉāṉa Irājarāja . . . . . .
5 kalveṭṭikkuṭutta paricāvatu ivarkkiṉṉā . . . . . .
6 ivar pakai nam pakaiyāvutākavum ivar arttakāṉi pirāṇakāṉi
7 [tecakāṉi] . . . . ye[ṉ]ṟu niṉaiyāteṉākavum . . . . . ṇṭār[ā]-
8 . . . . . ta . . . . l . . . . . ku . . . . . kka-
9 ṭavenākavum ivarum nāṉum uḷḷataṉaiyum ivaṟkup piḻaiyātēṉākavum ippaṭikku icaintu kalveṭṭik kuṭutten Irājarāja-Cē-
11 tiyarāyaṉeṉ ikkalveṭṭiṉapaṭi piḻaitteṉākil enakkiṉṉāta-
12 pa kaṭanta . . . . . ṉukku ceruppuṅ kalaicappāṉai-
13 . . . . ttenāveṉ oru . . . . . piḻainātumpotu ikko-
14 yilile mmuventi[rarai] . . . . . piḻai . . . ār

TRANSLATION

1-5 . . . . . (*It is*) in the year . . (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) śrī-Tribhuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Irājarā[ja*]dēvar, that [to] Appakaiyaṉ . . kka . . . . Pirutuvikaṅkan, I, Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamān . . . . . Iraiyūran *alias* Irājarāja . . . . . gave this record engraved on stone.

5-9 His opponent . . . . . ; his enemy would be my enemy ; I would not think of harming his wealth, life and

155 April 22, 1248. On this day, however, the *trayōdaśī* commenced after .26 part of the day.

residence ; . . . . . would do.
9-10 Till he and I are alive I would not be disloyal to him.
10-11 Having agreed thus, I, Irājarāja Cēṭiyarāyaṉ, gave the stone record.
11-14 If I commit disloyalty as per this stone record, to my opponent . . . . . I would be considered to have borne the chappals and pots of . . . . . When mutually one tries to find fault with the other, we would . . . . . in this temple.

171

13th c.

EO. 1523 **II *Prākāra*, Naṭarāja shrine, south wall (inside). Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvaṉaccakkara-vattikaḷ śrī-Rājarājatē . . . . . .
2 naṅkaimāril Nācciyārkkum Kāmiyār-kkum nam . . . . . .
3 yāṉa Tirunaṭṭapperumāḷ . . . . tam ṉen . . . . . .
4 kuḷa . . . tāka (tāka) kaṭavatāka po . . . . nta olai . . . . . .
5 . . . kaik koṇṭu ivarkaḷ . . . ka . . ta olai

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! Tiripuvaṉaccak-karavattikaḷ śrī-Rājarāja . . . . . .
2 to Nācciyār, Kāmiyār . . . . . amongst women
3 . . . . . *alias* Tirunaṭṭapperumāḷ . . .
4 . . . . . to be conducted . . . . .
5 . . . . . having received [it] . . . . . .

172

13th c.

EO. 1629 **II *Prākāra*, *paḷḷiyaṟai*, east wall (inside). Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

1 [Svasti] śri [//*] Tribhuvaṉaccakkara-[vattikaḷ] śrī - Irār . . . . . .
2 kkum manṟāṭi Niṉṟa Nārāyaṇakkoṉ . . . . . .
3 nāyanār koyilile eṟi . . . . . .
4 viḷakku [on]ṟukku . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! . . . . . of (*the king*) Tribhuvaṉaccakkara[vattikaḷ] śrī-Irār[ā-cōḷatēvar ?]
2 . . . . . Niṉṟa Nārāyaṇakkōṉ, a *manṟāṭi* . . . .
3 in the temple of the god . . . . . .
4 for one lamp . . . . . .

173

13th c.

EO. 961 **III *Prākāra*, north of the Piccai Iḷayaṉār shrine in the north-east corner of the Kiḻi-gōpura. Fragmentary. Built in at left end.**

TEXT

1 . . . . . koṇṭacōḷama-
2 . . . . . nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiru-
3 . . . . . Appakaiyaṉ Kūttā-

4 ..... Cōḷakonen iṉ-
5 ..... ṇṭārattu oḷukiṉpaṭi
6 ..... kku nellum Perruk-
7 ..... ṟpatum punceykkupa-
8 ..... ṉākavum āḷamañci u-
9 ..... nākavum kaṭamai kuṭimai
10 ..... ḷattum koḷḷakkaṭa-
11 ..... ṇiyākavenṟu cey-
12 ..... piḷḷaiyār Piritikaṅkar

TRANSLATION

1-12 ..... koṇṭacōḷa-ma ..... the god Tiru ..... Appakaiyaṉ Kūttā ..... Cōḷakōn ..... according to the deposit in the treasury ..... paddy ..... to the dry-land ..... *āḷamañci*, ... *kaṭamai, kuṭimai*, ... could receive ..... like this ..... piḷḷaiyār Piritikaṅkar ....

174

A.D. 1248

EO. 1654 **II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam* (inside), west wall. Fragment.**

TEXT

1 Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vicaiyarācentiracoḷatevaṟku yāṇṭu 2-vatu Kiḻi ...
2 ṉa Muṉaiyataraiyaṉ makan Veṭṭuvān makan Āḷavantānāṉa Coḷakaṅkatēva .....
3 vaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāyanār tevatāṉamāka Puḷiya ceṭṭi eriyāṉa Vina ... ...
4 kaikku kīḻ karai nāṟpālkellaiyum nañcai puñcaiyum āyam antarāyam maka .....
5 puṟamāka viṭṭen Āḷavantanāyanāṉa Coḷa[ka*]ṅkatevaṉen itu paṉmā ....

TRANSLATION

1 (*It is*) the 2nd year[156] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṉacakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vicai-yarācēntiracōḷatēvar, ... of Kiḻi ....
2 Āḷavantān *alias* Cōḷakaṅkatēvaṉ, the son of Veṭṭuvāṉ, the son of ..... *alias* Muṉaiyataraiyaṉ, ...
3-5 I, Āḷavantanāyan *alias* Cōḷa[ka*]ṅkatēvaṉ donated .... the eastern side of .... kai, Puḷiyaceṭṭi ēri *alias* Vina ....., including its four boundaries, wet and dry lands, *āyam, antarāyam*, ... as ..... *puṟam* (to the god) Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāyanār. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Mā* .....

175

A.D. 1250

S.I.I., VIII, 110 **III *Prākāra*, Ēkāmbarēśvara shrine, south wall.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripu[va]ṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Vicaiyarācen-
2 tiracōḷatevaṟku yāṇṭu nālāvatu Ārappūruṭaiya Kā-
3 [ṅ]kaiyatevan Kaṇṇuṭaipperumāḷāṉa

156 About A.D. 1247-48.

Irācātirācak
4 Karkaṭamārāyanen uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇ-
ṇāmalai uṭai-
5 ya nāyanārkkut tirumaṭaippa[l]li-
puramāka viṭṭa [enā]-
6 ṭṭil Puramalanāṭṭil vaṭakkil Kattāri
nār-
7 . . . llaik ku . . . . ental pāntaluṭale(ne)
na-
8 [ñ]cai puncey nilamum āyam pāṭikā-
val tariyirai
9 taṭṭārppāṭṭam marrum epperpaṭṭa
pal-
10 lāyaṅkaḷum uṭpaṭa Cantirati(rāti)tta-
varai ce-
11 lvatāka viṭṭen Karkaṭamārāyanen [/*]
itu nāṇā-
12 tal en vaṅkiṣattiluḷḷārātal māruvān
13 Keṅkaikkaraiyil kurālpacuk konrān
14 pāvaṅ kolvān [/*] itu pamāhecurar i-
15 rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 4th year[157] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tiripuvaṇaccakkaravattikaḷ Vicaiya-rācēntira-cōḷatēvar. I, Kāṅkayatēvan Kaṇṇuṭaipperumāḷ *alias* Irācāti-rācak - Karkaṭamārāyaṇ of Ārappūr, gifted some land as *tirumaṭaippaḷḷipuram* (*i.e.*, to provide for the kitchen), to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār.

5-11 The land lay on the northern side of Puramalai-nāṭu, in my *nāṭu*, is bounded . . . . together with *ēntal* and *pāntal* and wet and dry lands. (*Besides*), I, Karkaṭamārāyaṇ also assigned the incomes from taxes, *pāṭikāval*, (tax for policing the village), weaver's tax, tax on goldsmith, and all other levies to last till the moon and the sun endure.

11-14 If I or any member of my family changed (*this gift*) he would reap the sin of one who had killed a tawny cow on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

14-15 This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

176

A.D. 1251

S.I.I., VIII, 88

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

(In lines 7 and 8, there are two verses in Sanskrit written in the Grantha script).

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tiripuvanaccakka-
ravattikaḷ śrī-Rājentiracōḷatevarku
yāṇṭu 5-vatu svasti [//*] Śrīmaṇu ma-
hāpratāṇaṇ maṇṭalikar iyamarācaṇ
Ciṅkaṇa-taṇṇā-
2 yakkaṇen uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai
uṭaiya nāyanārkut tirumaṭaippaḷḷip-
puramāka ammāṇ Kampayataṇṇā-
yakkar tirumēṇikku naṉrākak kaṇṭa
cantikku
3 amutupaṭi kariamutu veñcaṇam cāt-
tuppaṭi uḷḷiṭṭaṇattukum Tiruvekam-
pamuṭaiyāṇ tirumatil tiruppaṇikku
taccukkūlikkum uṭalāka viṭṭa Paṅka-
ḷanāṭṭuc Ceyyārrukku
4 teṇkaraippaṭṭa vūrkaḷil Makuḷam-
pūṇṭi nārpālellai kuḷppaṭṭa naṇcai
puṇcai nilattil tevatāṇam paṭṭavirutti
nikki nikki niṉra nilamum innilattāl
vanta āyam pāṭikāval tari i -
5 rai taṭṭārppāṭṭam kurrateṇṭa[m] paṭ-

157 About A.D. 1249-50.

ṭiteṇṭam veṭṭi taṉiyāḷ erimiṉ poṉvari ceṭṭikaḷ vāṇikar maṉaiyiṟai māvaṭai maravaṭai maṟṟum epperpaṭṭa pala āyankaḷu muḷ[pa]paṭa

6 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉāṟkut tevatāṉa iṟaiyiliyāka viṭṭeṉ Ciṅkaṇa[te]ṇṇāyakkaneṉ [/*] itu māṟuvāṉ Keṅkai iṭai Kumari iṭai kurāṟpacuk koṉṟāṉ pāvaṅ koḷvāṉ // -

7 Svasty = astu [//*] Kampaya - camūpati - bhāginēyō gōṣṭhāpagāharaṇa Siṁhaṇa-daṇḍanātha[ḥ] /] Śrī-Śōṇaśailapatayē bhuvi Pṛthvīkaṅgaṁ jitvā dadau Vakuḷavallim = akhaṇḍabhōgaiḥ // -

8 Śrī-Śōṇādripatēr = ddatvā Vakuḷākhya-pura[m] mahat [/*] vijitvā Pṛthivīkaṅkam ja[ya]stambham = iv = ākarōt [//*] inta Makuḷampūṇṭi Cittirai-māta[t]til Tiruvacantaṉāṉa Tiruvēkampamuṭaiyāṉ tirunāḷukkuṭalākavum viṭṭeṉ [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*This is*) the 5th year[158] (*in the reign*) of (*king*) Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Rājēṉtiracōḻatēvar.

Hail ! I am the illustrious chief minister (*mahāpratāṉaṉ*) and the death to the governors (*maṇṭalika iyamarācaṉ*) , Ciṅkaṇa-taṇṇāyakkaṉ.

2-3 (*I gave the following land and tax-incomes*) as *tirumaṭaippaḷḷippuṟam* (i.e., gift to meet the kitchen expenses) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār to provide for food offering, side dishes, (*and*) apparel during the service (*to the god*) instituted for the physical welfare of my maternal uncle Kampaya-taṇṇāyakkar and for paying the masons (*employed*) in the building of the compound wall called Tiruvēkampamuṭaiyāṉ.

3-6 The gift consists of the wet and dry land within the four boundaries of the village of Makuḷampūṇṭi, one of the *ūrs* (villages) on the southern bank of the Ceyyāṟu in Paṅkaḷanāṭu, excluding the lands (*already given*) as *tēvatāṉam* and *paṭṭavirutti* (lands of *paṭṭars* or Brāhmaṇās), and the incomes from this land (*such as*) *āyam, pāṭikāval, taṟi iṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, kuṟṟateṇṭam, paṭṭiteṇṭam, veṭṭi, taṉiyāḷ, ērimīṉ, poṉvari, ceṭṭikaḷ, vāṇikar* (tax on merchants), *maṉaiyiṟai* (house tax), *māvaṭai* (tax on fauna), *maravaṭai* (tax on flora) and including all other incomes. I, Ciṅkaṇa-taṇṇāyakkaṉ, gave (*the above*) as tax-free *tēvatāṉam* to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār.

6 One who changes this, would incur the sin of him who had killed a tawny cow on the bank of the Gaṅgā and at Kumari.

7-8 Let there be auspiciousness ! Siṁhaṇa-daṇḍanātha, the son of the sister of Kampaya-camūpati, gave, after conquering Pṛthvīkaṅka in the world, Vakuḷavalli (*together*) with all its incomes, to the lord of the illustrious Śōṇaśaila (red mountain). (*He gave*) the great town of Vakuḷa to the lord of the illustrious Śōṇādri (red mountain) after conquering Pṛithivīkaṅka, and caused it to look like a pillar of victory. (*I*), gave Makuḷampūṇṭi (*to defray the expenses*) of the festival called Tiruvacantaṉ *alias* Tiruvēkampamuṭaiyāṉ held in the month of Cittirai.

158 About A.D. 1250-51.

177 A.D. 1252

EO. 1632 **II *Prākāra*, *paḷḷiyaṟai*, east wall (inside). Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

Left side

1 [n]tracōḻatevaṟkku yāṇṭu 6-vatu
2 ka . . . . . va . kka . . . la . . makaṉ Aṇ . .
3 . . . . . .
4 la . . . . . e . . . . . lai ta . . . . . .
5 . . . . . .

Right side

6 . . . . va . . . . [vuḷm ivvurkku kaṭamaikoḷ . . . .
7 . . . . . lamaṉārkkāl vari . . .
8 vum al . . . . . vaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāya
9 tevar per . . . . . tiruttuṇṭālattukku
10 va . . ko . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-5 . . . . . the 6th year[159] *in the reign* of *the king* [Rājēṉ]tracōḻatēvar . . . . . Aṇ . . . . , the son of . . . . . .
6-8 When the question of obtaining *kaṭamai* (a tax) for this village 1/4 . . . . . may be received . .
8-10 [Tiru]vaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāya[ṉār] . . . . . .

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178 13th c.

EO. 446 **II *Prākāṟa*, Ṛṣi-gōpura, rear platform, south side. Very badly damaged.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] . . . . . .
2 vaṟku yāṇṭu 1[3] ā[va] .
3 Kāttikai mātattu uṭai-
4 yār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭai-
5 ya nāyaṉāṟku . . . . .
6 . . . . . oṉṟukku
7 . . . . . ṉṟa
8 . . . va . . . . . .
9 . . ṅkat . . . . . .
10 . . viḷakku oṉṟu ivviḷa-
11 kku . . . Cantirātittavarai
12 celvatāka iṉṉāyaṉār ko[yi]-
13 l kāṇiyuṭaiya Civappirāmaṇa-
14 ṉ . . . . . .
15 . . . . . tā . . . . .
16 kaikkoṇṭu . . . . . .
17 . mma . . . . . .
18 . . . . . Cantirātittava-
19 . . . . . kaṭaveṉā . .

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! . . . . . year 13[160] (*of the reign*) of . . . . . var, and in the month of Kāttikai, ... to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār . . .
6-9 Damaged.
10-13 One lamp. That this lamp should last till the moon and the sun endure . . . . . with Civappirāmaṇa . . . . . who has the *kāṇi* (hereditarily owning right) in the temple . . . . . .
14-17 Damaged.
18 . . . . . till the moon and the sun . . . . .
19 . . . . . I would do . . . . .

159 About A.D. 1251-52.
160 About A.D. 1258-59.

179

13th c.

EO. 414-415 **Central shrine, platform around, west side. Fragmentary. Built upside down.**

TEXT

1 ..... yāṇṭu 27-vatu Makara-nāyarru pūrva-pakṣattu [ekā]taśiyum Putaṅkiḻamaiyum perra .....

2 ..... [rā]maṭaiya (yār ?) eḻuntaruḷivitta kamalade[vēśvara] nāyaṉārku muṉpu eṅkaḷ muta .....

TRANSLATION

1 ..... (*It is*) in theyear 27[161] .... on Wednesday, the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Makara .....

2 ..... to Kamaladēvēśvara nāyaṉār set up by ..... the ... that belonged to us ealier .....

180

13th c.

EO. 65, 86, 88 **II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. (Middle portion engraved on the wall behind the idol of the Subrahmaṇya shrine). Badly damaged.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] ..... kaḷ śrī-Vicaiyarācentiracōḻa tevar[ku yā] ..... tu nāyanār ko ... m vārkaḷum Karuvilliyārrukku vaṭakkuppaṭṭa nāṭṭavarom Ari-

2 yūr parru Co . yār koyilil i ..... ttiya .... nnāyaṉārku ..... perumāḷukkum Enakkunallaperumāḷukkum

3 ivarkaḷ makkaḷ ... mai ... kaṭavo .... mā ..... kkum ..... pum meṭuttuttampalamum tinnakkaṭaveṉākavum piḻaittārai .. yilum . nriyilumoṉrākkakkutti

4 pākākkaṭavamākavum nā .... ma .... tti ; .... kkakkaṭavomākavum ippaṭi cammatittuk kalveṭṭik kuṭuttom Karuvilliyārrukku vaṭakkuppaṭṭa nā-

5 ṭṭavarom :

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year .... śrī-Vicaiyarācēntiracōḻatēvar. (They), of the temple of the *nāyanār* and the *nāṭṭavar* (the people of the territory)

1-2 of the *nāṭus* (territories) on the northern side of the Karuvilliyāru ... . nāyaṉār in the temple of Cō . yār in Ariyūr-parru ..... to ..... perumāḷ and to Enakkunalleperumāḷ and their children ..... would eat their chewed *tāmpalam* (i.e., betel leaf mixed with areca-nut and cunam). Those disloyal people ... .

4-5 We, the *nāṭṭavar* of the *nāṭus* on the north side of the Karuvilliyāru, have given this record engraved on stone, after having agreed thus .....

161 About A.D. 1272-73.

KĀṬAVARĀYAS

181

A.D. 1235-36

S.I.I., VIII, 103

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Ćakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Kop-Peruñciṅkatevarkku yāṇṭu 4-vatu Aḷakiyaciyaṉ Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ Kop-Peruñciṅkaṉeṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār cāttiyaruḷa iṭṭa patakkamālai 1 - ṉāl nāyakakkaṇṭa[m]

2 1 arukukaṇṭam 6 kaṭaittoḷil 2 paṭukaṇ 1 kokkuvāy 1 ivaiyiṟṟil āvēcittu kaṭṭiṉa komaḷam 28 vayiram 1106 parumuttu 790 ciṟumuttu 390 tiraḷpavaḷam 291 māntoṭṭuppotti 30 ci-[la]nti 1 vitara[m] 69

3 taṭaval paḷiṅku 1 - m āka ivaiyum ponnum arakkum nūlum uḷpaṭa paṇṭārakkallāl eṭai 302 ? ⁂

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 4th year[162] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor of all the worlds) Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar. I, Aḷakiyacīyaṉ Avaṉi-Āḷappiṟantāṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ gave one chain with pendant to be worn by the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār. (*It*) consisted of one *nāyakak-kaṇṭam* (central piece), 6 *aruku-kaṇṭam* (side pieces), two end-parts, one *paṭu-kaṇ* (eye-like part), and one *kōkku-vāy* (hook). The things strung through them included 28 *kōmaḷam* (a kind of ruby), 1106 diamonds, 790 big pearls, 360 small pearls, 291 ripened corals, 30 *māntoṭṭuppōtti*, one *cilanti*, 69 *vitaram*, and one *taṭaval paḷinku* (flat marble). These, *poṉ*, lac and the thread, together, weighed 302 u by the weight of the treasury (*of the temple*).

182

A.D. 1236-37

S.I.I., VIII, 90

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kop-Peruñciṅkatevarkku yāṇṭu 5-vatu

162 About A.D. 1235-36.

2 Kūṭal Āḷappiṟantāṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Aḷakiyaciyaṉāṉa Kōp-Peruñjinkaṉeṉ uṭai-

3 yār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārku kalveṭṭi kuṭuttapaṭi [/*] uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇā-

4 malai uṭaiya nāyaṉār tevatāṉapparṟukaḷum Aṇṇānāṭum nārpālel-

5 laikkuḷpaṭṭa naṉcai puṉcaiyā luḷḷa nilattuka añcāvatumutal āyam pāṭikāvalāl vanta nelluṅ kācāyamum maṟṟum epperpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷu-

6 m uḷppaṭa uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉāṟkup pūcaikkum tiruppaṇikku muṭalākac Cantirātittavarai celvatāka viṭṭu nirvā[r]ttuk kuṭutteṉ Aḷakiyaciyaṉāṉa

7 Kop-Peruñciṅkaneṉ[/*]ippaṭiyāl vantavaiyi[ṟṟi]l uri kaṭai nāḷi talaiyākavum oru kācorucinnaṅ kaṭaiyāka[vuḷ]ṅ kolvāṉ civatturokiyumāyk komāṅsattai

8 pujittāṉumāy oruvaṉukku moruttikkum piṟavātāṉumā[y] movāy pukku mulai yeḻuntāṉumāy Keṅgaiyiṭai kurālpacuk koṉṟāṉ pāvaṅ koḷvāṉ // itu paṉ-māhēśva[ra rakṣai] [//*]

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*This is*) the 5th year[163] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over all the worlds) śrī-Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar.

2-3 I, Kūṭal-Āḷappiṟantāṉ (born to rule over Kūṭal) Kāṭavarāyaṉ (of the Kāṭava family) Aḷakiyacīyaṉ (beautiful Cīyaṉ) *alias* Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ gave (*the record*) engraved on stone.

3-7 I, Aḷakiyacīyaṉ *alias* Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ gifted, from the 5th year by pouring water, the incomes, got from *āyam* (income) and *pāṭikāval*, like paddy and *kācāyam* (income in cash) and all other several incomes, accruing from the wet and dry lands within the four boundaries of the *tēvatāṉam* villages of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār and of Aṇṇā-nāṭu, to provide for the worship of and the works in (*the temple*) of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār, till the sun and the moon endure.

7-8 From the revenue of these gifts, if one (*stealthily*) takes the minimun of *uri* and the maximum of a *nāḷi* (*of paddy*) and a *kācu* and the minimum of a *ciṉṉam* (a variety of coin) (*of money*), he would be considered a civatturōhi, a beef-eater, one who was not born of a single man and a single woman and one who was *mōvāypukku mulai eḻuntāṉ* and one who had committed the sin of a man who killed a tawny cow on the Gaṅgā. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

183

A.D. 1236

EO. 98-103

II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Right side built in. Damaged

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuva[na*]ccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kop-Peruñciṅka[tevaḷ]ṟku yāṇṭu 5 - vatu Kūṭal Aḷakiya-

163 About A.D. 1236-37.

cīyaṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Avaṉiāḷappiṟa . . .
. . .
2 Peruñciṅkaṉeṉ Ciṅkanāyaṟṟup pañcamiyum Veḷḷikkiḻamai peṟṟa Rēvatināḷ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiy uṭaiya nāyaṉārku te . . . . . .
3 . rukamaṅkalapparṟil Paṭṭaṇaṅkāṭṭu nārpālellaikkuḷḷu ental tāṅkaluṭpaṭṭa naṉcey puṉcey nilamum in nilattāl vanta ka . . . . . .
4 pāṭikāval taṟiyiṟai taṭṭārpāṭṭam āḷamañci yeccoṟu kuṟṟateṇṭam paṭṭittenṭam māvaṭai maravaṭai veṭṭi taṉiyāḷ eri . . . . . .
5 . . vāṇiyar maṉaiyiṟai cekkiṟai manṟāṭikaḷ peṟkaṭamai maṟṟum epperpaṭṭa aṉaittāyaṅkaḷum uṭpaṭa uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nā . . . . . .
6 ṭaippaḷḷippuṟamākac Cantirātittavarai celvatāka viṭṭukkalveṭṭik kuṭutteṉ Kop-Peruñciṅkaṉeṉ ippaṭiyāl vantavaiyiṟṟāl . . . . . .
7 talaiyāka orukācoru ciṉṉaṅk koṇṭu ūru māṟuvāṉ kōmāṁsattaip pujittāṉumāy oruvaṉukku moruttikkum piṟavātāṉumay . . . . . .
8 eḻuntāṉumāy Keṅkaiyiṭaik Kumariyiṭai kurāl pacuvaik koṉṟāṉ pāpaṅkoḷvāṉ [//*] itu paṉmāhēśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It*) is the 5th year (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over all the worlds) Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar. I, Kūṭal Aḻakiyacīyaṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Avaṉiāḷappi[ṟantāṉ] Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ gave as (*tēvatāṉam*) Paṭṭaṇaṅkāṭu in .. rukamaṅka-lapparṟu to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiy uṭaiya nāyaṉār on Friday on the 5th day of the month of Ciṅka when the asterism Rēvati[164] was current.

3-5 (*The gift included*) all the wet and dry lands within the boundaries of the village together with its *ēntal* and *tāṅkal*, as well as the incomes from *kaṭamai, pāṭikāval, taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, āḷamānci, yeccōṟu, kuṟṟateṇṭam, paṭṭitteṇṭam, māvaṭai, maravaṭai, veṭṭi, taṉiyāḷ, ēri . . . . , vāṇiyar, maṉaiyiṟai, cekkiṟai* (tax on oil press), *manṟāṭikaḷ-pēṟkaṭamai* (tax on each shepherd) and all other incomes.

5-6 I, Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ gave it as *maṭaippaḷḷippuṟam* to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār, to last till the moon and the sun endure by engraving on stone.

6-8 If, from the incomes accrued from the above, any one took . . . . . one *ciṉṉam* of a *kācu*, and changed (*the gift*), village he would incur the sin of having eaten beef, and would be considered not being a son of a single man and a single woman . . . . , and he would incur the sin of one who had killed a cow on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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184 A.D. 1241

S.I.I., VIII, 78 **II *Prākāra*, north wall.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Kūṭal Aḻakiyaciyaṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Avaṉi-āḷappiṟantāṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅka-
2 tevar[k*]ku yāṇṭu 9-vatu Mituṉa-

164 Probably August 22, 1236.

nāyarru aparapakṣattu Nāyar[ru]kkiḻa[m]aiyum Mulamum perra nāl Miṭṭāṇṭārnācciyārāṇa Nampirāṭṭiyār Nācciyāreṇ iṭṭa tiruvālatti taṭṭi 1 - ṉāl veḷḷi ? ? ? taṭṭi 1 - ṉāl veḷḷi nirai ? ? ? taṭṭi 1 - ṉāl 92 ? ಽ

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 9th year (*in the reign*) (*of the king*) Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over all the worlds), Kūṭal Aḻakiyacīyaṉ (the beautiful Cīyaṉ of Kūṭal), Kāṭavarāyaṉ (king of the Kāṭava family), Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ (born to rule over the earth), Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar. On Sunday in the dark fortnight of the month of Mituṉa (*of this year*), (*when the asterism*) was Mūlam[165], I, Miṭṭāṇṭār's wife Nampirāṭṭiyār Nācciyār gave silver ? - ? for one *tiruvālatti* plate, silver of the weight of ? ? ? for a plate, and silver 92 ? for a plate.

185

S.I.I., VIII, 102

A.D. 1240-41

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ [ci]-Kop-Peruñciṅkatevaṟku yāṇṭu 9-vatu Kūṭal Aḻakiyaciyaṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ Kop-Peruñciṅkaṉ ōlai [/*] uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāyaṉār

2 koyil tāṉattārum tevakaṉ[mi koyilkaḷakkaṉum kaṇṭu viṭai taṇṭatāvatu [/*] Uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya ṉāyaṉ[ār*]kku tevatāṉamāṉa Aṇṇāṉāṭum pala nāṭukaḷil tevatāṉamāṉa vūrkaḷum eṭṭāvatuvarai niṉrapaṭiye

3 niṟkavum ivvūrkaḷil naṉcai puṉcai āyam pāṭikāvalāl vanta nellum kācāyamum maṟṟum epperppaṭṭa pala āyaṅkaḷu muṭpaṭa Aiy[ya]tevar kal veṭṭiṉapaṭiye oṉpatāvatu Puraṭṭāṭimātamutal kaikkoṇṭu pūcaiyum tirupaṇiyum tāḻvu-

4 paṭāmal celuttuvatākavum coṉṉom ippaṭi ceyvate [/*] ippaṭiyāl vantavaiyiṟṟil uri kaṭai nāḻi talaiyākavum oru kācu oruciṉṉaṅ kaṭaiyākavuṅ koḷvāṉ komāṅcattaip pujittāṉumāy oruvaṉukku moruttikkum piṟavātāṉumāy

5 Keṅkaiyiṭai Kumaritiyiṭai kurālppacuk koṉṟāṉ brahmavatti koḷvāṉ [/*] itu paṉ-māheśvara rakṣai : —

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 9th year[166] (*of the reign*) of (*king*) Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over all the worlds), cī(śrī-) Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar. This is the order of Kūṭal Aḻakiyacīyaṉ, Kāṭavarāyaṉ, Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ. The *tāṉattār, tēvakaṉmi* (temple servant) and the temple accountant of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār saw (*the royal order*) and decided as follows :

165 Probably May 26, 1241.
166 About A.D. 1240-41.

2-5 "In the *tēvatāṉam* of Aṇṇāṉāṭu and *tēvatāṉa* villages in many other *nāṭus* of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, (*the incomes*) should remain as they were till the eighth (*year*) ; the incomes accruing from the *naṉcai* and *puṉcai* such as from *āyam* and *pāṭikāval* in paddy and *kācāyam* and all other incomes inclusive, from these villages, should be received as recorded on stone by Aiyyatēvar, from the month of Puraṭṭāti of the ninth year ; and the worship and works (*in the temple*) should be done without decrease by us. Thus we said. "From the revenue accruing from them if one were to (*stealthily*) take the minimum of one *uri* and the maximum of one *nāli* (*of paddy*) and the minimum of one *ciṉṉam* and the maximum of a *kācu* (*in money*) he would be considered to have eaten beef, not to have been born for a single man and a single woman, to have committed the sin of killing a tawny cow on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari and to have committed the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

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186 A.D. 1243 (?)

EO. 147-148 II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Damaged. Left side built in.

TEXT

1 . . . . . ṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉāṉa Kop-Peruñciṅkaṉeṉ
2 . . . . . ṇāmalai yuṭaiya nāyaṉārku Avaṉi Āḷappiṟaṉ-
3 . . . . . iyu muṭpaṭa nārpālellaikkuḷ-paṭṭa naṉcai
4 . . . . . yiṟai taṭṭārpāṭṭam āḷamañci eṟcoṟu kuṟṟatte-
5 . . . . . ṟ kaṭamai maṟṟum epperpaṭṭa anaittāyaṅkaḷum
6 . . . . . amutupaṭikkumuṭalākac Cantirātittavarai celva-
7 . . . . . l vantavayiṟṟil uri nāḷi . . yākavum oru
8 . . . . . kum ppiṟavātānum movāypukku mulai yeḻuntā-
9 . . . . . Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ cantikku Āṭaiyūr vaṭa .
10 . . . kiḻaitteruvil tevaraṭiyāḷ Poṉmaya-

TRANSLATION

1-6 I, Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ *alias* Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ gifted a village to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār (to provide for a service named) Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ. The gift included all the wet and dry lands within the four boundaries of the village, and the various incomes like *taṭṭārpāṭṭam, āḷamañci, eṟcōṟu* and *kuṟṟatteṇṭam and kaṭamai and all other incomes.* The gift was intended to provide for food offerings (to the god), and it should last till the moon and the sun endure.

7-8 From the incomes derived from . . . . . *uri* in a *nāḷi* . . . . . *mōvāypukku* mulai *yeḻuntā* . . . . . .

9 . . . . . on the northern side of Āṭaiyūr for the Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ-canti . . . . . .

10 Tēvaraṭiyāḷ Poṉmaya . . . . of the eastern street . . . . . .

187 A.D. 1244-45

EO. 115-118 II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Top portion has not come out well. Bottom portion buried. Both ends built in.

TEXT

1 ..... Peruñciṅka ... varkku yāṇṭu 13-vatu Colaṉait Teḷḷārril veṉṟu cakala pariccinnamuṅ kaikkoṇṭu Colaṉaic-ciraivaittu Cōṇāṭukoṇṭa Kāṭavarāyaṉ Āḷappiṟantāṉ Miṇṭaṉ Ciyaṉ ...

2 ..... ṉ Kop-Peruñciṅkaṉ uṭaiyār Ti-[ruvaṇṇāmaḷḷai uṭaiya nāyaṉār ati-ruṅkaḷaṭikaḷukku cāttina tiru-vācikai ? ? ? ? poṉ eṭai 628 ? ? ? ? itil iṭṭa nīlam 2 nāl iṭai 5 ? ? ? tiṟai iṭṭiru-minkaḷ teva vental cempoṉ tuṟaiyiṭṭa ....

3 ..... min ciṟai nipantaṅkaṭṭa . taṉai niṉai ... Peruñciṅkaṉ kamala nāṭṭaṅ-kaṭai civanta nāḷ Cakalapuvaṉaccak-karavatti Aḷakiyaciyaṉ Avaṇiāḷap-piṟantāṉāṉa Kop-Peruñciṅkaṉeṉ iṭṭa tiruveṇcāmarai iraṇṭil kāmpu 2 nāl ? ?...

4 .....

TRANSLATION

1-3 ..... In the 13th year[167] (*of the reign*) of ..... Peruñciṅkatēvar, I, (*i.e.*, Kōp-Peruñciṅkan), who took all the paraphernalia at Teḷḷāṟu, who jailed the Cōḷa, who took the Cōṇāṭu, Kāṭavarāyaṉ, Āḷappiṟantaṉ [Miṇṭaṉ] Cīyaṉ, gave to decorate the dancing feet of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār *tiruvācikai* (aureole) of the value of ? ? ? ? *poṉ* weighing 628 ? ? ? ?. On this there were two sapphires weighing 5 ? ? ? ....

3-4 Refers to Peruñciṅkaṉ and to an act of his in a Tamil verse.

4 I, Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravatti Aḷaki-yacīyaṉ Avaṇiāḷappiṟantāṉ *alias* Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ, gave two white fly-whisks of which two handles with ??.

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188 A.D. 1244-45

EO. 119-122 II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Left end built in.

TEXT

1 ..... ṟku Miṇṭaṉ Ciyaṉ Aṇṇakaṅ-kakkār Kop-Peruñciṅkaneṉ eṉakku aṣṭamattilc Caṉitoṣattukkuc cāntiyā-ka uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nā-yaṉār [ti]ṉappaṭi [e]ḷḷuntaru-

2 ..... rukku uṭalāka viṭṭa Jeyaṅ-koṇṭacoḷamaṇṭalattup Palkuṉṟak-koṭṭattu Uttamacoḷa-vaḷaṉāṭṭuk Koṭ-ṭappūṇṭi nārpā ..... ental pān-taluṭpaṭa naṉcai puṉcai nilamum veṭṭi ta-

3 ..... ṇṭam ..... āḷamañci yeccoṟu marrumepperpaṭṭa pallāyaṅkaḷumu-ṭapaṭa iṉṉayanārkkut tevatāṉamāka ivvāṇṭaip Puraṭṭātimāta mutal Canti-rātittavarai celvatāka viṭṭeṉ [//*] itu māruvāṉ Kaṁkai iṭai

4 ..... vāypukku mulaiyeḷuntāṉumāy oruvaṉukkum oruttikkum piṟavātāṉu-māvāṉ itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai ೭

167 About A.D. 1244-45.

TRANSLATION

1-2 (*To ward off the evil*) brought about by the transit of Saturn in the eight house in my horoscope I, Miṇṭaṉ Cīyaṉ Aṇṇakaṅkakkār Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ gave (*a village*) for the procession daily of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār.

2-3 (*The village*) was Kōṭṭappūṇṭi in Uttamacōḻa-vaḷanāṭu, in Palkuṉṟakkōṭṭam, in Jeyaṅkoṇṭacōḻa-maṇṭalam. The lands within the four boundaries of the village and its *ēntal* and *pāntal* together with *veṭṭi*, ... *āḷamañci*, *yeccōṟu* and all other incomes of it were gifted as *tēvatāṉam* to the god mentioned above, and this grant should take effect from the month of Puraṭṭāti of this year, and it should last as long as the moon and the sun endure.

3-4 One who changes this would be considered ..... at Kaṅkai ..... and .. *vāypukku mulai yeḻuntāṉ* and not to have been born to a single man and a single woman. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

189

A.D. 1244 (?)

EO. 66-73 **II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Built in at the left end. Badly damaged.**

TEXT

1 ṅka .... Tiṅkaḷkiḻamaiyum perra Pūrattu nāḷ Coḻaṉait Teḷḷārril veṉru cakala ..... kaikkoṇṭu Coḻaṉai-

2 ..... neṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkku iṭṭa ilaittaṭṭu 1 ? ? poṉ 200 pam pātattukkiṭṭa veḷḷi 20 pam.

3 riyanāṉa Kop-Peruñciṅkaneṉ itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai : ೭ nī . r . ṭṭirumi e[ka]ḷ tevaventar cempon turaiyiṭṭa Pūmpukārcōḻa-

4 ṉṉiraṇṭāvatu āṭṭai kaṇakku naṉṟāka Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāyaṉārkku āṭiyaruḷavum oru .... kkum viṭṭa ....

5 ..... Āvaṇimācattu ..... āṭṭaikku ..... uṭaiyār .....

6 ..... rumāḷ nampirāṭṭiyārāṉa ..... yārāṉa Uṭaiyāḷvār tirumakaḷār Miṭṭāṇṭār [nācciyār] . .

7 ..... taḷṭṭaḷṉ nīlam 2 ivai yiṟṟil kotta muttu 350 nāl eṭai 5 ? ? : āka nūlum arakkum nīlamum .....

TRANSLATION

1-3 ṅka .... On Monday when the asterism Pūram was current I, [Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ], who had conquered the Cōḻa at Teḷḷāru, and had taken all ..... and .... Cōḻa ..... gave one flat plate weighing *poṉ* 200 *pam.* and 20 *pam.* of silver to the foot of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār. I, ... riyan *alias* Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ. This is protected by the *Paṉ-māhēśvaras*.

3-4 ..... the kings who had given golden *turai* (path or ghat) to Pūmpukārcōḻaṉ in whose 2nd year for .... welfare, gave to Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāyaṉār for his bath, ...

5-6 ..... month of Āvaṇi .... per year . ... uṭaiyār ..... Miṭṭāṇṭār nācciyār, the daughter of Uṭaiyāḷvār .... wife of ..... rumāḷ .....

7 ..... sapphire 2, 350 pearls that were strung in them weighing 5 ? ? : the string, lac and the sapphire all totalling to .....

190

A.D. 1244 (?)

EO. 73

II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Built in at right end. Badly damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉaccak-
karavattikaḷ.....
2 Pūraṭṭāti nāḷ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇ.....
.....
3 ttu cakala pariccinnamuṅkoṇṭu.....
.....
4 .....kuṭam 1 - nāl eṭai 200.....
.....
5 4-m.....kuṭam 1 - nāl eṭai 200.....
....

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail! Prosperity! In..... on the day when the asterism Pūraṭṭāti was current, Cakalapuvaṉaccak-karavattikaḷ (emperor over all the worlds)..... received all the insignias..... of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai..... one pot weighing 200..... 4..... one pot weighing 200.....

191

A.D. 1245-46

A.R.E., 68/45-46

III *Prākāra*, Jambukēśvara shrine, south wall.

TEXT

1 [Sva]sti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉaccakka-
ravattikaḷ Kop-Peru[ñciṅka]tevaṟku
yāṇṭu 14-vatu Kūṭal Aḻakiyaciyaṉ
Kāṭavarāyaṉ Avaṉi Āḻappiṟantāṉāṉa
Kop-Peruñciṅkatevar mutta nampi-
rāṭṭiyār Aḻakiyapallavar nācciyār
uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai u-
2 [ṭai]ya nāyaṉār koyilil eḻuntaruḷuvitta
Pallava.... muṭaiya nāyaṉārku ik-
Kop-Peruñciṅka tevaṉeṉ iṉṉāya-
ṉārkut tevatāṉam tirumaṭappaḷḷippu-
ṟamāka viṭṭa Āṭaiyūr-nāṭṭuk Kiḻaicci-
ṟupākkam nārpālellaikkuḷppaṭṭa naṉ-
cai puṉcai
3 .....ṭaiyār tevatāṉam [nilam]
araiye yiraṇṭu māvum nikki ivvūr en-
tal tāṅkal-uḷpaṭṭa naṉcey puṉcey ni-
lamum innilaṅkaḷāl vanta kaṭamai[yum
āḻyam pāṭikāval taṟiyiṟai taṭṭārppāṭ-
ṭam āḻamañci eṟcoṟu kuṟṟatteṇṭam
paṭṭi-
4 .....m ceṭṭikaḷ vāṇiyar..taṟi
yiṟai cekkiṟai poṇvari veṭṭi taṉiyāḷ
erimiṉ [maṇ]piṭikaḷ p[o*]ṟkaṭamai mar-
rum epperpaṭṭa aṉaittāyaṅka[ḷumuḷ]-
paṭa ivvāṇṭai Āṭi-māta mutal viṭṭuk
kalveṭṭik kuṭutteṉ Kop-Peruñciṅka-
teva-
5 .....ṟṟa [uri]..kaṭai nāḷi [talai]-
yākavum oru kācoru ciṉṉaṅ kaṭai-
yākavuṅ koṇṭu ū[rum] māṟuvāṉ ko-
māṅsattaip pujittāṉmāy oruvaṉkkum
oruttikkum piṟavātāṉumāy movāy
pukku mulai eḻuntāṉumāy Keṅkaiyiṭai
Kuma-
6 .....pāvaṅkoḷvāṉ // itu paṉ-
māheśvara rakṣai : /

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail! Prosperity! In the 14th year[168] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Cakala-puvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Kōp-Peruñ-ciṅkatēvar, Kūṭal Aḻakiya Cīyaṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Avaṉi Āḻappiṟantān *alias* Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar's senior

168 About A.D. 1245-46.

queen Aḷakiya-Pallavar-nācciyār caused to be installed (*the deity*) [Pallava] . . muṭaiya nāyaṉār in the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār.

2-3 (To this deity), I, this Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvaṉ gave Kīḻaicciṟupākkam in Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu as *tēvatānām tirumaṭappaḷḷippuṟam*, including all the wet and dry lands within its four boundaries and excluding 1/2 plus 2 *mā* of *tēvatāṉam* land of the deity (name lost), and

3-5 including its *ēntal* and *tāṅkal*, the incomes accruing therefrom, the levies such as *āyam, pāṭikāval, taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, āḷamañci, ēṟcoṟu, kuṟṟeṭṭeṇṭam, paṭṭi*, ... of Ceṭṭis and Vāṇiyars . . *yiṟai, cekkiṟai, poṉvari, veṭṭi, taṉiyāḷ, ērimīṉ, [maṇ]pitikal* ?, *pōṟkaṭamai* (tax for war) and all other incomes. (The gift was) to take effect from the month of Āṭi of this year (i.e., the 14th) and I, Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvaṉ gave it after engraving it on stone. (*If one after misappropriating*) to the last *nāḻi* of a cereal and to the *ciṉṉam* of a *kācu* of the gift, and, who sells the gift village he would be deemed to have eaten beef, to have been born not to a single man and a woman, to have the bad name of *mōvāypukku mulai eḻuntāṉ* and to have committed the sin of (*killing a cow*) on the banks of the Gaṅgā and at Kumari. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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192 A.D. 1245

EO. 139-140 II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Left end built in. Badly damaged.

TEXT

1 . . . . . Peruñciṅkatevarku yāṇṭu [14]-vatu ittevar cāmantaṉāṉa . .

2 . . . . . āyaṉeṉ Viru[cci]kanāyaṟṟup pūrvva[pa]kṣattu Pūraṇaiyum Nāyaṟ-ṟukkiḻa-

3 . . . . . ṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉārku tirununtā viḷakku muṉ-ṟukku . .

4 . . . . . iṣapam 3 itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 . . . . . year 14 (*of the reign*) of Peruñciṅkatēvar, I, ... yaṉ, the *cāmanta* (feudatory chief) of the king on Sunday, the Pūraṇai (i.e., the fullmoonday) of the bright fortnight in the month of Viruccika[169] . . . . . .

3-4 Three *nuntā* lamps to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār . . . . . 3 bulls. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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193 A.D. 1256 (?)

EO. 123-126 II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Fragmentary. Left end built in.

TEXT

1 . . . . . etiramāṇḍu Puraṭṭāti mātam . . . ta irupattoṟāntiyatiyum Tirayodaśiyum Pūramum peṟṟa nāḷ uṭaiyār

169 Probably November 5, 1245.

Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkku Miṇṭaṉ Ciyaṉ Aṇṇakaṅkakkār
2 ..... māka viṭṭa ūr Peṇṇait teṉkarai Malāṭākiya Teṉ-nāṭṭuk Kuṟukkaik-kūṟṟattu Neṉmali nārpārkkellaiyum naṉcey puṉcey āyam antarā-
3 ..... m paṭṭittenṭam uṭpaṭa meṉokkina maramuṅ kiṉokkiṉa kiṉarum Cantir[ā]tittavarai celvatākak kalveṭṭik kuṭutteṉ itu māṟuvān Keṅkai iṭai
4 ..... koḷvāṅ komāṅkṣattaip pujippāṉ itu paṉmāheśvara irakṣai :

TRANSLATION

1 ..... in the year opposite to .... on the 27th day in the Puraṭṭāti month when the *tithi* was Trayōdasī (*pakṣa* not mentioned) and the asterism was Pūram[170], I, Miṇṭaṉ Cīyaṉ Aṇṇakaṅkakkār *gave* to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār as .....

2-3 the village of Neṉmali in Kurukkaik-kūṟṟam in Malāṭu *alias* Teṉṉāṭu situated to the south of the Peṇṇai, with all its wet and dry lands within its four boundaries, together with its incomes like *āyam, antarāyam,* ..... and *paṭṭittenṭam,* and the upgrowing tree and dug up well by engraving on stone, to last till the moon and the sun endure.

3-4 One who changes this would reap ... . on the banks of the Gaṅgā and would be considered to have eaten beef. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

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194 A.D. 1259

S.I.I., VIII, 108 **III *Prākāra*, Palaṉiyāṇṭi shrine, south wall.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉaccak-karavattikaḷ Kāṭavaṉ Aḷakiyaciyaṉ Avaṉi Āḷa[p*]piṟantāṉ
2 śrī-Kop-Peruñciṅkatevarkku yāṇṭu 27 - vatu Meṣa-nāyaṟṟu pūrvvapak-ṣattu Veḷḷi
3 kkiḻamaiyum tritiyaiyum perra Mṛga-śīrṣattu nāḷ Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ Nilakaṅkaraiyar
4 Nampiraṭṭiyār Naṅkaiyāḻvār Nāya-ṉārkku uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭai-ya nāya-
5 ṉār koyil Śrī-Māheśvarak kaṇkāṇi-ceyvārkaḷum tevakaṉmi koyil(k)ka-ṇakkarum ivva-
6 ṉaivom kal veṭṭi[k*] kuṭutta paricā-vatu [/*] ivar perāl eḻuntaruḷuvikkiṟa Naṅkaiyā[ḻvī]cura-
7 muṭai[y]ārkku tirukkoyilceyvatāka uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāya-ṉā[r*] koyilil Caṇṭe-
8 śvarapperuvilaiyāka nāṅkaḷ viṟṟuk-kuṭutta iṭamāvatu [/*] Tirukkāmak-koṭṭamuṭai[ya*] tampirāṭṭiyār koyilu-
9 kkut teṟku[t] Tirumalaiyārkūṭattakku vaṭakku Virākaraṉ tirumaṭiḷukkuk ki-ḻakku Vāṇātarāyaṉ tirumata(ti)ḷil va-ṭame-
10 lai mūlaikku meṟku innāṉkellaik kuḻp-paṭṭa iṭattil viṟṟukkuṭutta pati-ṉāla-ṭikkolāl kuḻi 13-1/2 ikku-
11 ḻi patiṉmuṉṟaraiyum viṟṟukkuṭuttuk koḷvatāṉa emmi licainta viḻaipporuḷ aṉṟāṭu naṟkācu patiṉā-
12 yiramum kaikkoṇṭu kal veṭṭik kuṭuttom Śrī-Māhēśvara kaṅkāṇiceyvārkaḷum tevakaṉmi koyiṟ-

170 Probably September 17, 1256.

13 kaṇakkarum ivvaṉaivom ೭ itu paṉ-māheśvara rakṣai ೭

TRANSLATION

1-6 Hail ! Prosperity ! On Friday, the third day of the bright fortnight of the month of Mēṣa, when the asterism is Mṛgaśīrṣam, in the year 27[171] of the (*reign of*) the illustrious (*king*) Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar (*bearing the titles of*) Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravarttikaḷ (the emperor over all the worlds), Kāṭavaṉ (of the Kāṭava dynasty), Aḻakiyacīyaṉ (beautiful Cīyaṉ), Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ (born to rule over the earth), all of us, the supevisors of the Śrī-Māhēśvaras, *tēvakaṉmi* and the *kōyil kaṇakkar* of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyā nāyaṉār, gave this document engraved on stone, to Naṅkaiyāḻvār Nāyaṉār, the *nampirāṭṭiyār* (the wife) of Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ (born to rule over the earth) Nīla-Kaṅkaraiyar.

6-8 (The site, which) we have sold (*to her*) for price in the name of Caṇṭeśvara, for a temple to be constructed in the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār for the deity Naṅkaiyāḻvīcuramuṭaiyār which is being caused to be set up in her name is as follows :

8-10 The site sold and conveyed is of the extent of 13 1/2 *kuḻi* (*measured*) by the 14-foot long rod, situated within the four boundaries *viz.*, to the south of the temple of *tampirāṭṭiyār* (the goddess) of the Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam (the shrine of the goddess), to the north of the Tirumalaiyār-kūṭam (the hall called Tirumalaiyār), to the east of the wall called Vīrākaraṉ and to the west of the north-east corner of the wall called Vāṇātarāyaṉ.

11-13 The price amount for selling and conveying 13 1/2 *kuḻi* (*of land*) agreed amongst ourselves is 10, 000 *anrāṭu-naṟkācu* (the current gold *kācu*) having received which, all of us *viz.*, the supervisors of the śrī-Māhēśvaras, tēvakaṉmi and the kōyir-kāṇakkar had given this record engraved on stone. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

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195 A.D. 1258-59

S.I.I., VIII, 107 **III *Prākāra*, Paḷaṉiyāṇṭi shrine, south wall.**

TEXT

1 . sti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Kāṭavaṉ Aḷakiyaciyaṉ Ava-

2 . . . . piṟantāṉ śrī-Kop-Peruñciṅkatevarkku yāṇṭu 27 - vatu

3 . . . . nāyaṟṟu pūrvva(va)pakṣattu Nāyaṟṟukkiḻamaiyum ekādaśiyum pe-

4 . . . . nāḷ Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ Nilakaṅ-karaiyar Nampi[r]āṭṭiyā-

5 . . . . [y]āḻvār Nāyaṉārkku uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉā-

6 . . . . tevakaṉmikaḷil nāṭuceyvāṉ Maruntappiḷḷai Kaṇṇāramutamā-

7 . . . . . mam Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷum en-

8 . . . . . makaṉ Maruntappiḷḷaiyum

171 Probably March 28, 1259.

immuvaru [m]
9 ..... mu uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku tirunantavaṉamā-
10 ..... nilam Araiyaṉerikku kiḻmelpāl ellai
11 ..... kku kiḻakku vaṭapāl ellai Cipātampiri-
12 ..... lpāl ellai Arintavaṉ Pallavaraiya[n]
13 ..... tavaṉattukku merkku teṉpāl el-[lai]
14 ..... iṉṉālpāl ellaikku uḷpaṭa [to][172]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 27th year[173] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Cakalapuvaṉacakkaravattika] (emperor of all the worlds) Kāṭavaṉ Aḻakiyacīyaṉ Ava .... piṟantāṉ śrī-Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar. On Sunday, the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of .....

4-9 To the wife ... yāḻvār of Avaṉi Āḻappiṟantāṉ Nīla-Kaṅkaraiyar ..... Maruntappiḷḷai Kaṇṇāramutar, the administrator of the *nāṭu*,..... the temple servants namely Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ....., the son Maruntappiḷḷai, these three persons of the temple servants of the (*temple*) of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāya[nār] ..... gave (*land*) for the garden of the (temple) of .....

9-14 (*The boundaries*) of Araiyāṉēṟi (*are*), the eastern boundary (*is*) ..... the east, the northern boundary (*is*) Cīpātampiri ..... the boundary (*is*) Arintavaṉ Pallavaraiyan ..... to the west of the garden ..... the southern boundary (*is*) ..... (*the land*) lying within the four boundaries of ...

196

A.D. 1262-63

S.I.I., VIII, 79

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapu[va*]naca[k*]-karavat[ti]ka] Kāṭavaṉ Aḻakiyaciyaṉ Avaṉi Āḻappiṟaṉtāṉ śrī- Kop-Peruñciṅkatevarkku [yā]ṇ-
2 ṭu 31 - vatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya nāyanā[r]kku Tirunīṟṟuviramāka[ta] coḻan cantikkum tiruppaṇikku mu(u)ṭalāka n[ā] ... vaṇimā-
3 tam irupa[t]āntiyati mutal vaṭakkil Taccūr ṉānkellaikkuṭpaṭa nañcai puñ[cai*] entalparṟu nañcai puñcai uḷḷiṭṭa nilattu munpilāṇṭukaḷu ni[k] ... tevatāna-
4 m tiruviṭaiyāṭṭam paḷḷiccantam uḷḷiṭṭa palataḷi tēvatānaṅkaḷum paṭṭaka] iṟaiyili nikki niṉṟa nañcai puñcai entalparṟu nattappuñcai ... ān-
5 vari kācāyam kāttikaippaccai mātirucān ūcivāci nallerutu narpacu uḷ-[li]ṭṭa anaittāyaṅkaḷum āḻamañcittevaiyum taiccum kollum kucamum tolo-
6 ṭṭum verutaṇṭum cekkiṟai maṉaiyiṟai pāṭṭa muḷḷiṭṭaṉavum marṟuḷḷa āyavarkaṅkaḷum Cantirātittavarai(y) tevatāṉam iṟaiyiliyāka kuṭuttom Vāṇakōvaraiyan Tāyilunalleperumāḷ
7 Tirunīṟṟuvīramākatacoḻanen[/*] ippaṭikku ivvūr ṉānkellaiyilum tiruccūla-

172 The record is built in at the beginnings of lines and after line 14.
173 About A.D. 1258-59.

sthāpanamum paṇṇi tirukkaṟṟaḷiyile kallum veṭṭikko[ḷ]ḷakkaṭavatākavum connom [/*] ippaṭi kaṇa-

8 kkil niruttikkuṭuppate [/*] itu māṟiṉa-va[ṉ*] Kaṅkai iṭai Kumariyiṭai kurāṟ pacuk koṉṟāṉ pāvaṅ koḷvāṉ movāy pukku mulai puṟappaṭuvān

9 taṅkaḷammaikkut tā[ne] miṉāḷaṉ [/*] inta Taccūr Tirunīṟṟuvīramākata-coḷannallūr Śrīmāheśvara rakṣai ꣸

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*This is*) the 31st year[174] of Ćakalapuvanacakkaravattikaḷ (emperor of all the worlds), Kāṭavaṉ (of the dynasty of the Kāṭavas), Aḻakiyacīyaṉ (the beautiful Cīyaṉ), Avaṇi Āḷappiṟantāṉ (who is born to rule over the earth), śrī-Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar.

2-7 I, Vāṇakōvaraiyan Tāyilunallaperumāḷ Tirunīṟṟuvīramākatacōḻan, gave from the 20th of the month of Āvaṇi as tax-free *tēvatāṉam* (*tēvatāṉa iṟaiyili*), (*to last*) till the moon and the sun endure the wet and dry land within the four boundaries of Taccūr of the north, and the wet and dry land of the *ēntalparṟu*, (*that is*) the wet and dry land, and after removing from them, the *ēntalparṟu* and the habitation site, that remained over after excluding the tax-free gifts of land, given in previous years, including the lands of *tiruviṭaiyāṭṭam* (land gifted to Viṣṇu temple), *paḷḷiccantam* (land gifted to Jain temple), the *tēvatāṉas* of several temples, and the lands of the Paṭṭar (i.e., Brāhmaṇas), together with all the incomes like *ānvari, kācāyam, kāṭṭikaippaccai* (a levy in kind), *matirucāṉ, ūcivāci* (tax on tailor), *nellerutu* (show bull) and *naṟpacu* (show cow) and including the facilities of *āḷamañci*, mason, black-smith, potter, cobbler, *vēṟutaṇṭu* (a tax), *cekkiṟai, maṉaiyiṟai* and *pāṭṭam* (tax) and incomes from all other existing categories of revenue, to provide for the service (*instituted in the name of*) Tirunīṟṟuvīramākata-cōḻan to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyaṉār and for the work in the temple.

7 I have instructed to install (*boundary*) stones (with carving) of *tricūla* (i.e., trident) (*on them*), at the four boundaries of this village and also to have (*the document*) engraved on stone on the *Tirukkaṟṟaḷi* (i.e., stone temple).

8 This should be given after stating so in the account (book). One who changed this, would incur the sin of him who killed a tawny cow on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari, *mōvāypukkumulai puṟappaṭuvāṉ*, and he

9 would be the husband of his own mother. This Taccūr is (*renamed as*) Tirunīṟṟuvīramākatacōḻanallūr. This is protected by the *Śrī-Mahēśvaras.*

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197 A.D. 1242 (?)

S.I.I., VIII, 95 **II *Prākāra*, north wall.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ Cipallavaṉ Kop-Peruñciṅkatevarku yāṇṭu ꣸ - vatu Siṁha-

174 About A.D. 1262-63.

nāyarṟu pūrvvapakṣa[t]tu Piratamaiyum Putaṉkiḻamaiyum perṟa Makattuṉāḷ Āmūr Nilakaṅkaraiyaṉ Avaṉi-Āḷa[p]piṟa-

2 ntāṉ makaṉ Aḻakiyatirucciṟṟampalamuṭaiyāṉ Nilakaṅkaraiyaṉeṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkkum Tirukkāma[k*]koṭṭa-muṭaiya tampirāṭṭiyār Uṇṇāmulainācciyā[r]kkum tirunantāviḷakku

3 i[ṭ]ṭa ac(ñ)cunilai kuttuviḷakku muṉṟum itukku viṭṭa pacu toṇṇūṟṟu āṟum iṣapam muṉṟum itukku iṭum tirununtāviḷakku muṉṟu itil uṭaiyār Tirumuṉpusnapaṇama-

4 ṇṭapattil vaiycca kuttuviḷakku iraṇṭukkum iṭum nilaiviḷakku iraṇṭu tirukkāma[k*]koṭṭattukku tirumuṉpu vaiytta viḷakku iṭum nilai viḷakku onṟu ippaṭi Caṉtirā-

5 tittavarai tiruna[n]tā viḷakku cella kal veṭṭi[k*]kuṭutten Āmūr Aḻakiya Tiruccirṟampalamuṭaiyāṉāṉa Nilakaṅkaraiyaṉeṉ [/*] i[p]paṭikku tirumāḷikaiyil kallu veṭṭi [k] kuṭutteṉ [/*] i-

6 tu paṉmāhe-

7 śvara rakṣai : ೭

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over all the worlds) Cīpallavaṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar. On Wednesday, the first day of the bright fortnight in the month of Siṁha (*when the asterism*) Maghā was current (*in this year*[175]), I, Aḻakiya Tiruccirṟampalamuṭaiyāṉ Nīlakaṅkaraiyaṉ, the son of Nīla-Kaṅkaraiyaṉ Avaṉi-Āḷappiṟantāṉ of Āmūr, gave *nantā* lamps for (*burning in the temples of*) the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār and the goddess Uṇṇāmulai-nācciyār of the goddess' shrine (*tirukkāmak-kōṭṭām*), three standing lamps, each of five-tiers, and 96 cows and 3 bulls for this purpose.

3-5 For this, three *nuntā* lamps are given. Of these, for two standing lamps which are to be placed in front of the god in the bathing hall, two tiered lamps (*are set apart*) and one tiered lamp, for burning the lamp is placed in front of the goddess's shrine. Accordingly, for (*bruning the*) *nuntā* lamp till the moon and the sun endure, I, Aḻakiya-Tiruccirṟampalamuṭaiyāṉ *alias* Nīla-Kaṅkaraiyaṉ of Āmūr gave (*the document*) engraved on stone. Thus I gave (*the document*) engraved on the *tirumāḷikai* (temple wall ?).

5-7 This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

198

A.D. 1242-43

EO. 295

III *Prākāra*, Ēkāmbarēśvara shrine, west wall, north side. Damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉaccakka-

2 ravattikaḷ Cī-Kop-Peruñciṅkatevaṟku yāṇṭu 2-vatu

175 Probably July 30, 1242.

3 [Mina]-nāyaṟṟup pūrvva-pakṣattu pañcamiyum Viyā-
4 ḻakkiḻamaiyum perṟa Aṉuḻattu nāḷ uṭaiyār
5 Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkku tiruṉunt-
6 ā viḷakku [1/2] . . Eyil nāṭṭil . . . . lantaka . ṉi . .
7 . yil . . nta . ka . [Koḷtāṇṭai makaṉ Pe-
8 riyanāyaneṉ . . . . . na . yāṉ .
9 . ḻāṉ Perumāḷ vacam viṭṭa viḷakku kālum Paṅ-
10 kuṉi mātam Peruṅkāṭakkoṉ Tevaṉ vacam viṭṭa
11 viḷakku kālum āka viḷakku araikkum viṭṭa pa-
12 cu 16 iṣapam 1-m ivai koṇṭu Cantirā-
13 tittavarai cella kaṭavatāka viṭṭeṉ Pe-
14 . . . . . mēhēśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-8 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year 2 (*of the reign*) of Cakalapuvaṉaccakkara-vattikaḷ Ci(Śrī) Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar, on Thursday, the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of [Mīna] when the asterism Aṉuḻam is current,[176] I, Periya-nāyaṉ ? the son of [Kō]ṭāṇṭai gave [1/2] *nuntā* lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār.

9-12 (*Of this lamp*) 1/4 of a lamp was entrusted to one . . . . Perumāḷ and from the month of Paṅkuṉi 1/4 of a lamp was entrusted to one Peruṅ-kāṭakkōṉ Tēvaṉ. (*To meet the expenses*) of this 1/2 a lamp, I, Pe-[riyanāyan] gave 16 cows and 1 bull

12-14 so that the endowment could be continued till the moon and the sun endure. This is protected by the . . . *Māhēśvaras.*

199

A.D. 1254 (?)

EO. 33 (4) **III Prākāra, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.**
Badly damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉac-[cakkara] . . . . . kkuyāṇṭu . . . . . Viyāḻakkiḻamai
2 Maturāntakap Pottappic - coḻaṉ Vi-caiyakaṇṭakopālateva . . . . maṭi ti-rukkā . . . . . katte utaka
3 [tā]ṅkal naṅcai puncai uḻpaṭṭa kaṭa-maiyum āḻvari . . . . . yam peṟu taṟi iṟai taṭṭārappāṭṭam . . . .
4 epperppaṭṭa aṉaittāyaṅkaḻum uṭpaṭa tiru[mā] . . . . . koḻvāṉ Keṅkai
5 . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year . . . . . Cakalapuvaṉaccakkara[vattikaḷ] . . . . . Maturāntakap Pottappic-cōḻaṉ Vicaiya Kaṇṭakōpālatēvar gave . . . . . .

3-5 (*This gift included*) the wet and dry lands and the levies thereon including *āḻvari* (tax on individuals), *taṟi iṟai, taṭṭārappāṭṭam*, and all other incomes . . . . . (one) who received . . . Keṅkai . . . . . .

176 Irregular. May be A.D. 1242-43 or 1243-44.

200 A.D. 1254-55

S.I.I., VIII, 111 — III *Prākāra*, Ēkāmbarēśvara shrine, south wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉaccak-karavattikaḷ śrī-Kop-Peruñciṅkate-varkku yāṇṭu 12 - vatu Aṟaiyāṟṟu-maṅkalattu Vimaceṭṭiyār makaṉ Mal-likācaṉaceṭṭi-

2 yeṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉārkut tirununtā viḷakku 1 - kku ivvāṇṭait Tai-mātattu viṭṭa pacu 32 vṛṣapam 1 kuttuviḷakku 1 [/*] ippacuk kaikko-

3 ṇṭu iṉṉāḷ mutal ittirununtā viḷakkukku aṇṇāvaṉ uḷakkāl nāḷ 1 - kku uḷakkāka vanta ney Cantirātittavarai aḷakkak-kaṭaveṉ Paṭṭakkoṉ makaṉ Cūraṉeṉ [/*] itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai : —

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 12th year[177] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Cakalapuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor of all the worlds) śrī-Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar. I, Mallikācaṉaceṭṭi, the son of Vīma-ceṭṭiyār of Aṟai-yāṟṟumaṅkalam, gave one *nuntā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār and 32 cows and one bull (*to provide for it*) from the month of Tai of this year.

2-3 I, Cūran, the son of Paṭṭakkōn, having received the cows, have agreed to measure out, from this day till the moon and the sun endure, daily one *uḷakku* of ghee by the measure called *aṇṇāvaṉ-uḷakku* for the *nuntā-viḷak-ku*. This is protected by the *Pāṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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201 A.D. 1255-56

S.I.I., VIII, 109 — III *Prākāra*, Ēkāmbarēśvara shrine, south wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉaccak-karavatti[ka]ḷ śrī-Kop-Peruñciṅkate-varku yāṇṭu 13-vatu uṭaiyār Tiru-vaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya [n]ā-

2 yaṉār koyil Śrī-Māheśvarak kaṇkāṇi-ceyvārum tevakaṉmi koyil kaṇakka-rum Naṟaiyuṭaiyāṇpaṭṭu lirukku maṉ-rāṭi Maruntan Appaṉāṉa

3 Periyanāṭṭukoṉukkuk kal veṭṭikkuṭut-tapaṭi [/*] Tiruviḷakku maṉṟāṭikaḷ pe-ril viṭṭa māṭṭukkuk kaṭamai kuṭimai ceyyāmaiyāluk kālaṟa-

4 c cākaiyālum ivvāṇṭai Mācimātattup Paṉṟikoṉ viḷakkāyk Koṭantai Oppaṉ piṭittu ivaṉ viṭṭa pacu 28 - m Cellak-koṉ

5 vacam viṭṭa viḷakkup pacuvil aṭitta pacu 30 - m Teliṅkaṉ Vimaceṭṭi ma-kaṉ Mallikācaṉaceṭṭi Paṭṭikoṉ Cū-raṉvaca[m] viṭṭa pacu-

6 vāy aṭitta pacu 32 iṣabham 1 - m Āṭaiyūr-nāṭāḷvār viṭṭa pacuvāy Taṉi-yāṉai Oppaṉvacam viṭṭu aṭitta pacu 10 āka uru

7 [10]1 itil ip-Periyanāṭṭukkoṉvacam

177 About A.D. 1254-55.

viḷakku 2 [3/4]k[ku] viṭṭa pacu 68 iṣapam 1 taṭṭukku viṭṭa pacu 32 itu paṉ-
8 māheśva[ra] rakṣai :—

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 13th year[178] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattika] (emperor over all the worlds) śrī-Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar. The supervisors of the Śrī-Māhēśvaras, the temple servant and the temple accountants of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-uṭaiya nāyaṉār gave the following (*order*) inscribed on stone, to the shepherd Maruntan Appaṉ *alias* Periyanāṭṭukōṉ of Naṟaiyuṭaiyāṉpaṭṭu.

3-7 Owing to the fact that no *kaṭamai* and *kuṭimai* (taxes) were paid in respect of the cattle left in charge of the shepherds doing duty for lamps, and in view of the cattle dying, from the month of Māci of this year, Koṭantai Oppaṉ on behalf of Paṉṟikkōṉ gave 28 cows after capturing them from ....., 30 cows from the lamp cows given in charge of Cellakkōṉ, 32 cows and one bull from the cows given to Paṭṭikōṉ Cūraṉ by Teliṅka Vīma-ceṭṭi's son Mallikācaṉa (Mallikārjuna ?) -ceṭṭi and 10 cows from those given to Taṉiyāṉai Oppaṉ by Āṭaiyūrnāṭāḷvār, all totalling to 101 numbers.

7-8 Of these, 68 cows and one bull were given to Periyaṉāṭṭukkōṉ for (*the purpose*) of 2-3/4 lamps and 32 cows for *taṭṭu* (?). This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

202

A.D. 1257

S.I.I., VIII, 98

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉacca[k]karavattika] Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantārāṉa śrī-Kop-Peruñciṅkatevarkku yāṇṭu 15 - vatu

2 Kūṭal-Āḷappiṟantāṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Cāṭumperumāḷ nampirāṭṭiyār Peṇṇaraciyārāṉa Uṭaiyāḷvār tiru-

3 makaḷār Miṭṭāṇṭār-nācciyārāṉa Nampirāṭṭimār Nācciyāreṉ Mituṉanāyaṟṟu irupattaiñcān tiyati-

4 yum Putaṉkiḻamai perṟa Attattu nāḷ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārait teṇṭaṉpaṇṇi

5 tampirāṭṭiyār Uṇṇāmulainācciyārkku iṭṭa caṭṭuvam 1-ṉāl celavukallāl poṉ 70 *poṉ* taṇṇīramutuvaṭṭil 1-ṉāl

6 poṉ 30 *poṉ* āka poṉ 100 *poṉ* [/*] caṭṭuvam māṟṟu 8 vaṭṭil māṟṟu 9-1/2 [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-6 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 15th year (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over all the worlds) Avaṉi-Āḷappiṟantār *alias* śrī-Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar, I, Miṭṭāṇṭār-nācciyār *alias* Nampirāṭṭimār Nācciyār, the daughter of Peṇṇaraciyār *alias* Uṭaiyāḷvār,the wife of Kūṭal-Āḷappiṟantāṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Cāṭumperumāḷ, on Wednesday the 25th day of the month of Mituna (when the asterism) Attam (Hastam)

178 About A.D. 1255-56.

was current (*in the year*)[179], gave, after prostrating myself before the god of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, to the goddess Uṇṇāmulainācciyār, one laddle (*of the value*) of 70 *poṉ* as per the stone called the *celavukal* and a bowl for keeping (*sacred*) water (*of the value*) of 30 *poṉ*, the total (*amount being*) 100 *pon*. The quality of (*the poṉ for the*) laddle was 8 *mārru* (a measure of fineness) and that (for the) bowl was 9-1/2 *mārru*.

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203 A.D. 1260-61

EO. 214-230 Dēvasthānam office, west side, base. Damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kōp-Peruñciṅkatevaṟku yāṇṭu [18?]-vatu Kumpa-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakṣattu tritiyaiyum Veḷḷikki-ḻ amaiyum perṟa Revati nāḷ Kūṭal A . . . . . ṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Avaṉi Āḷappi-ṟ antāṉ . . . . . cāmanta mutalikaḷil Āṭkoṇṭāṉāṉa Kāṅkeyarāyaneṉ Tevar tirumēṉikku naṉṟāka uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār tirukkoyilil muṉṟām pirākārattil eḻuntaruḷiviṭṭa Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantīcuramuṭaiya nāyaṉārkku pūcaikkum amutupaṭikkumuṭalāka kalveṭṭik kuṭutta paricāvatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār tevatāṉam Aṇṇānāṭṭu
2 Karikālacoḻanallūrp piṭākaiyil Kaḻamuḻāṉpūṇṭi nārpārkellaik kuṭ[pa*]ṭṭa naṅcai puṉcey āyam pāṭikāval kācāyamuṭpaṭṭa aṉaittāyaṅkaḻumuṭ-paṭa Caṇṭēcurap peruvilaikkuk koṇṭu ivvilaippaṭikku uṭaiyār . . vaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār koyil paṇṭārattu nāṉ oṭukkiṉa kācu 30,000 ikkācu muppatināyiramum . . . . ṇṭu ik-Kaḻamu-ḻ āṉpūṇṭi Avani Āḷappiṟantīcuramuṭaiya nāyaṉārkku pūcaikkum amutupaṭikkumuṭalāka Cantirātittavarai celvatākak kalveṭṭik kuṭutteṉ Āṭkoṇṭāṉ Kāṅkaiyarāyaneṉ ೭ itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai : ೭

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! On Friday the third day of the dark fortnight of the month of Kumpa when the asterism Rēvatī was current in the [18th ?] year[180] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Cakalapuva-ṉ accakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over all the worlds) śri-Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar, I, Āṭkoṇṭāṉ *alias* Kāṅkeyarāyan, one of the *cāmanta mutalis* of Kūṭal Ā . . . . . ṉ Kāṭavarāyaṉ Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantāṉ gave the (following) gift to provide for worship and food offering to Avaṉi Āḷappiṟantīcuram uṭaiya nāyaṉār (whom I) caused to be set up in the 3rd *prākāra* (enclosure) of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār for the physical well-being of the Tēvar (ruler).

I bought the wet and dry lands within the four boundaries of the village of Kaḻumuḻāṉpūṇṭi a hamlet of Karikālacōḻanallūr in Aṇṇā-nāṭu, a *tēvatānam* of the god, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai

179 Probably June 30, 1257.
180 Irregular. May be A.D. 1260-61.

uṭaiya nāyaṉār, together with incomes, *pāṭikāval* and all other incomes including *kācāyam*, and as its price, I paid into the treasury of the temple of the god, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉar the amount of 30,000 *kācu*. Having (given) this 30,000 *kācu*, I, Āṭkoṇṭāṉ Kāṅkaiyarāyan, gave this Kaḷamuḷāṉpūṇṭi to provide for worship and food offerings to the Avani Āḷappiṟantīcuramuṭaiya nāyaṉār till the moon and the sun endure by inscribing (*the record*) on stone. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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204 A.D. 1262-63

S.I.I., VIII, 104 **II *Prākāra*, north wall.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Kop-Peruñciṅkatevaṟku yāṇṭu 20 - āvatu Ceyaṅkoṇṭacoḷamaṇṭalattu Cevūrkoṭṭattu Parameçuramaṅkalamāṉa Coḷakulapaticcatur-[vetiḷmaṅkalattu Para-

2 mecuramaṅkalamuṭaiyāṉ Cilampaṇintān Kūttāṭuvā(n)nāṉa Cetirāyaṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉ[ā*]rkkut Tiruvātiraippaṭi ney yāṭiyaruḷa viṭṭa viḷakku onṟaraikku vi-

3 ṭṭa pacu 48-m iṣapam 2 itil Cakkaravattikkon Ponnan vacam viḷakku onṟum Tevakkon vacam viḷakkaraiyum āka viḷakkonṟarai [/*] itu paṉmāhēśvara rakṣai // -

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 20th year[181] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar. Cilampaṇintān Kūttāṭuvān *alias* Cētirāyaṉ, the chief of Paramēcuramaṅkalam belonging to Paramēcuramaṅkalam *alias* Cōḷakulapaticcaturvētimaṅkalam in Cēvūrkōṭṭam in Ceyaṅkoṇṭacōḷa-maṇṭalam gave 48 cows and two bulls for providing ghee to burn 1-1/2 lamps on every Tiruvātirai day to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyā nāyanār. Of these lamps, one lamp was entrusted to Cakkaravattikkōn Ponnan and half of a lamp was entrusted to Tēvakkōn, the (*total*) was 1-1/2 lamps. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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205 A.D. 1263-64

S.I.I., VIII, 120 **Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, west side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Kop-Peruñciṅkatevarkku yāṇṭu

2 21 - āvatu teva[raḷ]iyār irupattunāḷvaril . .

3 tat Tukkaiyāṉa Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Mā-

181 About A.D. 1262-63.

ṇikka-
4 ttin makan Peṇṇoṭṭuvāṉāṉa Irāca-kampi-
5 ramārāyan uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya
6 nāyanā[r*][k]ku viṭṭa tirununtāviḷakku 1-kku viṭṭa
7 pacu 32 ṛṣbham 1 [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-7 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 21[182] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar. Peṇṇōṭṭuvāṉ *alias* Irācakampīra-mārāyan, the son of . . . . tat Tukkai *alias* Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Māṇikkam, one of the 24 *tēvaraṭiyār*, gave one *nuntā-viḷakku* (perpetual lamp) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, and for this he endowed 32 cows and one bull.

206

13th c.

A.R.E., 70/45-46

III *Prākāra*, east wall.

TEXT

1 Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyil kāṇi uṭaiya yirupattu nālvar tevaraṭiyāril Tukkaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Māṇikkattin ma-
2 kan Peṇṇo Aṟivāne[n*] Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyṉārkku yiṭṭa kuttuviḷakku 1-l eṭai 250 - 1 parika(l)
3 lam 1-l eṭai 100-l tiruvaṭṭanaikkāl 1-l eṭai 110-l apiṣeka kalacappā[ṉai] 1-l eṭai 50 kaṟi amutukku yi-
4 ṭṭa kallāle palakai tirumañcaṉa āṭi aruḷa ceppukkiṭāram 1-l eṭai 1000-l tiruvoṟṟāṭai muṟi 16 tirununtā viḷa-
5 kku 1-kku Veṇṇaikkūttan vacam viṭṭa pacu 32 erutu 1 tirumalai pitakkanam paṇṇi mutal maṇṭapam itiliivvāṭṭai-
6 kku 5 tirunāḷ amutu cevikka kaṭaven maṇṭapattuk-kiṇaṟu melait tiruvīṭiyil kaṇṭuṅ kuṭiyumāṟṟi Tātapiḷḷaiyārum eḻun-
7 taruḷivittān Kaikkoḷa - piḷḷaiyār koyil vācal ceyvittāṉ ūṟkku iṭṭa tārai 2 cemakkalam 1 Nāṟpatteṇṇāyira-maṭattil ki-
8 ṇaṟu 1 pāṇakkum paḷḷikkuṅ kaṇṭa kiṇaṟu 1 Naralokatiraṇil kiḻ ental Kaṇṇantaipūṇṭiyil kaṭai pāccalil kaṇṭa ental Vayiri-
9 ykallaṭiyil āviyum kiṇaṟum [//*] itu Cimāheśvara rak[ṣai] [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 I, Peṇṇō Aṟivān, the son of Tukkaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Māṇikkam, one of the 24 *tēvaraṭiyār* who owned property at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, donated the following to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār:

2-5 (*They included*) one standing lamp weighing 250 (*palam* ?), one *parikalam* weighing 100 (*palam* ?), one *tiruvaṭṭanaikkāl* (circular pedestal) weighing 110, one pot for performing bathing (*of the deity*) weighing 50, one stone slab for (*keeping*) curry, one *ceppukkiṭāram* (big copper vessel) for storing water, for bathing, weighing 1000 (?), *tiruvoṟṟāṭai* (towel) *muṟi* (piece) 16 and one *nuntā* lamp for which 32 cows and one bull were given which were entrusted to Veṇṇaikkūttan.

5-6 (Besides), I undertake to feed this

182 About A.D. 1263-64.

year (*the devotees*) in the first *maṇṭapam* (hall) for 5 days during the festival after performing circumambulation of the hill ; I dug up a well in the western street, to provide water for the *maṇṭapam.*

6-7 I caused the setting up of the deity Tātapiḷḷaiyār after vacating the tenants (*in the western street* ?), and constructed the entrance to the deity Kaikkōḷapiḷḷaiyār ;

7-9 I, gifted 2 *tārai* (trumpet) to the village, one gong ; one well in the Nār-patteṇṇāyira-maṭam, one well for the *pāṇas* and the *paḷḷis* ; and I created the eastern *ēntal* in Naralōkatīraṉ, the *ēntal* at the very end of Kaṇṇantaipūṇṭi and *āvi* (tank) and well in the Vayiriykallaṭi.

9 This is protected by the *Cī-Māhēśvaras.*

207

13th c.

EO. **II *Prākāra*, Ṛṣi-gōpura, entry-way, north platform, north wall.**

1571-1586 **Badly damaged.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Kop-Peruñciṅkatēvaṟku yāṇṭu irupa .....

2 . . . Peṇṇai Aṇṇā-nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya .....

3 koyil tāṉattomum Śrī-Mākecura kaṇkāṇi ceyvārkaḷum teva-

4 kaṉmi koyilkaṇakkarum uḷḷiṭṭa ivvaṉai[varu]m iṉṉāyaṉār koyil

5 tevakaṉmi Tillaimūvāyiranampi nāyaṉaṭaṉa Māhecura .....

6 ṭṭikkuṭutta paricāvatu iṉṉāyaṉār tevatā[ṉa*]m O . tti cellāṇṭai erik[ku] . . cey . . .

7 ve . raccerṟuvāriṭai koṇ[ṭu][vaṉporu] .. iṭṭu kāṭuveṭṭi [kaṭ]ṭai[tirutti] Cokka . . .

8 ṉ eri enṟu eriyum veṭṭi . mpa . . i . ṉ . erikku en[ta*?]l ..... ivverikku vaṭakku . .

9 . . . tapaṭi ..... raiyum nāyaṉāraiyum eḷuntaruḷuvikkaiyāle ..... rāka[nampi] . . .

10 . yār tirumaṭaippaḷḷippuṟamāka iraṇṭu[pevi] . . . ru ..... kkaṭ . . kavum iṉṉāya . . .

11 . ta . ḷḷa .... [ṭamava . ṅkapitaṭai]-paṇṇukaiyāl iṉṉāyaṉār koyil [Pekku ?] . ta[ṉi]kkāṇi .....

12 ..... ma . pa . . . ru . le .... kkum [eripaṭṭiyum] . ṉ . ippaṭi[yu]māka .... vikaṟai tiru . .

13 ..... ṭa . kā ..... m tiruttina [parrukku] kaṭamai koḷḷum [potu] tiruttina vāṇṭu ....

14 tiruttiṉavāṇṭu . ṭikā . . . koḷḷakkaṭavatākavum [i]taṉ [mel ?] yāṇṭu 1-kku [varicaiyum pāṭikā]val 3/20 . .

15 koḷḷakkaṭavatākavum itaṉ etirāmāṇṭu ..... ṇṭu .... varicaikk[ā*]l varicaiyum pāṭikā ....

16 ṭapaṅkoḷḷakkaṭavatākavum iṉṉilattukku kaṭamai koḷḷum iṭa .... ṉa erikku uṇṭāṉa [kuṭi] . .

17 . ku [a]ṭaittu . . . rāṇṭu i . k . vo ..... tukkuk kaṭamai iṟukkak kaṭa . . . m ivu[i] . . .

18 . ku . . kuṭika . . kka . ṭi . . ce .... kkaṭavatākavum ippaṇam . . k . . ra . ṭi [ka] . peru . .

19 iṭṭu kāṭu veṭṭik[kaṭṭai] tiruttu ..... ttukaiyile ivaṉukkuk kuṭiniṅkāt tevatāṉamākavum virrorrip parikkira .... kku [urittāvatākavum] . . . ṭṭik kuṭuttaṉ . . [vvaṉ]ve -

21 . itu [panmāheśvara] rakṣai ꣑

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year 2[.] of Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar .....

2-6 We, the *tāṉattom* of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya . . . of Āṇṇā-nāṭu on the Peṇṇai, (consisting of) *Śrī-Mākēcura-kaṇkāṇi-ceyvārkaḷ, tēvakaṉmi,* and *kōyil-kaṇakkar* together, gave the deed engraved on stone to Tillaimūvāyiranampi nāyaṉaṭaṉa Māhēcura ..... a *tēvakaṉmi* of the temple of this god.

6-10 The deed related to the (allotment) of (land) in . . . O . tti cellāṇṭai eri, a *tēvatāṉam* of this god, to be had from . . . ve . *racerruvār* (conveyors of the revenue to the king). He should remove the jungle from the land, and cut off the stumps of wood ..... dig up a tank called Ćokka . . . n ēri and the *ēntal* . . . . (After doing this) he caused the setting up of the gods .... as *tirumaṭaippaḷḷipuṟam,* two . . . ..

11-12 ..... when it was being done, the . . . . . of the temple of this god ..... *ēripaṭṭi* .....

13-17 When the question of levying *kaṭamai* for the newly made land, ... for the year when it was brought under cultivation. For ..... it was brought under cultivation, ... could be received. For a year after this *varicai* and 3/20 of *pāṭikāval* could be got. For the year opposite to this, ... [1/4] *varicai* and *pāṭikāval* . . . could be got. At the time of levying *kaṭamai* for this land, whatever is due to this *ēṟi* ..... (that) *kaṭamai* should be paid.

17-21 ..... should be paid. This *paṇam* . . . . . removing the jungle and cutting off the stumps of wood ..... it would become his *kuṭinīṅkā tēvatāṉam.* He would have the right of selling, mortgaging and outright selling. Thus (it was given) ..... This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

208

13th c.

S.I.I., VIII, 69

II *Prākāra*, west wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī / Kārvaḷarmeṉik kamalakkaṇṇaṉ pārvaḷar-untip-Pallavar-perumāṉ cakalapuvaṉaccakkaravartti Kūṭal-Avaṉiyāḷappiṟantāṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ kuṟai kaḷar-Kāṭavaṉ conmaṟaiyākkaṉ cuṭar vāḷeṭttup piṉvara naṭantu pilan tiṟantaruḷiya kāvalartampirāṉ Kaṇṇār-amutar-Aruṇamālvaraip Perumāḷ tamakkuc ceyta tiruppaṇi terinteṭut turaippiṟ kāṭiṟ kampiyuṅ katirmaṇi-maku[ṭa]muñ ceṅkatire[ṟi]kku mankacuttamum pāku valayamum paimpoṟ palatoḷi[r] tiruvuṭaiyāṭaiyum tirukkaḷaṟ kiḷi[ṭu]m

2 petaipātamum[pi]ṟaṅkiruṭkaṇṭamu miḷañāyiṟṟi ṉeḷi[ṉi]ṟan toṉṟa vaḷar-māṇikkavā[ḷi]veyil larumpiya virikaṭa lavaṇiyālappiṟantāṉ tiruvācikaiyuñ ciṅkācaṉamuṅ kaṟpaka virukkamu muttiṉ paṉṭalu moṭari maikka ṇumai yicaipāṭi āṭiya vatiruṅ kaḷaṟ perumāḷuk kiṉa māṇikka miḷankac ceyta Paratamvallaperumāḷeṉṉum tiruvācikaiyuñ ciṟanta ceṅkatiroḷi viḷanku māṇikkamum tulaṅkum vayiramun kaṭṭiya polan taruk kuṭa mañcaṉamun Kaṇṇāramutar kāmakkoṭṭatt-Uṇṇāmulaiyām - Umaiyavaḷ-taṉakkup-perumaṇi niraitta tiruvuṭaiyā -

ṭaiyum venṟi velkoṇṭu kuṉṟeṟi Murukaṉ ceṉṉiṟa meṉiyun teviyar meṉiyu maiññiṟat tokai vaṇṇamum - aṭai[ya]p poṉṉiṟa mākkiya poṟ paṇi palavu Mallaikāvala Niccaṅkamallaṉ Pallavarventaṉ Paratamvallaṉ Kūṭalavaṉiyā[lappiṟaṉtāṉ ceytaṇa vippaṇi yaṭaṅkavu mivaṉ ciṟaṉ-tūlikālam vāli [/*] ivaṉ makaṉ vāṭāvākaik Kāṭavakumāraṉ vāṉpu-kaḷ Mallaiyu Mayilaiyuṅ Kāñciyum Ta[ṇṭaka]-nāṭun taṉpuṉaṟ Pā[li]yum Peṇṇaiyum Kovalum Mevukaiyu muṭaiyavaṉeṉṉaruñ ciṟappil yāvaru matitta

virutaril vīraṉ viṟal Vīrācaṇi Kariyanātaṉ kātaṟ-kumaraṉ ku[ṭa]ticaik Karu[naṭa]r teṉpulaṅ kuṟukavum vaṭaticait Teluṅkar vaṭakkiruntaḷiyavum poṟ pala kaṭantu poruntā maṉṉava rāreyiṟ cerntūr malai yaraṇaḷittu nallicaik kaṭām puṉai Naṉṉaṉ verpil velpukaḷaṉaittu mempaṭat taṅkoṉ-[vā]kaiyum kuraṅkum vicaiyamum [ti]ṭṭiya vaṭalpuṉai neṭuve [lā]ṭkoṇṭatevaṉ kaṭakari muṉai mukaṅ kaṭanta Kāṅkayaṉ Kaṉṉāramutar kaṇaṅkuḷaiyākatt - Aṇṇāmalaiyaṟ kaṉ[pu] keḷu neñcil

viruppuṭaṉ ceyta tiruppaṇi[k*] kovai yāvaiyu meṭuttup pāvala ruraippil niṉṟa tolpukaḷ nilamuḷu taḷitta veṉṟipuṉaitoḷāṭkoṇ[ṭa]tevaṉ Veṇā[vu]ṭaiyāṉeṉṉum peyarā ṉināḷ vāḷa nilaiperac ceyta Perumāḷamarun tiru[ma]ṇṭapamu marukkama[l] kaṇakattiruppaḷi yaṟaiyum tiruvamuteṟṟum perumaṇṭapamum virivuṭaṉ cey tirukkākka[l]iyum peruviṟalavaṉiyāḷapiṟaṉtāṉ tirumaṇṭapamuñ ceḻumalar toṭutta kaṇ-

ṇi vāṭātu kaṇṇimaiyātu maṇmicai naṭavā vāṉor valamvara veṇmati nilavil viḷaṅkucuṭareṟikkum paṭittaḷa meṉṉavum paṭi muṉṟukku maṭittaḷa meṉṉavu maṭaiyā ma[ṇ]ṇavar malaittaḷam paṟit tammaṉṉavar cumantac cilaittaḷam koṇṭu ceyta cilaittaḷamu mellaiyi lukantoṟuñ celvam tolaiyātu varumpaṭi vakutta Niccaṅ[ka]mallaṉ perumpaṇṭāramum Piṟaimuṭipperumāḷiṉṉāḷ va[ṇ]tirun[ta]mai toṉ[ṟa]vu muṉṉāḷa[ḷaṉ]ta muṟaimai

kāṇavum vāṭṭaṭaṅkaṉṉiyar maṇaitoṟum pali koḷak kā[ṭṭi]ya vaṭiviṟ Kaṅkāḷaveṭamum vāṉmukat tamarar vaṇaṅkac ceyta nāṉmukat teru nāyaki taṇakku mappaṭi vakutta vaṇi neṭuteruvuñ ceppiya [ka]tiravar ticaivalampotuñ-cotinaṉmaṇi vitika[ḷ] [yi]laṅka[k] [ka]laipayil tavattor nilaipeṟa virukka [malai] vakuttaṉaiya Kāṅkayaṉ maṭamuṅ kāṉiṟ payilum kaḷa-vuḷar tamakku ve-

ṉiṟ teṉṟal viyaṉperuṅ kavari yirumaruṅ kiraṭṭavu mimaiyavar tutikkavu marumaṇam perukiya Vā]valaperumāḷ tiruneṭun toppun tittamākiya vamuta naṉṉati yaṉaittilum tūya Tamiṇāṭukāttaperumāḷ taṭākamum vaṇṭicai pāṭal matumalar vācaṅ koṇṭa Kāṭavakūmaraṉ toppuṅ kaviṉ vemparik katirvaḷi taṭutta-vaṉiyāḷappiṟaṉtān toppun talanika-

ḷ Ceṉattalaivaṉ toppum vemmaināḷil veñcuraṇaṭantavar tammaṇaṅ kuḷirat taṇṭalai niḻarceyumammaimaṭamu maiyyaṉeriyum veṟpakan tuḷaittenak kaṟpuṭaiyarāki yaṭaneṭum pilattilamutuvanteḻuntavaṭi Vā]vallaperumāḷkiṇaṟu maḷimural kamalamu māmpalu malarntu kuḷirpuṉaṟ Kāṭavakumāraṉtaṭākamuṅ kuṉṟuka[rai]yaṇṇa koṭuyar neṭuṅkarai Veṉṟuma-

laikoṇṭaperumāḷeriyuñ curartaru neruṅkiya colaiyu[m]ovvāp Paratamvallaperumā]-toppum vaḷañimirārkku maṭalipāḷai viṟaikamaḷ Virarāyaṇtoppun tavaneṟic-Cuntarar tam peruṅkulattiṟ ta . . . . . ṟkuc ceytukuṭutta kaṭaleṇa niraintu kārvayal viḷaikkum vic . . cai Niccaṅkamallaṉeriyun Kāṅkaiyaṉ taṭākamuṅ Kāṅkayaṉ-maṭa-

mum pūṅkamaḷ colaiyum

11 porpuṭan [viḷḷaṅka yivvakai yāvaiyuñ ceytaṉa ṉātaṉār pāvaipākaṉ cevaṭittāmarai yaṇinta ceṉṉiyar pārkuṅ kaṇṇiṉa raṇinta nirriṉa rākama naṉṉeripaṭinta neñciṉar paracamaiyaṅkaṭaṉai kaṭinta vāṇaiyar kaṇṇutarperumā ṉātināṭanāy veṭaṅkoṇṭu pāypuṉar Kaṅkai yāyiramukaṅkoṇṭārt telu maṉṉāleṟṟakkoṇṭa tiruntiya piṟai muṭi yaruntavvac caṭātara rātiyi laṅcelut

12 totiya toṇṭareṉ ṟeṇṇiya nārpaṭṭeṇṇāyiravarun tiruvaruḷivaṉmel vaittaṉa ririnilantaṉṉi liṉituvāḷ keṉave ౨

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! If one should describe the sacred services rendered to the god Kaṇṇāramutar Aruṇamālvarap-perumāḷ by Ćakalapuvaṉaccakkaravartti Kūṭal Avaṉiyāḷappiṟantāṉ Kōp-Peruñciṅkaṉ, who possesses a body like that of a cloud, who has lotus - like eyes, who is called Pallavarperumāṉ who caused prosperity in the world, the illustrious Kāṭavaṉ, who is conmaṟaiyākkaṉ (keeps his word), and who is the chief of kings who, following him, opened up the passage to the nether world by holding the bright sword (in their hands) they are the following : (he gave) the ring for the ear, crown set with shinning jewels, *aṅka-cuttam* (ring for the body) possessing red lustre, *pāku-valayam* (arm-band), a variety of clothes decorated with designs in pure gold, the footstool with the figure of demon beneath the foot, the beautiful *iruṭkaṇṭam*, the beautiful *vāḷi* (an ornament) of sapphire shedding rays like those of the sun, a brilliant *tiruvācikai* (i.e., aureole) called Virikaṭalavaṉiyāḷappiṟantāṉ, a *ciṅkācaṉam* (lion-throne), a *kaṟpaka*-tree, a shed of pearls, a *tiruvācikai* called Partamvallaperumāḷ, set with sapphires, to the god Atiruṅkaḷaperumāḷ who dances to the tune of the beautiful-eyed Umai, and a shining cot decorated with sapphire of red lustre and beautiful diamonds ; clothes embedded with big jewels to the goddess Uṇṇāmulaiyām-Umaiyaval of the Kāmakkōṭṭam in the Kaṇṇāramutar (temple) ; images of beautiful colour of Murukaṉ who destroyed the hill (viz., Kraunca hill) with his victorious spear, and of his *tēvis* ; these and many other holy works done in gold and in variegated colours were those by Mallaikāvalaṉ, Niccaṅkamallaṉ, Pallavarvēntaṉ, Paratamvallaṉ, and Kūṭalavaṉiyāḷappiṟantāṉ, and so let him live till eternity well !

3-5 His son is Kāṭavakumāraṉ whose *vākai* garland never withers, and who possessed the world-renowned Mallai, Mayilai, Kāñci, Taṇṭaka-nāṭu, Pāli, noted for its placid rivers, the Peṇṇai, Kōval, and Mevukai, He is noted for his immeasurable fame, a hero amongst those possessing laurels, famous *vīrācaṉi, kariyanātaṉ, kātaṟ kumaraṉ,* one who caused the shrinking of the southern part of the territory of the Karunaṭar of the west, and of the destruction by their own act of *vaṭakkiruttal* (fasting by sitting north-facing) of the Teluṅkar, of the north, one who is called Āṭkoṇṭatēvaṉ the holder of a long spear, who after reaching the place of the enemy kings and after conquering them in many battles, destroyed their hill-forts, and one who had carved, in order to proclaim all of his fame, his victory-garland, *kuraṅku* (animal) and victory on the Naṉṉaṉ hill, and Kāṅkayaṉ who had

crossed the deltaic part of Kaṭakari (?). Let the poets describe the string of all the holy deeds of Vēṇāvutaiyāṉ, of his family, which he did with interest coupled with hearty love of Kaṇṇāramutar Aṇṇāmalaiyar. (*They included*)

5-10 the *tirumaṇṭapam* for the seating of Perumāḷ (i.e., the god) intended to make his name of Āṭkoṇṭatēvaṉ also called Vēṇāvuṭaiyāṉ who possessed valourous arms and who had given to (or impressed upon) the entire world the ancient fame of his family (?), in order that he lives long ; a golden bed-chamber made fragrant with *maru* plant ; a big *maṇṭapam* for placing the offerings ; an elaborately worked *tirukkākkaḷḷi* ; the beautiful *maṇṭapam* named Avaṉiyāḷappiṟantāṉ-tirumaṇṭapam ; paving of the floor with stones quarried from hill and carried on the heads of hostile kings, which shone with brilliance in the moonlight and which looked like the stepping stones leading to the three worlds (?) from where the celestial beings who wore non-withering flower garlands, whose eyes did not wink, and who would not walk on the earth, could descend and go round (the temple) in the clock-wise manner ; the big treasury called Niccaṅkamallaṉ designed in such a way that it possessed inexhaustible wealth ; and also to show the god Piṟaimuṭipperumāḷ (i.e., Candramauḷi or Ćandraśēkhara) to show his visit to the place this day and to witness his ancient . . . . ; an image of Kaṅkāḷatēva showing him as receiving *bali* (food offered to gods) from the houses of the beautiful women (of Ṛṣi) ; a similar by beautiful and long street to the goddess of the four-faced street who is worshipped by the immortal beings of the celestial region ; a (*maṭam*) named Kāṅkayaṉ-maṭam resembling the size of a hill at Kalaipai for the permanent residence of the ascetics who practised the principles during the time when the sun traverses the day time brightening the streets and directions ; and a fine and wide garden named Vāḷvalaperumāḷ-tiru-neṭuntōppu fragrant with *maru* and possessing Kavari on either side, intended for the stay of the god during his summer procession and where the celestial beings could worship him ; a tank called Tamiṇāṭukāttaperumāḷ-taṭākam possessing water purer than the sweet waters of all the famous rivers renowned for sanctity ; a grove called Kāṭava-kumāraṉ-tōppu fragrant with honey-dripping and bee-humming flowers ; another grove called Avaṉiyāḷappiṟantāṉ-tōppu possessing (tall and luxuriant trees) hiding away the rays of the sun ; a (third) grove called Ćēnaittalaivaṉ-tōppu ; a *maṭam* called Ammai-maṭam to provide pleasure-giving cool shelter to those who made journeys in the hot season ; a lake called Ayyaṉēri ; a (*well*) called Vāḷvallaperumāḷ-kiṇaṟu from which water springs up like nectar from the deep nether world of . . . . ; a (*tank*) called Kāṭava Kumāran-taṭākam possessing placid waters and bee-humming lotuses and lilies ; (*another lake*) called Veṉṟumalaikoṇṭaperumāḷ ēri possessing high bunds looking like hills ; a (*grove*) called Paratamvallaperumāḷ-tōppu resembling the danse garden of celestial trees ; (*another grove*) called Vīrarāyaṉtōppu, where beautiful peacocks make sounds and which is fragrant with the pollen of the tender shoots ; (*another lake*) called Niccaṅkamallaṉēri filled with

water like the sea intended to irrigate the area with wetlands caused to be made and given to . . . . . in the family of Cuntarar renowned for his asceticism ; (*another tank*) called Kāṅkayaṉ-taṭākam ; a Kāṅkayaṉ-maṭam ; and a grove fragrant with the smell of flowers.

11-12 He did all these beautiful works. On account of these acts (*of his*), the godmen called Nāṟpatteṇṇāyiravar who bore on their head the lotus-like feet of the god Pāvaipākaṉ (i.e., Ardhanārīśvara), who were the seers, who smeared themselves with ashes, whose heart was filled with the holy principles of the Āgamas, who possessed the authority to refute the hostile religions, and who chanted the five letters (i.e., Namaccivāya) anciently proclaimed by the god Kaṇṇutar-perumāḷ also called Holy Ascetic Caṭātarar who, in ancient times, assuming the form of Ātināṯaṉ received on his head wherein was the crescent (moon) fixed, the torrential waters of the 1000-faced Gaṅgā, showed their grace on him blessing him to live long in both the worlds (i.e., here and in the other world).

209

A.D. 1279

S.I.I., VIII, 76

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Cakalapuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kop-Peruñciṅkatevaṟku iyāṇṭu 36-vatu Makara-nāyaṟṟu aparapakṣattu pañ(c)camiyum Putaṉkiḻamaiyum perra Uttira -

2 ttu nāḷ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku oru tirununtāviḷakku iṭa Marutāṉṭaka Pottappicoḻaṉ Vicaya-Kaṇṭakopālā(la)tevar tampiyār Mati -

3 sūtaṉatevar [ma]kanār Kākkunāyakatevaneṉ ittirununtā viḷakku koṇṭu viṭṭa pacu 32 iṣabham onṟum ivai koṇṭu Cantirātittavarai cella [ka]tavitā-

4 ka vi[ṭ]ṭeṉ Kākkunāyakatevaṉeṉ [/*] itu panmāhēśvara rakṣai : ☡

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It was*) Wednesday and the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Makara (*when the*) asterism Uttiram was current in the 36th year[183] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Cakalapuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over all the worlds) śrī-Kōp-Peruñciṅkatēvar.

2-4 I, Kākkunāyakatēvaṉ, the son of Matisūtanatēvar (*who was*) the younger brother of Marutāṉṭaka Pottappicōḻaṉ Vicaya-Kaṇṭakōpālatēvar gave one *nuntā* lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār. For (*burning*) this *nuntā* lamp (*I*) gave 32 cows and one bull. I, Kākku-nāyakatēvaṉ, have endowed (*them*) by using which (*the lamp*) should continue till the moon and the sun endure. This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

183 Probably January 4, 1279.

210

13th c.

EO. 1637 II *Pākāra, paḷḷiyaṟai*, east wall (inside). Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 naccakkaravattikaḷ [śrī]-Kop-Peruñ . . .

2 ru nuntāviḷakkukku viṭṭa pacu 10 . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 naccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kōp-Peruñ . . . . . for one *nuntā* lamp, ten cows . . ..

211

13th c.

EO. 1639 Bhūta Nārāyaṇa temple, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 yum perra Veḷḷikkiḻamaināḷ tevar mutalikaḷil Āṭkoṇṭatevarāṉa Kāṅkeyar . . .

2 nṟup paṉṉiraṇṭum āka 2-runūṟṟu aṟupattu onṟu ivvu(vi)runūṟṟu-aṟupattu oṉ . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 on Friday the . . . . . Āṭkoṇṭatēvar *alias* Kāṅkēyar, one of the king's *mutalikaḷ* . .

2 . . . . 12, which totalled to 261. This 26[1] . . .

BĀṆAS

212

13th c.

S.I.I., VIII, 97

II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Poṉparappiṉāṉāṉa Makataipperumāḷ kavi // ꝛ Tāru muṭiyu muracun tamakkuriya pārumuṭaṉ peṟuvar pārventar Vīrappeṟumāḷ Makatecaṉ pereḷuti tattam tirumārpi lāḷolai ceytu // [1*] Vaṉmaturai viṭṭu vaṭakaṭal[ā]ṉ mālvaḷuti Teṉmaturai paṭṭiṉṟu teṉkaṭalāṉ naṉṉutalāy mallārtōḷ Mākatarkomāṉ muṉintāl maṉṉavaruk kellāṅ kaṭalo viṭam // [2*]

2 Āḷantaru kaṭalvaiyat taracu celuttiya ceṅko laracellām veḷantaru koṭai Vāṇativākaraṉ vitimuṟai ceyvatu mey kaṇṭī rīḷan tiṟaiyiṭu māṇikkappaṭi [ya]ṭumiṇṭeṉṉarīṭirākir Coḷaṉ tiṟaiyiṭum yāṉaikkuṅkaḷai yiṭumeṉṟiru mitu coṉṉome : ꝛ [3*] Pāroṅku korṟakkuṭai vāṇaṉ palpuravit teroṉ Tiruvuttirāṭaṉāḷ peruvamaikuṉṟeṭā māliyāṉaik koventar vīrri[ru]ppa riṉ[ṟe]ṭā ṉiṉṟeṭā ṉeṉṟu // -[4*] Teṉṉar mutalāvulakāṇṭa

3 cemponmuṭi maṉṉar peruvāḷvum vāḷvaliyu miṉṉumuruvat tikiriyuyar neṭunter vāṇaṉ [pu]ruvakkaṭai vaḷaiyappom // -[5*] Tīyntu poḷilākā cinti nakarākā tūntu maṇiṉīrt tuṟaiyākā ventu mulaippūṇākā māṟiviḷavākā ponneṭuntervāṉākā-veṉṉātār maṇ : ꝛ [6*] Poruppiṟkariya pukarmuka veṅkūṟṟin maruppi[ṟ] tuḷaippuṇṇa vārātiruppil vaṭiyuḷavāṅ cevvel Makataiyarkomā ṉaṭiyuḷavām ventaṟ karan : -[7*] [A]rinda kaṉaikaḷaṟkāṟ

4 por vaḷava[r] koṉai varinta tiṟaikkāka Vāṇā terintānai vāṅkiṉāyeṉṟu valutiyarkaḷ tāṅ kalaṅki yeṅkiṉār pāriḷanto meṉṟu : -[8*] Murukuntu Kāñciyum Vañciyuṅ koṇṭa moytār Makataṉ tirukuṅ kaṉaikaḷal vīkkiya nāḷ Cīparāntakaṉiṟ perukuṅ kurutip pulavāytorum pilavāy maṭuttup parukuṁ kaḷutuṭaṉ cemmaikoṇṭārkum paṇikkaṭale : -[9*] Maṭṭi yaṉṟeṟiya tārpuṉai Vāṇapurantara ṉī veṭṭiyaṉṟe koṉṟa Veṇmaṇippāṭi yutiraveḷḷat toṭṭi yeṉṟeṉum tulaivatuṇṭe tulaiyāta

5 pantikaṭṭi yaṉṟe tevvar pāyparit tāṉai kalakkuvate : -[10*] Koṅkuṅ Kaliṅkamuṅ koṇṭa kaṇṭa[k]koṭitterutiyar taṅkumpaṭi koṇṭa Vāṇātipar taṇiyāta teṉkol poṅkuñ ciṉappaṭai vaṅkāratoṅkaṉ puraṇṭu vīḷac Ceṅkuṉṟa miṉṟu piṇakkuṉṟamākkiya termaṉṉane : -[11*] Vāroṉṟu mulaiyāy maṟṟavaroṉṟum paḷuturaiyār Makataiventaṉ poroṉṟu puriyāmuṇ Periyakuricciyil leḷunta pukaiye kaṇṭāy kāraṉṟu

6 kaṉaleriyai [mi]ṉṉeṉṟu taḷarelk Kā-

raikkāṭṭi lūronṟu matiḻviḻunta peroliyum uru matirvatokkum kāṇe : -[12*] muṉporu paṭaikkaṭalai viṭṭaracarāṉār mulataṉamum pariyu muṟaimuraiparivārit teṉpakai yaṭakkiyapiṉ Vāṇakulatī[pa]ṉ ceyta taṉiyā(ḷ)ṇmai vaṭatikkil aṟikiṟ [pīr paṇṭoru poru]-pparaṇvitā Malayamāṉaip porayilil porutapotom perumpor vaṉparaitaviṟt toru kutiraivaliyālavaṉaivāpuṟai tavit toru koliṉ valiyāle : -[13*] Maṇṇāḷ tikirikkai Vā-

7 ṇaṉ vaṭukeṟinta Eṇṇāyirañ cūḻnta eṇṭicaiyum puṇvaṭinta nir[e]nīr kākaniḻale niḻal neṭumpeyta tere ter ceñcēṟe ceṟu : -[14*] eṉmel mikum paritter Makatecaṉ [i]kalvicaiyap peṉmel virumpi vampor ceyta nāḷ piṉkuṭā Vaṭukar viṉmel naṭantu vaṭukeṉṉu nāmam vilakkuṇṭapiṉ maṉmel naṭantatu teci muṉṉāṉ vatukoṉṟume : -[15*] cūḻum piṇavaṇaimel toykaḻukiṉ pantarkīl vīḻum kaḻukiṉaṅkaḷ meykāppa vāḻu-

8 n taṉ toṉṉakar[e]pol Vaṭukar tuñcat tuyiṟṟiyate maṉṉavarkoṉ Mākatarkoṉ vāḷ : -[16*] Maṭalaḻavu niṟaintoḻuku matumalarttār Makatecaṉ vaiyyaṅ kākkum aṭa[laḻa]vi laṇineṭunter āyu . . ramaṇai vaṇaṅkā varacariyāvar kaṭalaḻavu naṭanta tavaṉ kaṇai kurakku mavaṉṟaṉ katirvel maṉṉ ruṭaḻavu naṭantatu marṟulaḻavu naṭanta tavan oruceṅkole : -[17*] teṟkoṭi māmaṟukil teṉmaṇalaic ceyḻaiyā ramararkku maruntākka vallavāyāṟku muyirāy ceṅkoluyar

9 neṭunter Vāṇaṉ Ayirāvatatti ṇaṭi : -[18*] Colliviṭu cerumīṉavar [cū]ḻumurimaiko tāḻkaṭa lelli viṭupaṭa veṟu-vareṉu miyamapuri yeṟuvar kolli[viḻ]tu mu[kk]ātipar kū]i karutila rūrpuka vallaviṭum Ayirāpatam Vāṇaṉ varaviṭu nāḷaiye : -[19*] Veḷai neṭuṅkallum veṭṭum viraṟku kaiyu muḷaiteṟikku muṭittalaiyu nāḷai mati vāṇutal maṭavāy kāṇalām Vāṇa ṉativāraṇaṉ toṭara viṭṭāl : -[20*]

*TRANSLATION**

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*This is*) the poem of Poṉparappiṉāṉ *alias* Makataipperumāḷ. With the word "we are the slaves of Vīrapperumāḷ Makatecan" tatooed on their chests, the rulers of this mundane world who opposed him previously, get back their garland, crown, war-drum, and territory. (Verse 1). Māl (i.e., Viṣṇu as Kṛṣṇa) (*being afraid of Jarāsandha of Magadha*) left North Maturai for the north sea (i.e., Dvārakā on the Arabian sea). (*Similarly*) Vaḻuti (i.e., the Pāṇḍya king) (*being afraid of Makatēca*) left Southern Maturai for the south sea now (i.e., the Bay of Bengal). Is it not true then that if the king of Mākatar, possessing valourous arms, becomes enraged the refuge for the (*enemy*) kings is the sea ? (Verse 2).

2 You, the rulers of the earth which is surrounded by deep sea, have seen that it is the practice of the sun-like Vāṇa (Vāṇativākaraṇ), who bestows elephants (*on learned men, just as the sun showers*), to instruct you on proper conduct (i.e., to decide your fate just as Brahmā decides the fate of all men). You, the Teṉṉar (i.e., the Pāṇḍyas), present to me beautiful images like the tributes paid by Śrī Laṅkā. If you fail to do so, you should understand that we would put

* I am obliged to Pandit Gopala Ayyar of the French Institute (Tamil Section) for help in translating the text of this inscription.

you under the feet of elephants given as tributes by the Cōḷas. This is our forewarning ! (Verse 3).

On the day of Uttirāṭa, the natal asterism of Vāṇaṉ distinguished by world-renouned royal umbrella and by chariots drawn by many horses, the (*opponent*) rulers possessing elephants surpassing mountains in size would remain (*happy*) saying "he would not, he would not attack (*us*) today". (Verse 4).

2-3 The memorable life of kings like the Teṉṉar (i.e., the Pāṇḍyas) who ruled over the earth with golden crown on their heads, and their armed power would disappear if Vāṇaṉ who possesses frightening ruling power and tall and long chariot knits his brow. (Verse 5).

The territories of the people who do not say "oh ! Vāṇa, the possessor of a tall golden chariot, go over (*here*) to protect us", would be burnt down and so there would not be any groves ; the residents (*of the territories*) would migrate (*to other places*) and so there would not rise any towns ; the tanks (*of these places*) would be ruined and so there would not be any bathing ghats (*known for*) beauty ; there would not be (*any young women*) to display ornaments on their high breasts ; and there would not be any rains. (Verse 6).

If the (*opponent*) kings desired not to get pierced by the tusks of big black he-elephants of the size of mountain, possessing spotted faces and looking fearful like Yama, their only protective cover would be the feet of the ruler of Makataiyar who wields a red lance made of steel. (Verse 7).

3-4 Oh ! Vāṇā ! Knowing that you had received excellent elephants as tributes from the Cōḷa king who wore hereo's anklet in his foot, the Pandyas began to worry that they were likely to lose their country (*to you*). (Verse 8).

On the day after having conquered the fragrant Kāñcī and Vañci when the hereo's anklet was tied to the foot of Makataṉ who wore the *Vākai* garland, the armies of Cī-Parāntakaṉ were destroyed and the ghosts with big mouth drank the blood that flowed from the (dying troops). Due to the joining of the blood (*of the troops*) the cold sea, becoming red, produced turbulent noise. (Verse 9).

4-6 Oh ! Vāṇā ! (*the incarnate of*) Purantara (i.e., Indra), wearing fragrant garland, when you had cut and destroyed (*your*) enemies at Veṇ-maṇippāṭi, with the blood flowing there it appeared like a trough containing blood. When you had kept your horses in the stable without bringing them to the battle-field, even then you cause panic to the cavalry of your enemies. (Verse 10).

Oh ! king ! you had conquered Koṅku and Kaliṅka ; oh ! the leader of the Vāṇa family ! you had taken the land of the Cēras who possessed chariot bearing banner (*on it*) ; oh ! king ! the possessor of a chariot corps ! you had converted Ceṅkuṉṟam into a grave-yard by causing the scattering of the golden garlands of (i.e., by *killing*) the angry (*opponent*) army men. Why your anger had not yet subsided ! (Verse 11).

Oh ! lady ! the wearer of a breast-band ! your lover, would not speak a lie (*to you*). The (*cloud-like thing*) you had seen in the sky was not a (*real*) cloud but (*only*) the smoke that rose from the big mountain when our ruler of Makatai set fire to the (*enemy*) territories before he waged a war

(*there*). Do not think that the light (*you see is*) lightning, (*it is really*) the blaze emanating from the burning of the (*enemy*) territories. The sound produced by the falling of the enclosure walls of Kāraikkāṭu strikes your ears as if there is thunder. So, you do not consider that this is the rainy season. (These are the consoling words of the friends of the Makata ruler's beloved who has been awaiting the arrival of her lover during the rainy season at the end of his campaign). (Verse 12).

Leaving aside the action of confronting the sea-like army (*of the Vāṇa king*), his opponents preferred to be (*his subordinates*) by paying him their ancient wealth and horses as tributes. Having seen Vāṇakulatīpaṉ's (the light of the Vāṇa family) valiant deeds in controlling the enemies of the south, let us now see the campaigns he undertook in the north. You (Vāṇa) had destroyed by the strength of a single horse, the strength of Malaiyamāṉ who had never come out his mountain-like fortress with golden roof, by confronting him in his fortress itself. By (*unparalleled*) strength of your sceptre you had destroyed the enemies of the north. (Verse 13).

6-7 Vāṇaṉ who bore the discus symbolising his lordship over the earth had destroyed the northeners. (*At the time of Vāṇaṉ's attack*) the blood that flowed from the wounds (*of the troops*) in all the eight directions of the town of Eṉṉāyiram served as the water ; the shade of the wings of the crows that came there to eat the flesh (*of the slain troops*), served as the shade ; the chariot of the ghost served as the chariot ; and the slush of the blood served as the marsh. (Verse 14).

When Makatēcaṉ, who possessed countless horses and chariots, desirous of obtaining (*for himself*) the goddess of victory, waged a fierce war, the northerners who did not turn their back to him, went over to the *svarga* of hereos (i.e., *they were killed*). (*So*) the name Vaṭuku (the north) itself disappeared from the world and the name Vaṭukar is preserved in the world in the name of Vaṭukar, a form of drama, that was staged after the *Tēci* drama. (Verse 15).

7-8 When the Vaṭukar (the northeners) were living in their own ancient towns which were being guarded by crowds of ghosts (*wandering*) under the cover consisting of the wings of swarms of vultures hovering over the corpses serving as the (*fence*) around the towns, the sword of the ruler of Mākatar, the lord of kings, killed them as if to make them get (*perennial*) sleep. (Verse 16).

If we want to know about the valour, in protecting the earth, of Makatēcaṉ who wears garlands of flowers which ooze out nectar over their petals, who, amongst the kings who possess beautiful and large chariots and wear excellent flower garlands, is there who has not bowed before him. His horses possessing beautiful hoofs traversed the sheet of (*his territories extending upto*) the sea. His split lance pierced through the bodies of the (*enemy*) kings. His unparalleled sceptre encompassed the (*whole*) earth. (Verse 17).

8-9 Vāṇaṉ represented the life-force of all the people ; (*he*) was the sovereign ; and (*he*) possessed a tall chariot. His royal elephants' feet, while walking through the streets which

had fluttering banners, caused the young lasses, wearing beautiful ornaments, to smear their breasts with the fine sands, scattered (*by the feet*), as a medecine. (It means that the lasses who loved Vāṇaṉ, but could not go near him satisfied themselves by smearing the sands scattered by the elephant which had contact with him). (Verse 18).

9 When the Mīṉavar (i.e., Pāṇḍyas), who, on the battle field of Tumpai fought (*with the Vāṇā's army*), but ran away from there in the night along with their close relatives, to save their life from Vāṇa, even beyond the sea, they should be sent to the Yama's city. When Vāṇa released his royal elephant after removing its fetters, the ghosts from the Kolli hills would enter into the city of Urakāpati (i.e., the Cōḻa).(Verse 19).

Oh ! lass ! possessing a shining forehead resembling the crescent moon, if the fetters of the splendid feet of the royal elephant of Vāṇa are removed, (*one*) could see the scattering of the brain from the crowned heads of the enemies, the memorial stones erected as sign for the dead hereos and the excavated caves where trembling hereos could stay hiding themselves. (Verse 20).

213

13th c.

S.I.I., VIII, 134 — **Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, west side.**

TEXT

(In Tamil verse).

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Varumālai yiṉṉicaimālai celvi . . yaṉavaṇmulai poṉ

2 malarvaṇṇaṅ Karumālai neṭuṅkaṉakak koṭi matitikaḷ poḷilāṟaik koṉ-

3 ṉai vāyvaṉ pererumāṉ Vaḷutiyaruñ Cemṗiyaṉuṉ taṭai uṭaṉe ī-

4 careṉṟa perumāṉai Makataiyartam perumāṉai Vāṇaṉai ṉi pecuvāye [//*]

5 oṉṟalar taṉkoṭiya peralar viḷampuka mātanirāmpal vārkuḻal mitu cūṭi-

6 ya mālaikkoṇṭu valaippaṉṉiyāṉ kuṟavāliya toḷināloru koṭima-

7 ṉṉavar cāya no . . . Makataṉ Vicaiyavataṉam . . . kuyiṟtaṉ pe . . .

8 ātale koḻunilan tiriviḷiya ko . . . pāvāṉ pakai yaḷittaṭal mātar . . .

9 ḻuṉalam tāviḷikaṇ ṭaṭalayirāpata . . .

10 aṇaittāṉa[ru]ḷa nalliṉa ceḻuṉal vaṇṇaraiyaṉaiya taṭaṉtoḻuṉ tirumārpuṉ tikaikoṇṭer muḻuṉala mukilaṉaiya

11 tiruṉaṭamuṅ kaṇpotti maṉṉaṉṟalai moḻiyum . . . paḻakamoytār

12 Makataṉ Vāṇarpirāṉeḻutavariya taṭaṉtoḻeṉa maṉatte vaittā nittā yer

13 Ceḻiyar Maturāpuri muḻutuñ centiviḷaiyac ciṟi matam poḻiyu mayirāpatam iṉṟe-

14 ṉ viḷikke pukuntu pontate āṟuṅ kaḻamu makaḻu makaṉkaḻaṇic ceṟuvuṅ kaḻitaruti tekku

15 raṟ kūṟār ṉa . . . . . muṉpu paṇpaṟukku moṉṉār pati ☡

*TRANSLATION**

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! You speak about Vāṇa whom a lass, possessing breasts

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* I am obliged to Pandit Gopala Ayyar of the French Institute (Tamil Section) for this translation.

golden in colour, lauds (*charmed by him*) in the evenings in a garland of beautiful verses, who resembles (*the god*) Karumāl (i.e., Viṣṇu), who is the ruler of Āṟai which is distinguished by enclosure walls on which long golden banners are displayed and which (*are surrounded by*) groves, who is a great person whose doors, the honoured Vaḷutiyar (i.e., the Pāṇḍyas) and Cempiyaṉ (i.e., the Cōḷa) approach without any hindrance by proclaiming him to be their lord, and who is the lord of the Makataiyar.

5-15 He (i.e., Vāṇa) had destroyed the enemies who, in order to remove the (*bad*) effects brought about by the cuckoo pairs in their fertile fields, did not (*go to him*) praising ; he had honoured the goddess of victory by acquiring complete victory (*over his enemies*) ; having been pleased with the fine victory, Vāṇa went near and rode over the strong Ayirāpata (i.e., the elephant of Indra) ; and he possessed beautiful, young, graceful, big, mountain-like and broad shoulders, a chest which was the abode of Tirumaka] (the goddess of prosperity), and arms which resembled the black clouds which by absorbing water from every direction, travel high up (*in the sky*) and pour water torrentially down ; and by his grace, I was made to cultivate the habit of paying homage to and of praising his shoudlers. (*This*) Vāṇaṉ, the ruler of Makata, wearing a beautiful garland had caused to be made in my mind the impressions of his long arms which could be hardly reproduced in painting. Today the rutting Ayirāpatam which was so much angered as to cause the setting on fire the entire Maturai which was a beautiful city in the world and the capital of the Pāṇḍyas, had disappeared after having been sighted (*by me*). Let the people of the town talk anything ill about me (*but*) I would bind the victorious Makata (*ruler*) who had by his valourous arms destroyed many rulers, by the garland of my black tresses of hair, in order to (*enjoy*) the sight of his face shining with victory.

The attack of Makataṉ would destroy the beauty of the towns of the enemies which were marked by river, tank, moat, and fertile fields.

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214 — 13th c.

S.I.I., VIII, 135 — **Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, west side.**

TEXT

(In Grantha characters and Sanskrit language)

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Likhatu bhuja-sahasram Kārttavīryyārjju-

2 nīyam paṭhatu mukha-samūhaḥ Kā-[drā]vēy-ādhipasya [/*] kava-

3 yati kavirājaḥ Kāmadhēnuḥ kavīnāṁ sapadi sakala-

4 vidyā -cakravartī kavīndraḥ ꣓ [// 1*] pūrvam pa[ñcaka]m = a[dya]c = aika-

5 m = amarakṣmāpāla - garvva - druhaḥ P[ā*]ṇḍyān(yāt) [sa]ṁyati saṁhṛitāni

6 ma[kuḷ]ānāny = ētēṣu Bāṇeśvara [/*] ēkaṁ = Cōḷakritē vitī-

7 [rṇṇa]m = aparāṇy = ady = āruṇ= -
ākhyā[ya] tē śailēndrā[ya] samarp-
8 pitā-
ni bhavatā kiṁ v = ārthinē [d]ā[sya]
9 tē ꣸ [// 2*] Jitvā bāhubalēna bā-
hujabalāny = ācchidya nīvīdhanan =
10 tēna svarṇṇamay - ēśvarāya ra-
citā Bāṇ = āruṇādrau tvayā [/*]
11 sambhrāntyā bhuvanasya kiṁ
tribhuvana-bhrānti-pratikṣēpakaḥ
12 Pūṣā bhrāmyati Mēru-bhūdhara
dhiyā savya-prayāṇ-ōdyataḥ ꣸ [//
3*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! Let the thousand arms of Kārttavīryyārjjuna write, and let the cluster of faces of the lord of the serpents read that which was instantly composed by the chief of poets, the emperor of all knowledge, the Kāmadhēnu among poets and the king among poets. (Verse 1)

4-8 Oh ! Bāṇēśvara, you had collected in the battle a group of five (*crowns*) previously and one crown now from the Pāṇḍya who had caused difficulties to the lord of the *dēvas* and you had gifted one of them to the Cōḷa and the rest to the chief of the mountains called the large Aruṇa. What will you give to those who come (to you) for gifts ? (Verse 2)

8-12 Oh ! Bāṇa, you had conquered by the might of your arms, the armies of the other kings and then acquiring their wealth you had adorned with it the golden Īśvara on the Aruṇādri. Being confused whether this hill itself was the world, the dispeller of the confusion (*i.e.*, the ignorance or darkness) of the three worlds, the sun-god has begun to do circumambulation in anti-clockwise manner (*around this hill*) thinking it to be the mountain Mēru (*i.e.*, the golden hill). (Verse 3).

215

13th c.

EO. 1567-1570 **II *Prākāra*, Ṛṣi-gōpura, entry-way, north platform, west wall. Badly damaged.**

TEXT

(In Sanskrit language and Grantha script)

1 [Sva]sti śrī [//*] Likhatu bhuja-sa-
hasram [Kārttavīryyārjjunīyam pa-
ṭhatu mukha-samūhaḥ Kādra -]
2 vey - ādhipasya [/*] kavayati kavi-
rājaḥ Kāmadhēnuḥ kavīnām sapadi
sakala-vidyā-cakra-
3 vartī kavīndraḥ ꣸ [1*] Pūrvvam pañ-
cakam adya c=aikam= [amara-kṣmā-
māla-garvva-]druhaḥ Pā-
4 ṇḍyāṉ(yāt) samyati samhṛtāni [ma-
kuṭāny-ētēṣu Bāṇēśvara [/*] . . . . .]
5 ṇam=aparā[ṇy=adyā] . . . . . śailen-
drāya samarppitāni bhavatā kim
v=ārthinē dā-
6 syatē [// 2*] . . . . . lēna . . . ba-
lāny=ācchidya nīvīdhanam tē-
7 na svarṇṇamay-ēśvarāya . . . . . ruṇā-
drau tvayā [/*] sam-
8 bhrāntyā bhuvanasya . . tribhu . . . .
pratikṣēpakaḥ [Pū]-
9 ṣā bhrāmyati Meru-bhūdhara-dhiyā
savya-prayāṇōdyataḥ ꣸ [3*]

NOTE

This is a copy of S.I.I., VIII, No. 135. See No. 214 above for translation.

216 13th c.

S.I.I., VIII, 145 **Kiḻi-gōpura, south wall, east side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Ponparappiṉāṉāṉa Makataipperumā[ḷ] kavi : -

2 Nāmāṉa Aravintamāna vintamāna muṭināṉkar Cennippūmāṉ virumpum pukaḷ Makatecarkup porvaḷuti

3 vāmāṉiṟaiyiṭṭavaṉṉāḷ tuṭaṅki avvāṉavartaṅ komāṉ eṉateṉṟirāṉ Amarāpatikkūṉcarame [1 //*] ꞉

4 Meruviṉmel veṉṟu kayalpoṟitta vārttaiyilum vāripaṭa veleṟinta vārttaiyiluṁ kārvilaṅku

5 muṉṉiṭṭa vārttaiyilum Teṉṉavarkoṉ Mākataṟkup piṉṉiṭṭa vārttaiye . . [꞉ //*]

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*This is*) the poem of Ponparappiṉāṉ *alias* Makataipperumāḷ : ꞉

2-3 From the day when, after getting defeated in a battle (*with Vāṇaṉ*) ,the Vaḷuti (i.e., the Pāṇḍya) gave horses as tributes to Makatēcar (i.e., Vāṇaṉ) who is famed for being sought after by the goddess of learning, the goddess of prosperity, the goddess of victory and the goddess of earth, Indra, the king of the *Vāṉavar* (i.e., the *dēvas*), would not consider the elephant of Amarāpati (i.e., Indralōka) as his. (It means that Indra would feel that soon a day would come for him to hand over his Ayirāvata to Vāṇaṉ). (Verse 1).

4-5 The fame of the Mākatar (i.e., Vāṇaṉ) who has vanquished the Teṉṉavarkōṉ (i.e., the Pāṇḍya king) and made him run away, is superior to the fame of the latter's deeds like his conquering the Mēru and carving (*on it*) the figure of the fish emblem (the Pāṇḍya crest), the discharge of the lance which dried up the sea and the chaining of the clouds (so as not to make them pour down water to fill up the dried up sea). (Verse 2).

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217 13th c.

S.I.I., VIII, 136 **Kiḻi-gōpura, north wall, west side.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Koyiṟṟamapperaṟayk kaṭaiyil

2 eṭukkum kaṟiypāṭṭam uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇā-

3 malai uṭaiya nāyanāṟkku viṭṭen pāraraica[r]kaḷ n-

4 āyanen [/*] itu māṟuvāṉ taṅkaḷammaikkut tā-

5 ne miṇāḷanāva[n] [/*] itu panmāheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! I, the head of the kings of the world, ordered the gift of the Kaṟiypāṭṭam received from the shops in my name to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār. One

who changed this (*gift*) would (*be deemed to have committed the sin*) of being the husband of his mother. This is protected by the *Pan-Mahēśvara.*

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218 13th c.

EO. 417 B **Central shrine, platform around, north side. Built upside down. Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī ௨ [//*] Kārvaḷar vaṇṇaṉuṅ Kaṭalka[ti]yaṉun teṭiya . . . . . .

2 māka . laṅkac cāttiya [vi]yaṅkaḷ tirumuṭi yiyantira [li]ṅkamu . . . . . .

3 puṭaṉ vakutta [ni]lai toṟu nilai toṟu niṉṟoṉ va . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! Kārvaḷarvaṇṇaṉ (i.e., Viṣṇu) and Kaṭalkatiyaṉ (i.e., Brahmā ?) searched . . .

2 adorned to show . . . . the Liṅka bearing a crown (?) . . . . . .

3 one who stood . . . . divided at stage after stage . . . .

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219 13th c.

EO. 131-33 **II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Left side built in. Badly damaged.**

TEXT

1 . . . . . Āṭaiyūr nāṭāḻvāṉum Kūttāṭuntevaṉ Aḻa-

2 . . . . . coḻentiraciṅkac Cetiyarāyanum Periya uṭaiyaṉ . . . . . ṉāna Vīrarācentiracetiyarāyaṉum Erimaruntan [Arantāṅ]kiṉāṉa

3 . . . . . na taraiyaṉum Ammaiyappaṉ K . . . . . yarayaṉum Ammai Appaṉu Attimallaṉum Irājakempiraccampuvarāyanum

4 . . . . . m ivvaṉaivom eṅkaḷil oruvaṟku oruvar piḻaiyatomākavum . . . . . [vattavanaikku] aṉaivomum pukku viṉaicey . . i . . kkaṭavomākavu[m*] oruvarkku iṉṉātavaṉ

5 . . . . . ivvaṉaivomu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār koyilil ceyta . . . . . paṭiye ceyyakkaṭavomākavum ippaṭi tappiṉāruṇṭākil tantāmukku iṉṉātār ce-

6 . . . . . kavum ippaṭikkalveṭṭi. . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-6 We, Āṭaiyūr-nāṭāḻvāṉ, Kūṭṭāṭuntēvaṉ Aḻa . . . . . , Cōḻēntiraciṅkac-Cētiyarāyan, Periya uṭaiyaṉ . . . . . *alias* Vīrarācēntirac-Cētiyarāyaṉ, Erimaruntaṉ Arantāṅkiṉāṉ *alias* . . . . . taraiyaṉ, Ammaiyappaṉ K . . . . . , yarayar Ammai Appaṉ, Attimallaṉ, and Irājakempīrac-Campuvarāyan, have agreed that we would not be disloyal mutually amongst us. In case of (*any one of us*) facing hostility all of us would go and do . . . . the hostile . . . . . An enemy to one of us would be enemy . . . . . We all would do as was done . . . . in the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār. If there is one who contravened this, ... done by a person hostile to oneself. Thus (*agreed*) the record is given engraved on stone . . . . . .

220 — 13th c.

EO. 1563 — II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam,* north of its entrance. Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 . . . . . ṉa Periya uṭaiyāṉāṉa Karikālacōḻa Āṭaiyūr
2 . . . . . ivviruvom uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyam
3 . . . . . ppāṭi Āṭaiyūr-nāṭṭu Meyūr eṭṭāvatukku . . ṭa tevatā-
4 . . . . . ivvūr naṉcai puṉcai āyam pāṭikāval taṟi iṟai taṭṭārp[ā*]ṭ-
5 . . . . . uṭpaṭa tevatāṉamāka viṭṭom ivvūr nāṅkaḷātal eṅ -

TRANSLATION

1-2 . . . . . we two, ... *alias* Periya uṭaiyāṉ *alias* Karikāla-cōḻa Āṭaiyūr - . . . . . and . . . . . to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya . . . . .
3 . . . . . Mēyūr in Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu, for the eighth . . . . . *tēvatāṉam.*
4-5 We had gifted this village as *tēvatāṉam* including its wet and dry lands, *āyam, pāṭikāval, taṟi iṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam* . . . . . If we or our . . . . . this village . . . . . .

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221 — 13th c.

EO. 396-399 — Kiḻi-gōpura, west side, *paṭṭi,* on the south side. Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 Tiruvaṇṇāmalai . . . . . Rācakempīra nampiyāṟku taṉmacāt [a*]nam paṇṇik-kuṭuttapaṭi Me[mi]ya cīraṉmaiyil Murukamaṅkalapparṟil Vaṉṉiyaṉ enta-lum [To]ṭṭāṉ entalum
2 m[u]lai nācciyāṟku nā . . canti . . . . paiya canti a[.]mutu ceytaruḷa viṭṭaḷavukku tā[m] nāḷatu mutalāka Vaṉṉiyaṉ entalum [To]ṭṭāṉ entalum āka kirāmam iraṇṭum kāṇiyākak [ko]-
3 . vatu . . . . ṉa . . . . . kellaiyum . . . . kkoṅ [ṭu] . . . . . māva . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-3 Tiruvaṇṇāmalai . . . . . In order to provide for food offerings to the goddess [Uṇṇā]mulai nācciyār during two *cantis,* (name lost), Vaṉṉiyaṉ ēntal and Tōṭṭāṉ ēntal in Murukamaṅkalapparṟu in Memiyacī-raṉmai were gifted to Rācakempīra-nampiyār. The two villages *viz.,* Vaṉṉiyaṉ ēntal and Tōṭṭāṉ ēntal were to be taken as his *kāṇi* from this date . . . . . .

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222 — 13th c.

EO. 859-861 — Kiḻi-gōpura, middle portion, southern platform, base. Fragment.

TEXT

1 . . . . . kiṉa maramuṅ kiḻ nokkiṉa kiṉaṟuṅ . . . . . mum marṟum epperpaṭṭa pallā-
2 . ṅkaḷumuṭpaṭa uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇā . . . . . rkkuttēvatāṉamākac Cantirātittava .
3 celvatāka viṭṭen ivvūr Nak . . . . . .

tilu[l]la . . l vilakkuvān Ke-
4 ṅkaiyiṭaik-Kumariyiṭaik kurāl pacu . . . . . kol]vāṉ . mu[ṭi malār ?] . ṉukkucce-
5 ruppumeṭuttu tampalamuntiṉru avaṉ kaṭṭiṟkil irunta . . . . . .
6 viṭuvittār Kavuṇiya Perumāḷeṉ . . . . . .
7 itu Māhēśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-3 I, (name lost) gifted . . . . . including the up-facing tree and down-facing well, ... and all other incomes as *tēvatāṉam* to the god Tiruvaṇṇā[malai uṭaiya nāyanār] till the moon and the sun endure.

3-5 Nak . . . . of this village, ... who removes this would incur . . . . . a tawny cow [on the tank of the] Gaṅgā and at Kumari and would be considered to have borne the chappals, eaten the *tāmpalam* and to have remained under the cot of . . . . .

6 The executor is Kavuṇiyar Perumā[l . . . .

7 This is portected by the *Māhēśvaras.*

223

13th c.

EO. II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam,* south of its entrance.

1543-1545 Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 yāṇṭu [2]3 - vatu Āṟaka[ḷuruṭaiya Poṉparap . . .
2 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya . . .
3 ṉa cattiya . ka celvatāka vi . ṭa utaka . . .
4 Tiruntikaiyārṟukkuk kiḻakku va[ṭa]-pāṟke . . .
5 ḷlai kollaimā[cu]kku meṟkku . . .

TRANSLATION

1 . . . . . in the year 23, Āṟakaḷūruṭaiya Poṉparap . . . . . .
2 the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya . . .
3 to be continued . . . . . .
4 to the east of the Tiruntikai river, the northern boundary (*consisting of*) . . . .
5 to the west of the *kollai-mācu* (?) (kollai - maricu (?)) i.e. the bund of the garden).

224

13th c.

EO. 1640 Bhūta-Nārāyaṇa temple, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 kalarun tavañceyta nallavar nallava-ṉaipperrāḷ ta . tolpukaḷ naṟ . . .
2 riya . mettivantiṟaiñciya yimaiyavar taṅkaḷ muṭimeliru . . .
3 muṉiyār paṇikkaṭaivor paṉmātavark-kāka yimmāṉilattili . . .

TRANSLATION

1 . . the good person who did penance bore a good male child . . . . the ancient fame.
2 . . when (they) came begging after praising, ... (was) on the crown of the celestials . . .
3 . . having been instructed by ascetics (?), for the sake of many great ascetics on this earth . . .

CAMPUVARĀYAS

225

13th c.

EO. 33 (2)

II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.
Damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Ca[kalaloka]cakra[vattikaḷ] [Ariya]ṇṇa [Campu-] varāyaṟku yāṇṭu pati[ṉoṉṟāvatu] . . . . . uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭai . . . . . .

2 koyil tāṉatt[ār]kku Karkaṭaka nāya . . . . . tiru . . ṟ kuṭai cevikkac colli viṭṭa aḷavukku . . . ku nāḷ oṉṟukku ālāla-cuntaraṉ kālāle irutūṇi . . . . . .

3 puṭavai mutalukkum . . nālum . . . . . kal veṭṭikkuṭuttom Cantirātittavaraiyum cellumpaṭi pāṟpate . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) in the 11th year (*of the reign*) of Cakalalōka-cakravattikaḷ (emperor over all the worlds) [Ariyaṇṇa] [Campu]-varāyar.

1-2 (We) sent (an order) to the *tāṉattār* of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇā-malai uṭai . . . . . saying that for doing the service of holding umbrella (*over the deity*) in the month of Karkaṭaka *irutūṇi* (of paddy) measured by Ālā-lacuntaran kāl daily . . . . . as well as (*paddy*) for the capital to provide for clothes ; (thus) we gave . . . . . the order engraved on stone to last till the moon and the sun endure . . . . . .

226

13th c.

EO. 74-81

II *Prākāra*, east wall, north side. Built in at the left end.
Badly damaged.

TEXT

1 . . . . . parapakṣattu trayoda-śiyum Ṉāyaṟṟukkiḻamaiyum perṟa

2 . . . . . vikaṅkatevar tampi [Miḻ-ṭan Ciyaṉ Campuvarātittanēṉ

3 . . . . . tiruveṇcāmaraikkāmpu iraṇṭu itil kāmpu oṉṟināḷ poṉ 38 pa 1 : m kāmpu oṉṟināḷ poṉ 37 pa āka poṉ

4 . . . . . 75 ? ? ? : m . . . . irupattiraṇṭāvatu . . . . . uṭpaṭa va . . tta . . . iṭai 5,650 - til itil 20[.] *kalam* cata iruppu nā-rāca eṭai 1,242 le āka eṭai . . . . . kal . . tirununtā-viḷakku

5 . . . . . vāykkiḻamaiyum Pūramum perṟa nāṉṟu iṭṭa valampuriccaṅku oṉṟu itil 1 . . . ṉa poṉ 60 . . . . Kaṭaka

nāyaṟṟu Pūraṭṭāti

6 ..... nāḷ iṭṭa . . taḷikai onṟināl poṉ 1,000 pa āyirakkaḷañcu māṟṟu ēḻemukkāl ..... Iṣapa [nāyaṟṟu] pūrvapakṣattu tiritiyaiyum pe-

7 ..... mai . . vaittukku . . . nta poṉ . . . nikkippoṉ 600 ippoṉ ..... luṅ kuṭutteṉ Miṇṭaṉ Ciyaṉ Cetiyarāyan[eṉ]

8 ..... itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai ೭

TRANSLATION

1-2 I, Miṇṭan Cīyan Campuvarātittaṉ, the younger brother of [Prith]vikaṅkatevar, on Sunday the 13th day of the dark fortnight of .....

3 ..... two handles of flywisk of which one handle (*costs*) *poṉ* 38 and *pa.* 1 and another handle (*costs*) *poṉ* 37 *pa.*, totalling to *poṉ* 75 ? ? ?:.

From the 22nd ....

4 of the weight 5,650 (*palam* ?) including ..... 20[.] *kalam*, of this iron (core) weighs 1242, totalling to ....., a *nuntā* lamp.

5 One conch of the *valampuri* variety was given on Tuesday coupled with the asterism Pūram ..... *poṉ* 60.

5-6 On ..... coupled with the asterism Pūraṭṭāti in the month of Kaṭaka, one *taḷikai* (vessel for food) costing *poṉ* 1,000 *pa.* was given. This 1000 *kaḷañcu* was of the 7 3/4 *māṟṟu* quality.

6-7 On ..... the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Iṣapa .... *poṉ* . . . Deducting it, the remainder was *poṉ* 600. I, Miṇṭaṉ Cīyaṉ Cētiyarāyan, gave this *poṉ* .....

8 ..... This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

227

13th c.

EO. 1029-1031

II *Prākāra*, east wall (outside), north of the Kiḻi-gōpura. Left side built in.
Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 ..... pitu . ṣa . yum paṇṇi[tu]kku tirukkoyilile ālāntaraṉ kālāle irunāḻi aruciyum kaḷañcu tirumeṟ-

2 ..... pūcatam ta . . viḷakkum ālāntiraṉ kālāle āḻakku mara eṇṇaiyum kaṭṭaḷai paṇṇi ārām tirunāḷ tirukkaṇ cāttum

3 ..... kaṭṭaḷai paṇṇukaiyil tirumālai tirumañcanam tiruviḷakku niṅka eti vām pumākkum tiruviti tirukkaṇ cattu aṭaikkāy amutukkum ā-

4 ..... Aṇṇā-nāṭu Malaippāṉpāṭiyile caṟuvamāṉṉiya iṟai ili āka viṭṭa kuḻi 500 inta añṅūṟum tāyakāl aṟṟukkā

TRANSLATION

1 ..... 2 *nāḻi* of rice measured by the ālāntaraṉ measure in the temple, one *kaḷañcu* of (cāntu ?) for smearing ...

2 ..... lamp, an *āḻākku* of wood oil (*mara eṇṇai*) measured by the ālāntiraṉ measure. The function of applying eyes (to the deity ?) during the 6th day festival .....

3-4 ..... when the *kaṭṭaḷai* is instituted, for the garland, bathing and lamp, ... the application of eyes and the chewing material ..... 500 *kuḻi* (of land) in Malaippāṉpāṭi in Aṇṇā-nāṭu was given as *caṟuvamāṉṉiya*. This 500 (*kuḻi*) together with tāyakāl (?) channel ....., (for water) from the river .....

228

13th c.

EO. 411

Central shrine, platform around, south side. Built upside down. Fragmentary and badly damaged.

TEXT

1 . tta . mai nāṭi .ruvarait talaiyaṟa taṅkoṉ ku . ṅkañcaya viṭaikkoṭi yu . tti toṉṟa . tai .....

2 tantenal muḷaṅkiya maiyarp perumpukaiyat . ticaiyoṭi piṟai . . nāṭṭatta . . ṉamalaiyāka .....

3 m kotta vaḷainta peru[ñ ?] Cilamalai-[ppa] . ṭu ..... maṭal ma[lai] ..... nilaipeṟa vira a .....

NOTE

The fragmentary nature of the epigraph makes it difficult to make out anything.

Probably it contains unconnected parts of a *praśasti*.

229

13th c.

EO. 412

Central shrine, platform around, south side, edge facing the shrine. Built upside down. Fragmentary and badly damaged.

TEXT

1 . toṉṟil kaṭakar muṉai . kaṅka . . . [ni]lai . . . ka[ṉai]ppa . . ṉā . . ṭun . ku . . . .

2 [vā]kavum [pi]raṅku ceṅkuruti [kaṉ] . . . ru yāṭa . . . ttam . . . amparinirai .....

3 [va]ravukku . . ku tāṅkiyavar pakkal . . .. te . ilaku . . tāvaṭa .....

NOTE

It appears to be part of a *praśasti*.

230

13th c.

EO. 356

II *Prākāra*, north wall, west side of Vaikuṇṭa-vācal. Built upside down. Fragment.

TEXT

1 ..... ttem Nallūrum ā ....

2 .... mpira .....

3 .... uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāma ....

4 .... Pirutivi-kaṅkaṉeṉ .....

5 ..... Keṅkaiyiṭai kurāl pacuk ....

6 ..... ḷukku tāmpalamum tiṉṟu . . .

7 .....

TRANSLATION

1 ..... Nallūr ....

2-3 ..... the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai ....

4 .... I, Pirutivikaṅkaṉ .....

5-6 ..... tawny cow on the Gaṅgā ..... and having eaten the *tāmpalam* (i.e., the betel leaf and areca-nut mixed with chunam) . . .

7 Damaged.

231

13th c.

EO. 410 **Central shrine, platform around, south side. Built upside down. Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 kattaṇiyaṇāmalaiyamarntavar tamak-kuc ciṟanta . tiruppaṇi cey . . . . .

2 ṇaimalarkkup parivuṭaṉ cāttiya tiruvaṭi nilaiyum Paruti va . . . . . .

3 . kkave ೭

TRANSLATION

1 The holy deeds done to (the god) residing at Aṇiy-Aṇāmalai . . . .

2 the *tiruvaṭi-nilai* (pedestal for foot) provided to the . . . ṇaimalar with tenderness . . . . .

3 . . . .

232

13th c.

EO. 11 **III *Prākāra*, platform with trees, south side.**

TEXT

1 . . . . . ṉāṉa Kulacekaratevaṉeṉ sura . . . . .

2 . . . . . iṟaiyiliyākaccaruvamānyamākat ti . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 . . . . . *alias* Kulacēkaratēvaṉ . . . . . .

2 . . . . . as *iṟaiyili caruvamāniyam* . . . .

233

13th c.

EO. 23 **III *Prākāra*, platform with trees, east side.**

TEXT

1 . . . . . kki āna Caṇṭecuranallūr iru . . . . [na]ṁ nañcai puñcai *poṉvari* kācāyam Kāṇikkai k . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 . . . . . *alias* Caṇṭēcuranallūr . . . . . *nañcai, puñcai, poṉvari, kācāyam, kāṇikkai* . . . . . .

234

13th c.

EO. 29 **III *Prākāra*, south side, floor. Fragmentary and damaged**

TEXT

1 . . . . . teṉ Amukkuṉtanāna . . . . . ṉiruvaṉṉe[ṉ]

2 . . . . . drohi āvāṉ itu paṉ . . . . .] devava . . . . .

3 . . . . . kaṅkatevariṉka . . . . . kaḷil . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 . . . . . Ammukuṉtaṉ *alias* . . . . . ṉiruvaṉ

2 . . . . would become a traitor. This is . . . . .

3 . . . . kaṅkatēvar . . . . . .

235

13th c.

EO. 413 B **Central shrine, platform around, west side. Built upside down. Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

1 ra Coti nāḷ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai u .....

2 .... ittirukkoyilukku . . Kaṇṇāramu . . . ..

TRANSLATION

1 . . . . . when the asterism Cōti was current, ... Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya

2 .... to this temple . . Kaṇṇāramu . . . . .

236

13th c.

EO. 416 **Central shrine, platform around, north side. Built upside down. Fragmentary.**

TEXT

1 yil kaṇakkarum iṉṉāyaṉār koyil teva-kaṉmi Tirunāvukka- . . . .

2 [kkum] amutupaṭikkumuṭalākap paṇṭā-rattukku kaṟpūra vilaiy[ā]- . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 the temple *kaṇakkar*, Tirunāvukka[racu] who is the *tēvakaṉmi* of this nāyaṉār temple . . . . .

2 to meet the expenses of . . . . . and for food offering, ... is given to the treasury as *kaṟpūra-vilai* . . . . .

237

13th c.

EO. 417 A **Central shrine, platform around, north side. Built upside down. Fragmentary and damaged.**

TEXT

1 ya nāyaṉār koyil Cimāhecurak kaṇkā .....

2 perumā[l]teva nāyanāraiyum eluntaruḷuvikkai . . .

TRANSLATION

1 Cimāhēcurak kaṇkā[ṇi *ceyvār*] of the temple of . . . . . nāyaṉār.

2 When . . . . and . . . perumāḷ tēva nāyanār were caused to be set up . . . . .

238

13th c.

EO. 912 **Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east face of *adhiṣṭhāna*, top *paṭṭi*.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] . . . . maṟai paravum-Aṇṇāmalaiyamarar [takṣakaṉ] perumāḷ taṭaṅkoyilatu

2 [.] kāceruppāṇṭiyaṉ cempoṉ meyntāṉ teṉ Catti Aruṭpāṇṭiyaṉ putukki [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! Catti Aruṭpāṇṭiyaṉ who is [.] kāceruppāṇṭiyaṉ, of the south, renovated the temple of the god Aṇṇāmalaiyamarar who is praised by the scriptures (i.e., the Vēdas) and provided it with a golden roof.

239

13th c.

EO. 1108 **III *Prākāra*, south wall (outside), east end.**

TEXT

1 Ittirumatiḷ camaiyumaḷavum itukku aḷivu ceyvār

2 Periyanāṭṭukkup piḷait[tār*] [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Those who would cause destruction to this compound wall as long as it stood (or till it was erected), would have committed a crime to the *Periyanāṭu* (i.e., the assembly of the great *nāṭu*).

240

13th c.

EO. 1134 **III *Prākāra*, north wall (inside), godown to the north of the Amman shrine.**
Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 .....

2 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāya . ...

3 rum tānapati māhecurarum Cimāhe ...

4 ... tāṉattārum nūṟṟirupatiliṭṭa .....

5 koyilkaṇakkarum Aṇṇa-nāṭṭu nā.....

6 . poṟ koyiṟ kaikkoḷarum maṟṟu .....

TRANSLATION

1 Damaged.

2-6 ....., *tānapati māhēcurar, Cīmahē* . ...., *tāṉattār, nūṟṟirupatiliṭṭa* . . , *kōyil-kaṇakkar*, Aṇṇā-nāṭṭu-nā[ṭṭār ?], ...; *kōyiṟ kaikkōḷar* and others ..... of (the temple) of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāya .....

241

13th c.

EO. 414 B **Central shrine, platform around, west side. Built upside down.**

TEXT

1 Periyanāṭṭunampikku kal .....

2 . tile oṭukkak koṇṭu i .....

TRANSLATION

1 ..... to Periyanāṭṭu-nampi, ... (engraved on) stone

2 ..... having received it after it was deposited in .....

242

13th c.

EO. 1135 **III *Prākāra*, north wall (inside), godown to the north of the Amman shrine.**
Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 ṅkuṉṟakkoṭṭa .... ṉṉai vaṭa-

2 . yum koḷvāruḷ .... kaiyil im[.]-

3 .... tiru iḷam .... ḷār mutaliyā-

4 .....l.....

NOTE

Refers to Ceṅkuṉṟak-kōṭṭam and the Peṇṇai river.

243

13th c.

EO. 1133

III *Prākāra*, north wall (inside), godown to the north of the Amman shrine.
Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 .....ṣṭhiyum Nāyaṟṟuk . . . ṇiyum pe-
2 .....Ceṅkuṉṟan.....laiyil
3 .....ṭam niṅ.....
4 .....taṉman.....ttu....mutal
5 .....

NOTE

Refers to Ceṅkuṉṟan.

244

13th c.

EO. 413 A

Central shrine, platform around, west side. Built upside down.
Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 . la . . mā . nāl sa . . . ṇṭa ma .....
2 .....ippaṭikkuc Cetiyarāyar .....

TRANSLATION

1 .....
2 ....thus Cētiyarāyar

245

13th c.

EO. 1633

II *Prākāra*, *paḷḷiyaṟai*, west wall (inside).
Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

Left side

1 puṟam oru . . .
2 ḷutiṭe ḷu . . .
3 eṉacaṟuti . . .
4 kkiḷakku . . .
5 Srī - Māhe . . .

Right side

6 cu 30 kaṉṟu mūṉṟum iṣapam . . .
7 vaṭṭikku itte . maṇṭalapuruṣaṉ . . .

TRANSLATION

1-5 ..... to the east ..... Śrī-Māhē[śvara].....
5-6 ....30 cows, three calves and (one) bull.....maṇṭalapuruṣaṉ . . .

246

13th c.

EO. 32 III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.
Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 ..... pūrvva ..... [pañcami] ....
2 ..... [va]r sannatiyile nammuṭai[ya] ... ..
3 ..... ttukku .....
4 ..... ti .....

NOTE

Contained particulars of date in line 1. In line 2 mention is made of the precincts of a deity.

247

13th c.

EO. 31 III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.

TEXT

1 .... kum ..... mutalum .....
2 .... talukku Cantirātittavaraiyum ... ku vilaiyāka na .....
3 .....

NOTE

It appears to be the end portion of a record.

248

13th c.

EO. 7 III *Prākāra*, south side, floor.

TEXT

1 ..... ā .] niccayitta paṇam
2 ..... y ellaiyil .....

NOTE

Refers to the fixing up of the price of and the boundary of a land or village.

249

13th c.

EO. 1521-1522 II *Prākāra*, Naṭarāja shrine, east wall (inside), facing west.
Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 makkaḷ [na]llūr ivarkaḷukke viṭṭeṉ mā . [ḷ] ko .....
2 ivve . . rumakkaḷ nallūr . . uṭaiya nācciyā .....
3 ..... celvatāka ivvūr ... māṇi .....

TRANSLATION

1 I gave to them ..... makkaḷnallūr ...
2 ..... rumakkaḷnallūr . . uṭaiya nācciyār .....
3 ..... to last, this village ... māṇi .... ..

250

13th c.

EO. 1548 — II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam,* south of its entrance. Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 .... niccai[yi]ttapaṭi tiruttiṉa v[ā*]ṉṭu
2 .kovamaṅkoḷḷak kaṭavatākavum mup-patu .
3 mai perumakkaḷukkuṅ kaṭamai kuṭi-mai ceyaka ....
4 miperumakkaḷ nallūrkku iṟutta kaṭa-mai iṟukkak-

TRANSLATION

1 ..... as per the decision, for the year when it was brought under cultivation ...
2 ..... (you can) receive 30
3 ..... *kaṭamai* and *kuṭimai* to be given to the Perumakkaḷ (authorities). ...
4 The *kaṭamai* paid for this Perumakkaḷ nallūr is to be paid ...

251

13th c.

EO. 1638 — Bhūta-Nārāyaṇa temple, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tirupu ....
2 nāyaṉār ko .....

252

13th c.

EO. 1546-1547 — II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam,* south of its entrance. Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 ..... veli .... ca ..... ṉa .. ru
2 ..... kum te . ku . ruḷakku ..... vaṭakku ..... m ..... ltā.
3 kkutteṟku ..... tākavum kalveṭṭik-kuṭutta ..... [matu]
4 ....ṉā....e . va..... ve.....ru ...

TRANSLATION

1-4 ..... *vēli (of land)* ..... to the north of ..... to the south of .... given (*the record*) engraved on stone, (*so as to*) continue .....

253

13th c.

EO. 1551 — II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam,* north of its entrance. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 . kāval
2 valkaṟai
3 kaṭavatāka
4 ṭavatākavum
5 pāvamuṅkoṇṭu ...

NOTE

It seems to be part of the concluding portion of a record.

254

13th c.

EO. 1554 A — II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam*, north of its entrance. Left side is missing. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 ..... kaṇkāṇiceyvārka
2 ..... ṉa Toṇṭaimāṉā-
3 ..... kaḷukkum māhēśvaraṟ -
4 ..... ṅkaḷ veṭṭivitta e -
5 ..... āṟum aṭaittu ...

TRANSLATION

1 ..... kaṅkāṇiceyvārkaḷ
2 ..... *alias* Toṇṭaimāṉā .....
3 ..... Māhēśvaras .....
4 ..... (*we had*) caused to be dug up . ....
5 ..... bunding the river ....

255

13th c.

EO. 1555 — II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam*, north of its entrance. Left side is missing. Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 ..... tu iṟaiyiliyāy varukira nilaṅkaḷ nikki
2 ..... l antarāyam pāṭṭamuḷpaṭa tevatāṉa i-
3 ..... ya .. māṉa [kācā]yamum pa [pu ?]ravuvari cikaraṇaṉā -
4 Kāṉūrkiḻavaṉum Pantaṇainallūruṭai -
5 ttāṉu[m*] Ārūruṭaiyāṉum Tattainallūru -

TRANSLATION

1 after excluding the lands (traditionally enjoyed) as tax-free .....
2 .... including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam* was given as (*tax-free*) (*iṟaiyili* ?) *tēvatāṉa*.
3-5 ..... *kācāyam* , Kāṉūr-kiḻavaṉ who was the *cīkaraṇaṉ* of the *Puravuvari*, Pantaṇainallūruṭaiyāṉ, ... ttāṉ, Ārūruṭaiyāṉ, Tattainallū[ruṭaiyāṉ], ...

256

13th c.

EO. 1558 — II *Prākāra, paḷḷiyaṟai*, east wall (outside). Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 la .. kuṭutta itukku nāṟpālel- ....
2 mmār .....
3 ṟṟipparikkirayam celvatākak kā ....
4 āka veṭṭivittaruḷa . kaḷaikkā ....
5 [mpā] ... mel .. yā ....

TRANSLATION

1 ..... the four boundaries for this given (land) .....
2 Damaged.
3 right to mortgage and finally dispose of .....
4 ..... for digging up (or engraving ?) .. ....
5 Damaged.

257

13th c.

EO. 1559 II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam,* north of its entrance. Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 . . ṭil̲antān̲ukkuc ceṟuppumeṭuttu tampalamum tin̲ṟu . .

TRANSLATION

1 Bearing the chappals and chewing the chewed articles of one who has lost his wife . . . (?)

258

13th c.

EO. 1631 II *Prākāra, paḷḷiyaṟai,* east wall (inside). Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 Aṇṇā-nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇ . . . .
2 ḷaiyāṉa Mākkaṉatevarkku kalve . . . .
3 kaiyāṟṟukkut teṟku . . . . nila . . . .
4 maippaṭiye itukkumuṭal koṇ . . . .
5 talālum im-Mākkaṉatevaraiyaḷai . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 The god Tiruvaṇ . . . . . of Aṇṇā-nāṭu . . . . .
2 given by engraving on stone to . . . . . lai *alias* Mākkaṉatēvar
3 to the south of [Tiruntil̲kai river . . . . .
4 according to . . . receiving on its behalf . . . .
5 . . . . . this Mākkaṉatēvar . . . .

259

13th c.

EO. 1655 II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam* (inside), west wall. Fragment.

TEXT

1 . . . . āyiraṅ kuḷiyum . . . . . .
2 . . yum nikki niṉṟa voru . . . . . yaṉṟāṭu . . . . .
3 . . . Kulaicciṟai nāyanār maṭattukku . . . . ṉa amutu . . . . .
4 . . . . etirāmāṇṭu pāṭikāvalum kālvaricaiyum . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 . . . . . 1000 kuḷi . . . . .
2 . . . . . what remained after deducting . . . . . *aṉṟāṭu* . . . .
3 . . . . . to the monastery called Kulacciṟai nāyanār maṭam . . . . .
4 . . . . . year opposite to . . . . *pāṭikāval* and 1/4 *varicai* . . . . .

260

13th c.

EO. 28 III *Prākāra,* south side, floor.

TEXT

(In Grantha script and Sanskrit language).

1 . . . . . ddaṇḍe samasta . . . . .
2 . . . . . .
3 . . . . . nāma kha . sā . . kha . .
4 . . . . [he ?]ma ra . . ṃ . . . .

261

13th c.

EO. 1564 — II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam*, north of its entrance. Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 kkoleḻupārum . . [ṉa]va cempoṉ
2 . . . tarāṉa tribhuvaṉaccakkaravat-tikaḷ śrī -
3 . . . tti Koṉerinmaikoṇṭāṉ 23 . .
4 . . . ke . . . . . ka . . . . ṇ -

TRANSLATION

1 . . . seven worlds . . . . pure gold
2 . . . . . *alias* Tribhuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī . . . . . .
3 . . . . . Koṉerinmaikoṇṭāṉ 23 . . . .
4 Damaged.

262

13th c.

EO. 1565-1566 — II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam*, north of its entrance. Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 . . . . . ru . . kku . . . . .
2 . . . . . rai veli nilamum nikki niṉ-
3 . . . . . ta . ka . . [tiruta] . . āṉa po-
4 . . . . . ne . . . . . muru . . .

NOTE

Refers to a land (of the extent) of a . . . *vēli* in line 2.

263

13th c.

EO. 9 — III *Prākāra*, west side, floor. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 . . . . kka oṇātā . . . . . .
2 . . . . kappermūṉṟu . . . . .
3 . . . . . ṟkoṭṭat . . . . . .
4 . . . . . yiramum sa . . . . .

NOTE

It makes mention of a *kōṭṭam* (name lost).

264

13th c.

EO. 1625 — II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam*, south of its entrance. Fragmentary.

TEXT

1 . . le . . . . [cukkoṉ]
2 . . pāvaṅkoḷvāṉ
3 . . . rakṣai // ೭

NOTE

A few words of the last part of a record are preserved.

265

13th c.

EO. II *Prākāra, paḷḷiyaṟai*, west wall (inside).
1634-1635 Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 maṉayumānto . . . .
2 coḻiyataraiya . . . .
3 tan . ṭai
4 nāḷeḻup . . . . . va . . . . . ne . .
ttakkoṇṭava . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-4 house-site and mango [-grove] . . . . . Cōḻiyataraiya . . . . . 7[.]th day . . . .

266

13th c.

EO. 1636 II *Prākāra, paḷḷiyaṟai*, west wall (inside).
Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 inta entalukku ārṟukkāl veṭṭa muṉ . . .
2 . . naṉcey nilamum i . . . . . nīk . . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 To dig a channel from the river (*to provide water*) for this *ēntal* . . . . . wet land.

267

13th c.

EO. 1656 II *Prākāra* (inside), *pokkiṣam* (inside), west wall.
Fragment.

TEXT

1 . . . . . tu nāḷ . . . . . .
2 . . . . . ṟṟi ivvūrkaḷil . . . .
3 . . . . . .
4 . . . . . .

NOTE

Refers to some villages (names lost) in line 2.

PĀṆḌYAS

268

A.D. 1242-43

EO. 33 (11) II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Ko Caṭaiyaṉ Tirupuva-
ṉaccakkaravatti śrī-Vikramapāṇṭi-
yatevaṟku
2 yāṇṭu 2 - vatu Perumāḷ Kulacekara-
tevar mutalikaḷil Vikkiramacoḷatevar
3 āṉa Iruṅkoḷar uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇā-
malai uṭaiya ṉāyaṉāṟku
4 tiru nuntā viḷakkukku viṭṭa pacu . .
ṣabha . . . . ttu viḷakku 1 [/*] itu
5 paṉmāheśvara rakṣai : —

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 2nd year[184] (*of the reign*) of the king Caṭaiyaṉ Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravatti śrī-Vikramapāṇṭiyatēvar.

2-4 (*Then*) Vikkiramacōḷatēvar *alias* Iruṅkōḷar a *mutali* of Perumāḷ Kulacēkaratēvar gave one *nuntā* (perpetual) lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyaṉār, and for this lamp (*he*) gave [. .] cows and [.] bull. One [standing lamp was given].

4-5 This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

269

A.D. 1244

EO. 33 (9) II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvaṉacakkara-
vattikaḷ [śrī-Vikkirama]pāṇṭiyatevaṟ-
ku yāṇṭu 5 - āvatu Siṁha-nāyaṟṟu
apara-pakṣattu saptamiyum Veḷḷik-
kiḻamaiyum perṟa Ro-
2 [. ṇi] nāḷ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyil Kalma-
ṭattil mutaliyār . . Sarveśvaradevaneṉ
eṅkaḷ mutaliyār uṭaiyār Ti[ru*]vaṇ-
ṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār tiruvartta-

184 Either A.D. 1241-42 or 1242-43.

3 cāmattil amutu ceytaruḷa aḷantu ponakattukkum kuṟiyamutukkum neyyamutukkum aṭaikkāyamutukkum Tiruñāṉacampantaṉ-

4 cevai[y]kkum maṭattil vācalil kalveṭṭiṉapaṭikku [uṭalāka] Prithivikaṅkar pakkal nāṅkaḷ maṭappuṟamāka koṇṭa Paṅkala-nāṭṭu vaṭakaraiyil [Malai] ellai[ppāṭi] ellaippā . . . . . l Kuḷattuṭaiyāṉpa(ā)ṭi nāṟpāṟkellaikkuṭpaṭṭa nañceyi

6 nila mūṉṟuveliyum ippaṭikkuṭalāka [tiruttala mu . . . .] nañcey puñcey nilamum poṉvari kācāyam uḷḷiṭṭa aṉaittāyaṅkaḷum melnokkiṉa maramum

7 kiḻnokkiṉa kinaṟum uṭpaṭa inta amutupaṭi aricikkum kari amutu neyamutukkum aṭaikkāyamutukkum Tiruñāṉacampantaṉ seva[y]kkum uṭalāka Prithivikaṅkar pakkal

8 nāṅkaḷ koṇṭa cātaṉappaṭiye Cantirātittavarai celvatāka kalveṭṭikkuṭutteṉ Sarveśvaratevaṉeṉ idam Sarvveśvaradēvasya Paṉmāheśvara rakṣai ꣑

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 5th year (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tribhuvaṇacakkaravattikaḷ [śrī-Vikkirama]pāṇṭiyatēvar, on Friday the seventh day of the dark fortnight in the month of Siṁha when the asterism was Rōhiṇī[185], I, Sarvēśvaradēvan, the head of the Kalmaṭam at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, say that our preceptor, had engraved on stone on the doorway of the *maṭam*, (the instruction) that food offering should be made at the time of *arttacāma* (late night) service to the lord Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār, by providing . . . . curry, ghee and arecanut and worship should be done to Tiruñānacampanta.

4-8 (Accordingly) the land of the extent of three *vēli* in Kuḷattuṭaiyāṉpāṭi (?) bounded by the hill . . . . on the northern bank of Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu, which we received as *maṭappuṟam* from Prithivikaṅkar was given for this purpose. I, Sarvēśvaradēvan gave this land which we had received from Prithvikaṅkar, with the wet and dry lands including in its four boundaries, along with all incomes including *poṉvari* (tax paid in poṉ) and *kācāyam* (cash income), up-facing tree and the dug up well, for the purpose of the above-mentioned food offering consisting of the rice for the cooked food, curry, ghee and areca-nut and for the worship of Tiruñāṉacampantaṉ, just as per Prithvikaṅkar's record and got it engraved on stone so that the gift lasted till the moon and the sun endure. (*This*) is of Sarveśvaradēva. (*This is*) protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

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270 A.D. 1246-47

EO. 544-547 **II *Prākāra*, south wall (outside), eastern part. Much damaged in parts.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Vikrama-pāṇṭyate- varkku yāṇṭu eḻāvatu Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyil kumpiṭṭirukkum [kuru]kkaḷkaḷil

185 Probably August 26, 1244.

Tiruñānacampantarkku nama[tu] mā kā . [yānā] cvarattu .....

2 ttuvācippaṉ uṭpaṭa Karikālacoḷa-nallūr ellaikku vaṭakku Naraciṅka-mallaṉ pereri yellaikku kiḻakku Ma-laippāṉpāṭip peruvaḻikkut teṟku āṟṟu .....

3 iṉṉāṉkellaiyum Neṭuṅkālil [cūṭuyā-mur] pakkipankaya . ivarka] pakkal nāṉ ponniṭṭuk koṇṭu kāṭum veṭṭi en-talkaḻum veṭṭik kiṇa .....

4 tta nilamum tiruttip payirceytu poṉ-vari uḻḻiṭṭa vari antarāyam āḻamañci maṟṟum epperpaṭṭa aṉaittāyaṅkaḻum iḻakkap pāṭikāval ve .....

5 . . ikkāṇi nelluk koḷvatākak koyiṟ cā-taṉa eḻutuvittuk koṇṭa eṉ perāl Nal-lāṉpillaipperṟā] ental inta Tiruñāna-campantarkkuc ca .....

6 varaiyum maṭappuṟamākac celvatā-kat tirukkaṟṟaḻiyile kalveṭṭik kuṭut-teṉ Tevar Kaṇṭiyatevar tāyār . . . cāntiraḻmulaiyāḻeṉ ೭ itu paṉmāhē-śvara rakṣai [//*] ೭

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 7th year [186] (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Vikrama-pāṇṭiya-tēvar, (*the village mentioned below*) including ..... was gifted to Tiruñānacampantar, a teacher de-

voted (*to the god*) of Tiruvaṇṇā-malai.

2-4 (The village) lay to the north of the boundary of Karikālacōḻanallūr, to the east of the boundary of the big tank named Naraciṅkamallaṉ, to the south of the high road leading to Malaippāṉpāṭi ..... of the river. This was obtained for *poṉ* from Neṭuṅkālil [cūṭuyāmur pakki pankaya] by me, and from it the jungle was cleared, *ēntals* were made in it, well was dug and (*fallow lands were*) made cultivable and then crops were raised.

4-6 The taxes including *poṉvari, anta-rāyam, āḻamañci* and all other levies accruing were removed but *pāṭikā-val* (was to be paid ?) and then the paddy (*grown in it*) should be taken. Thus an agreement was written down in the temple and the village thus formed was named Nallāṉpiḻ-laipperṟā] ēntal after me. It was (*then*) gifted as *maṭappuṟam* to Tiru-ñānacampantar to last till the moon and the sun endure. I, . . cāntiraḻmu-laiyā], the mother of Tēvar Kaṇṭi-yatēvar gave this engraved on the stone temple (*tirukkaṟṟaḻi*). This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

271

A.D. 1247-48

EO. 33 (12) **II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Koc-Caṭaipaṉmarāṉa Tirupuvaṉacakkravattika] śrī-Vikki-ramapāṇṭiyatevaṟku yāṇṭu 8 - vatu

2 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉāṟku Pāṇṭināṭṭil Cātaiyil Naraca(ci)ṅkatevar makaṉ Kaṇṭa-tevaṉ Kāṅkaiyaṉ uṭaiyār

186 Probably A.D. 1246-47.

3 Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉārku iyvāṇṭai Aṟpaci mātattil tirununtā viḷakku eṭṭukku viṭṭa pacuvum

4 erutumāka uru 250-m tiru[p]paṇikku viṭṭa kiṭā 600-m Cantirātittavarai celvatāka kalveṭṭikkuṭutteṉ Kaṇṭa-

5 tevaṉāṉa Cuntarapāṇṭiyak Kāṅkeyaṉeṉ [/*] itu Paṉmāheśvara rakṣai ⸗

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 8th year[187] (*of the reign*) of the king Caṭaipaṉmar *alias* Tirupuvaṉacakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vikkirama-pāṇṭiyatēvar, I, Kaṇṭatē-

van Kāṅkaiyaṉ, son of Naraciṅkatēvar of Cātai in Pāṇṭi-nāṭu gave eight *nuntā* (perpetual) lamps in the month of Aṟpici in this year (*to be burnt before*) the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār.

3-5 (*For this purpose I*) endowed cows and bulls numbering 250. Besides, (I) also gave 600 he-buffaloes for the temple building work. I, Kaṇṭatēvaṉ *alias* Cuntarapāṇṭiyak Kāṅkeyaṉ made (*this endowment*) to last till the moon and the sun endure by engraving (*the record*) on stone. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

272

A.D. 1247-48

EO. 33 (3) **II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Koc-Caṭai[ya]paṉmarāṉa Tiripu[va*]ṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī - Vi[kki]ramapāṇṭiyatevaṟku yāṇṭu [. .] tu uṭaiyār

2 Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanā(ā)ṟkku Pāṇṭimaṇṭalattu Veṇṭaikkuṭi-nāṭṭu Karuṅkuḷamāṉa Cātavācaka-nallūr akappa-

3 rivārattu Naraciṅkatevar makaṉ Tirunaṭṭapperumāḷāṉa Kāṅkeyaṉ [Moṭṭai] Aṟappūtipātam tirununtā viḷakku iraṇṭukku viṭṭa pacu [68]-kkum iṣapam 2-kkum viṭṭa naṭai uru 70-m tiruaṟaiccālaikku Uṇṇāmulai-nācciyār tirumuṉpu piḷḷaippālukku

5 . . . . . ppaṇikku viṭṭa kiṭā 14 kaṉṟu mūṉṟum ākap pacu eḻupatum āṭu irunūṟṟu ampatum kiṭā uru patiṉeḻum Cantirā-

6 . . . . . kalveṭṭik kuṭutteṉ Kāṅkeyaṉeṉ [//*] [Paṉ]māheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year [. .][188] (*of the reign*) of the king Caṭaiyapaṉmar *alias* Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vikkiramapāṇṭiyatēvar.

1-5 (*Then*) Tirunaṭṭapperumāḷ *alias* Kāṅkēyaṉ [Moṭṭai] Aṟappūtipātam, son of Naraciṅkatēvar, a member of the *akapparivāram* (domestic servants) belonging to Karuṅkuḷam *alias* Cātavācakanallūr in Veṇṭaikkuṭi-nāṭu in Pāṇṭi-maṇṭalam gave two *nuntā* (perpetual) lamps to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār for which he endowed [68] cows and two bulls totalling to 70 numbers. (*Besides*) I gave . . . . . to provide for the charity house for the (*purpose of giving*) milk

187 Probably A.D. 1247-48.

188 May be A.D. 1247-48. Cf. No. 271 above.

to children in front of (*the goddess*) Uṇṇāmulainācciyār and for the temple building work 14 male buffaloes, and three calves, (thus) the total number of cows was 70, sheep 250, and male buffaloes 17.

5-6 I, Kāṅkēyaṉ, gave this gift to last till the moon and the sun endure, and (*to this effect*) gave the record engraved on stone. (This is) protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

273

A.D. 1256 ?

EO. 33 (19) **II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side. Damaged.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Vīrapāṇṭiyatevarkku [yāṇṭañ]cāvatu . . bha-nāyaṟṟu pūrva-pakṣattu [tiruti]kaiyum Ro-

2 śaṇiyum perṟa Viyāḻakkiḻamai nāḷ . . . . . nāyaṉārkōyil tāṉattārkku tevar . . . .

3 . . . mutalikaḷil Kuru[Cāḻḻavaṉ] . . . . . mukappaṭi iṟṟai nāḷāl . . . [pāl] amutu ce-

4 yyakkaṭṭiṉa cantikku amutupaṭikkum cāttupaṭi . . . . . uḷḷiṭṭa veñcaṉattukkum

5 . . . . po . . i . . [palttilāntikku . . . . ṭṭa naṉcai puncey ka-

6 . . . . . ṉ kā . . cāya . . . . . ma .

7 . . . . . tevatāṉamāka viṭṭuk . . . . . kuṭutteṉ . ru . . ṉ āṉa . . teṉṉā-

8 yaka . . . ippaṭi ariveṉ Keṅkai iṭai Ku . . . . vāṉ itu Śrī-Māhēśvara-rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year 5, of the reign of Vīrapāṇṭiya, on the third day of the bright fort-night of the month of Vṛiṣabha (Vaikāci) coupled with Thursday when the asterism Rōśaṇi (Rōhiṇī) is current (I), Kuru [Cāḻḻavaṉ], a *mutali* of . . . . . issued an order to the tāṉattār of the temple of . . . . . nāyaṉār. As per this order . . . .

3-7 On this day (I) instituted the service of milk offering (*to the deity*). To meet the expenses towards food offerings and side-dishes (*at this service*), ... wet and dry lands . . . . . I . . . . . gave as *tēvatāṉam*

7-8 I . . . . . *alias* . . . . . teṉṉāyaka . . . . . attest (it) . . . . . on the banks of the Gaṅgā and at Ku[mari]. This is protected by the *Śrī-Māhēśvaras.*

274

A.D. 1265-66

EO. 33 (7) **II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Koc-Caṭaiyapaṉma-

2 ṉāṉa Tirupuvaṉacakkaravattikaḷ e[m]maṇṭalamum koṇṭaruliya Cunta-

rapāṇṭiyatevar-
3 kku yāṇḍu 15 - āvatu uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya
4 nāyaṉārkku Tirunallūril Caṅkaraṉ Kaṇṭanāyakkar tirununtā
5 viḷakkukku viṭṭa pacu 32 iṣabham 1 i viḷakku Cantirātittavaraiyil . . .
6 kaṭavatāka viṭṭeṉ Caṅkaraṉ Kaṇṭanāyakaṉeṉ [/*] itu paṉmāhe-
7 śvara rakṣai ☙

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 15th year[189] (*of the reign*) of the king Caṭaiyapaṉmaṉ *alias* Tirupuvaṉacakkaravattikaḷ Emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya Cuntarapāṇṭiyatēvar.

3-5 (*Then*) Caṅkaraṉ Kaṇṭanāyakkar residing at Tirunallūr gave one *nuntā* (perpetual) lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār and for this he endowed 32 cows and one bull.

5-6 I, Caṅkaraṉ Kaṇṭanāyakkaṉ, endowed this to last till the moon and the sun endure.

7 This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

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275 A.D. 1267-68

EO. 33 (10) **II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Koc-Caṭaiyapaṉmarāṉa Tirupuvaṉacakkara-
2 vaṭṭikaḷ emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya Cuntarapāṇṭiyatevaṟkku
3 yāṇṭu 17 - [vatu] [uṭaiyār] Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku
4 Irāja irāja-vaḷanā[ṭṭu] [Malai]ṉāṭṭu Irācentiracoḻapperu-
5 nteruvil Pālaiyūr kiḻavan Cunta[ra]ṉāyan Vañcirāyan tirunu-
6 ntā viḷakkukku viṭṭa pacu 32 iṣabham 1 i viḷakku Cantirā-
7 tittavarai cellakkaṭavatāka viṭṭen Vañcirāyaṉṉeṉ
8 itu panmāheśvara rakṣai -

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 17th year[190] (*of the reign*) of the king Caṭaiyapaṉmar *alias* Tirupuvaṉacakkaravattikaḷ Emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya Cuntarapāṇṭiyatēvar.

3-6 (*Then*) (*I,*) Cuntaraṉāyan Vañcirāyan, the headman of Pālaiyūr residing at Irācēntiracōḻapperunteru in Malaināṭu in Irāja irāja-vaḷanāṭu gave one *nuntā* (perpetual) lamp (*to be burnt in the temple of*) the god Tiruvaṇṇāmaḷai uṭaiya nāyaṉār, and

6-7 (*for this purpose he*) endowed 32 cows and one bull. I, Vañcirāyaṉ, did this so that this lamp should last till the moon and the sun endure.

8 This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras.*

189 About A.D. 1265-66.
190 About A.D. 1267-68.

276 A.D. 1268-69

EO. 33 (5) **II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Koṟ-Caṭe[ya*]-paṉ-
marāna Tirupu[va*]ṉaccakkaravat-
tikaḷ emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya śrī-
Cuntarapāṇṭiyatevarku yāṇṭu 18 -
vatu Āvaṇimāta toṟunāḷ Tiruvaṇṇā-
malaittiruppatiyil
2 Kāṅkayarāyaṉ-tirumaṭamāṉa Vidyā-
vinotaṉ - tirumaṭattu irukkum Śrī-
Gōḷaki-maṭattu Lakṣādhyāyamutali-
yār santānattu Tirukkoṭuṅkuṉṟattu
mutaliyār śiṣyakaḷil Siddhāntavy-
ākhyātā-
3 kkaḷ Varada-śivācārya śiṣyaṉ Hṟ-
dayaśivaṉeṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai
uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku eṅkaḷ mutaliyār
tirunakṣatramāṉa Puṇarpūcattukku
nāṉ amutu ceyvittuppō-
4 [tu]kiṟa Viṇṇavatiraṉ kālāl tiruvamutu
arici kalamum kari amutu veñcaṉaṅ-
kaḷukkum taṉṉuṭaiya janmanakṣa-
tramāṉa Catayattukku Viṇṇavatiraṉ
kālāl tiruvamutu arici kalamum
5 kaṟi amutu veñcaṉaṅkaḷukkum kuṭut-
ta Tiruvaṇṇāmalaip-perumāḷāna Pri-
(Pṛ)[thi]vikaṅkar nelk kaṭamai poṉvari
uḷḷiṭṭa [veṇṭum] aṉaittāya-varkamum
iḷantu maṭappuṟakkāṇiyum iṟaiyiliyu-
māka utakapūrvva-
6 māka tanta Paṅkaḷa-nāṭṭu vaṭakarai
Teṅkampaṭṭāṉa Tiruvaṇṇāmalaippe-
rumāḷ nallūr nañcai puñcaiy nāṟpār-
kellaiyum uṭpaṭṭa nilattil Tiruvālavā-
yuṭaiyārkkum mutaliyār tāṉaṅ kuṭut-
taruḷiṉa melai
7 . . ttantaṭi[yi] nāl kuḷi 475-m itaṉ meṟ-
ku koṭāl . . yāṉ kuḷi oṉṟil kiḻakkaṭaiya
viṭṭa kuḷi 2[5]-m āka kuḷi 5[00] ikkuḷi
ainūṟum ivaṉukku nikki ivvūr Pri-
(Pṛ)thivikaṅkar . . . tanta śāsanap-pa-
ṭiye utakapūrvvamāka kuṭutteṉ
8 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāya-
ṉaṟku Siddhānta-vyākhyātākkaḷ Va-
radaśiva ācāryar śiṣyaṉ Hṟdaya-
śivaṉeṉ ☡

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It happened*) in the 18th year[191] (*of the reign*) of the king Caṭēyapaṉmar *alias* Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya śrī-Cuntarapāṇṭiyatēvar. On a day in the month of Āvaṇi, I, Hṟdaya-śivaṉ, the disciple of Siddhānta-vyākhyātākkaḷ Varada-śivāchārya, who was one of the disciples of the head of Tirukkoṭuṅkuṉṟam, belonging to the *santāna* of Lakṣādhyāya mutaliyār of the Śrī-Gōḷakimaṭam, am in the Kāṅkayarāyaṇṭirumaṭam *alias* Vidyāvinōtan-tirumaṭam in the holy place of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.

3-5 I endowed one *kalam* of rice measured by the Viṇṇavatīraṉ measure for food offerings of cooked rice and curry on the day when the asterism Puṇarpūcam of our preceptor was current and another one *kalam* of rice for food offerings of cooked rice and curries on the day when Catayam, (which is) my own natal asterism, was current.

5-7 (To provide for this), 500 *kuḷi* of land measured by a specified rod was gifted, by pouring water, as tax-free *maṭappuṟak-kāṇi* (*i.e.*, the land gifted to a *maṭha*), in Teṅkampaṭṭu *alias* Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ-nallūr on the

191 About A.D. 1268-69.

north bank in Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu, including the wet and dry lands within its four boundaries, but excluding paddy levy and tax on goldsmith and other levies previously gifted by Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ *alias* Pṛthvīkaṅkar. (*Of this 500 kuḻi*) 475 *kuḻi* was in the Melai . . . . . which was gifted by the preceptor to Tiruvāla-vāyuṭaiyār and 25 *kuḻi* was in another place to the east of the former land. I, Hṛdayaśivaṉ, the disciple of Siddhāntavyākhyātākkaḷ Varadaśivācāryar, gave away (*this land*) to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār by pouring water after deducting the 500 *kuḻi* of land as per the order of Pṛthvī-kaṅkar of this town.

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277 A.D. 1275

S.I.I., VIII, 70 — II *Prākāra*, west wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Ko-Māṟupaṉmar Tirupuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulacekaratevaṟku

2 yāṇṭu 7 Taiy mātam Āṟakaḷūr uṭaiyāṉ Ma[ka]tecaṉ Ula[ka]ṅkātta Vāṇa(va)-

3 kovaraiyaṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār pāl āṭi aruḷa

4 curavittirumeṉivacame Cantirāditta-varaiyum āṭiaruḷa viṭṭa pacu uru 54 [/*]

5 itu panmāheśvara rakṣai ☙

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) in the month of Taiy in the year 7[192] (*of the reign*) of the king Māṟupaṉmar Tirupuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ (the emperor over the three worlds) Kulacēkaratēvar, that

2-5 Makatēcaṉ Ulakaṅkātta Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, the chief of Āṟakaḷūr gave 54 numbers of cows in favour of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār for the purpose of bathing of the god with the milk of the cows alone till the moon and the sun endure.

5 This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

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278 A.D. 1278

EO. 654-658 — II *Prākāra*, west wall (outside), middle.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Ko-Māṟupaṉmar Tribhuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulacekaratevaṟku yāṇṭu pattāvatu Makara-nāyaṟṟu aparapakṣattu sap-tamiyum Putaṉkiḻamaiyum perṟa Coti nāḷ Nampirāṭṭiyār

2 Tevarkaḷ tampirāṭṭiyārāṉa Teṉṉaṉaimuḻutumuṭaiyār makaḷār Puḻukuneypperumāḷukku uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai yuṭaiya nāyaṉār koyilil Cimākecurakkaṇkāṇiceyvār-

192 About January 1275.

3 kaḷum tevakanmi koyiṟkaṇakkar iv-
vanaivarom kāṇivilaippiramāṇam
paṇṇikkuṭuttaparicāvatu tevatāṇam
Āṭaiyūr ellaiyil kiḻpāṟkellai Tiruma-
laikku meṟkum [yel]-
4 laikkallukku kiḻakkum Āṭaiyūr Ciṟṟeri
etirvāykku teṟkum melaicciṅka ki-
ṇaṟṟukku vaṭakkum iṉṉānkellaikku
uṭpaṭṭa nilattukku Caṇṭecurapperu-
vilaiyāka niccayittu
5 iṟṟai nāḷāl koyil paṇṭārattil oṭukkiṉa
poṉ 10 ippoṉ pattukkum iṉṉāṉkel-
laikku uṭpaṭṭa ṉilamum melṉokkiṉa
maramum kiḻ ṉokkiṉa kiṉaṟum iṟaiyili
kāṇiyākavum
6 iṉṉilam ivaṟku viṟṟu oṟṟip parikkira-
yaṅkaḷukku urittāva(tatitava)tāka-
vum iṉṉilattile eriyum veṭṭi kaḻaniyum
tirutti ūrum kuṭiyākki payiṟ ceyyak
kaṭavarākavum tiruttiṉavāṇṭai-
7 kku iṟaiyiliyākavum itaṉ etirāmāṇṭu
mutal ṉaṉcey nilattukku ṉūṟu kuḻikku
kala nellumāka kalam celavākkavum
ippaṭikku Cantirātittavaraiyum kāṇi-
yāka aṉupavikkavum ippaṭi camma-
8 tittu ippoṉ pattukkum iṉṉāṉkellaikku
uṭpaṭṭa nilam viṟṟu vilaippiramāṇam
paṇṇi kuṭuttom Nampirāṭṭiyār Teṉṉa-
ṉaimuḻutumuṭaiyār makaḷār Puḻuku-
neyperumāḷukku [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the tenth year (*of the reign*) of the king Māṟupaṉmar Tribhuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Ku-lacēkaratēvar, on Wednesday the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of Makara when the asterism Cōti was current[193], we, *Cī-Mākēcurakkaṇkāṇiceyvār*, the *tēva-kanmi* and the *kōyiṟkaṇakkar* of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya ṉāyaṉār gave this land sale document to Puḻukuneypperumāḷ, the daughter of Nampirāṭṭiyār (the lady) Teṉṉaṉaimuḻutumuṭaiyār, the wife of Tēvarkaḷ (i.e., the king).

3-5 (*On this day*) this person deposited ten *poṉ* in the temple treasury as the price towards the cost of the land situated to the west of Tirumalai, to the east of the boundary stone, to the south of the other side of Ciṟṟēri of Āṭaiyūr and to the north of the Mēlaicciṅka-kiṇaṟu, in the *tēvatā-ṉām* Āṭaiyūr.

5-6 This land, within these four boundaries was given as a tax-free property for this amount of ten *poṉ* together with the up-growing tree and dug-up well (*in the area*).

6 She gets the right to sell, mortage and for complete sale of this property. She could cultivate the land after plotting it into fields, after excavating a tank and after settling tenants there.

6-7 It was tax-free in the first year when the land was brought under cultivation. From the next year onwards, one *kalam* of paddy per 100 *kuḻi* of wet land should be given and one *kalam* only to be expended. Like this (*this person*) could enjoy this land as her property till the moon and the sun endure.

7-8 Having thus agreed (*we*) had sold the land within the said four boundaries and gave the land sale deed to Puḻukuneyperumāḷ, the daughter of Nampirāṭṭiyār, Teṉṉaṉaimuḻutumuṭaiyār, for this amount of ten *poṉ*.

193 Probably January 17, 1278, Monday not Wednesday. The other particulars are all right. January 18, 1324, may be another equivalent when, however, ba. 7 started after .48 and the *nakṣatra* Svāti after .61 part of the day. This equivalent may suggest the attribution of the record to Māra. Kulacēkara II (accn. A.D. 1314). But the internal evidence of this epigraph shows that it belonged to Māra. Kulacēkara I.

279 A.D. 1281

A.R.E., 67/1945-46 III *Prākāra*, east wall (inside).

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Koṉerimelkoṇṭān Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī - Kulacekaratevaṟku yāṇṭu 14 [Makara]nāyaṟṟu aparapakṣattu ekātaśiyum Veḷḷikkiḻamaiyum

2 perṟa Mulattu nāḷ Peṇṇai vaṭakarai Aṇṇā-nāṭṭu Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyil melait teruvil tevaraṭiyāril Eppotumiṉiyār makaḷ Kulacekaratevar makaṉ

3 Aruṇakiripperumāḷāṉa Iyātavarāyaṟku Cālaipūṇṭiyil Veḷḷā[ḷa]ril paṭaittalaivaṉ Periyanāyaṉ makaṉ Māṇikkaṉum paṭaittalaivaṉ Araṅkappiḷḷai

4 makaṉ Peruṅkaṉum ivviruvarom kāṇi vilai piramāṇam paṇṇik kuṭutta paricāvatu eṅkaḷ kāṇi āṉa Cālaipuṇṭiyil ellaiyil Karumāṇikkaṉental

5 eṅkaḷukku payiṟ ceyya mutalillāmal uṭai kuḷamāy pāḷ kiṭakkaiyālum kāṇi āṭci piṭittu iṟaikoḷḷukaiyālum eṅkaḷukku iṟaiyāṟṟāta-paṭiyālum

6 inta Aruṇakiripperumāḷāṉa Iyātavarāyaṟku viṟṟukkuṭuttu paṟṟiṉa pa.(paṇam) 50 ippaṇam aimpatum ivvental naṉcey puṉcey nāṟpāk kellaiyum nattamum

7 maṉaiyum kiḻ ṉokkiṉa kiṇaṟu mel ṉokkiṉa maramum uḷpaṭa cakala prāptikaḷum vilaiyākavum ivvental ivaṟku viṟṟoṟṟip parikkirayaṅkaḷukku urittāvatā[ka]lvum

8 ippaṭikku viṟṟu vilai piramāṇam paṇṇik kuṭuttom Aruṇakirināṭaṟku ivviruvarom [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! On Friday, the eleventh day in the dark fortnight of the month of [Makara] when the asterism Mūla was current, in the 14th year[194] (*of the reign*) of Kōṉērimēlkoṇṭān Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī - Kulacēkaratevar,

2-4 we both, Māṇikkaṉ, son of the army captain Periyanāyaṉ and Peruṅkaṉ, son of the army captain Araṅkappiḷḷai, belonging to the Veḷḷāla (community) of Cālaipūṇṭi executed this land sale deed in favour of Aruṇakiripperumāḷ *alias* Iyātava-rāyar, son of Kulacēkara-tēvar, daughter of Eppōtumiṉiyār, a member of the *tēvaraṭiyār* (community) of the western street at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in Aṇṇanāṭu on the northern bank of the Peṇṇai.

4-6 (*The deed related*) to the sale of Karumāṇikkaṉēntal on the border of Cālaipūṇṭi which belonged to us. (We sold it) because for want of capital we could not raise crops there and so it went into ruins and its tank was breached and (*the authorities*) tried to extract the taxes by confiscating it, as we could not pay the taxes, to Aruṇakiripperumāḷ *alias* Iyātavarāyar, and received the amount of 50 *paṇam*.

6-7 This amount of *paṇam* 50 was the sale price of this *ēntal* including the wet and dry lands in its four boundaries, habitation area and house, dug up well, and up growing trees, and other incomes from it, and he gets the right to sell, mortgage and

194 Probably January 17, 1281.

do other things with this *ēntal.*
8. Thus we, two, had sold (the *ēntal*) to Aruṇakirināṭar and executed the sale-deed.

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280 A.D. 1282 (?)

EO. 577-629 **II *Prākāra*, south wall (outside). Lines 1-10 are very badly damaged.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] . . . hum . . . . . mu . . ṉi . . . yat[ti]ruppāvai . . . . ṉum . . . . [ru]ppāvai . . . [tā]liṉuma . . . . maṉatti . . . . . tiruppa ceṅkol naṭappa . . . . . li mū . . . . perumpukaḷ parappa . . ṇaṅka ṉ ilamiḷi . . . . . ṉa[ṅ]ru . ma . . . . . niṉrāḷu . . . camayam āṟutaṉ viḷaṅka Ciṅkaḷa . . . ru . . . . m neṭu muṭi ventaru veṉṟiyilanaiyum veñci[na] . . . [Cetiya]num Koṅkar

2 ṉoṭu muṉaintu taṭi muṭi tavikka . ṇavai . . ṟuka [ti]ṇa ceruc ceytu . yil . . . paṭa ve . vi . ṭucceru yamai tamakkum viruppiṉaṉā . nurai ṇaṟivāḷaraikkaṇṇi nokki muṉ niṭu tiṟai kalai muṟaimai mukkuṇa . . muṉparicai . . m miṉ viṉavi pu[ṉ]ṉāṭu koṇṭa [pe?] . . . . . l Vīrapo-calaṉai vekuṇṭaṉaṉāki iṭu tiṟai . . . ṉatuṅka vāḷil ceṅkaṇvaittaruḷi Cera-larvaṇaṅ . veṇṭi viṭuttū . ṉa ceṉṟavar kūṟi niṉṟa c[o] . ku m . mu . . . . . muṟakkā

3 ciṟanta vayapperum [pari]yaiyum [to]ṇai . ṭa . . . tuṇai kaḷaleṉṉa kaṭaik-kaṇ civanta . kkaruḷam . . . . . kai tiru varukeṉa avaruṭaṉ moḻinta veytu vurai keṭṭu vekuṇṭu ceṉṟukava vaiyam perum paṭakkaḷam paṭat tuṇittu muṟaippaṭi [yāṉaiyūṅkaḷa] . mum peṟavuntiṟai . . . . . ppuyaccā . ntiraiyum oruvar . . . m . . . mālvarait tiṇpuyaṟ kon oṭu kaṭikamum ceḻuntār . . lloṟakkaḷañ . . tu kuruti kaṭal . kuvi . ṭikaḷ mā . . ni . . nitāka . . . .

4 cilaiyum neṭumpe māpakaḻiyum vā . . . rikaiyum vayamā . . . . . runta . . . . n . . . . . māṭa ṅkaya . . . . . kku . . pimu vākai cūṭiyiruntuḻi piṉṉum . . ṉa vaḻi perum pe . so . m viṉṉāvil [ke]ṅkai . virriviṭaiyaṉ . . . . . ki ipperumpaṭaiyoṭiṅ [ki]rumi . . . . ṇi curruviṭṭaṉareṉat tūtar moḻiyak karṟa . . neṉṟaruḻi appo . . . ṉa . taṉaṅkaivi . . . . [vaṉ] muttirai[kka]li[ṉoka?] . . . . . .

5 cuṅka . . . . . viṇ . . . . . kuṭi . . . . . mu . . . . . ruṅkuru[ti?] . . . . kuḻattu . mum . . . . . pāramum viḻaintu . . . . . muḻutu . . . laittuk . . . . . ttil . . . . . lu . . . . . tiṟattiḻaḻittu koḷḷai . . [meru] . . . . . ttu . . . . . .

6 veñceruvi . . . . kku neñ . . . veñ . . . . . cinayka[ṭi] kama[ḻ] . . . . . tiṟai . . tu porvatiruntiruṇta Pocalaṉ taṉṉai . . . ceyal . . . . . ntu paṇintu . . . . . kka . . . li . . kku . . . . . kkamum c[o] . . . . . kkai [veṅka] . . . viraṇākiya Ciṅkaṇa mutaliya teṇṭaṇāyakkarum [miḷi ?] varuta . . . mūṉṉāṭu . maṟutturum paṇi . . . tti mu . . . . . munnavarum . . . . . kaḻu ceṅkaipperu . . . . . viruntiṇitu . . . . . vaḷattu . . . yilum koṇ . .

7 tiral yāṉaiyum [kuru] kum tirukum katirum nākkum . . ṅkaṉaka paṇṭāramum . . . . . cevvi . . . . . kkaikkoṇṭaruḻi m[i]kkavaru[]uḻtaiya[n] Villavaṉ taṉṉai . . . . . to . . . . ṉrilerri vi . . . . . ṉṇamūrk . . . . . ku vāyil ceytu . . . . ttu muracilum . . . . . munraliruntu [Veñc][ca*]ttu . . . . . to]vālt tuṇittavaṉ . . . . . palaperum paṭaiyum te . . . . . nkavā-

natu . . . . . ṇiya potu . .
8 . . . . vil . . . . . tirukkaip piṭittu tirukkuñcelvak . . . . kkum kaḷaṇi . . . ṇṭum . . . . . porpār Koppamum Kaṇṇivaḷanāṭum ponneṭuvikuṭalu . . ma . . . . . cirappu[m] . . . . nta . . . . . yaṇi . . . . . nic ciranta curru . . . . pakaiyarutta Cuntara-pāṇṭiyaṇai marroruvarovvā . . ttulakum . . . . . ṭaiyakkāttarkku vaittu . . . . . Ponnipperiyārriṇiṭaittiru . . . kaṭalennavaḷaru . . . lai vittirumāl . . . . cci . . peruṅ . . . . . ponnāki . . . . . celumve . .
9 ttu . . . . . tipa Irācanārāyaṇaṇaicco . puṭaicūḷa Pācaicca . . . . mānakkuñcaral . . . nāṭu . . . . . ttaruḷiya . . . . . ṇaiyum . . . . yunti . . . . por . . . ttaṇṭe viṭap porutor paṭi nāṭuvarāy tuṅkamukil ve . . . . . ṭṭi māpperuntāṇaik kop-Peruñciṅkaṇai . . . ṇai . . ttala . . . . . ruttāḷiyaṇṇa . . . i va . miṛai koṇṭu tiṇṭakaṭal
10 cūḷana . . . . tta [mīḷ]ṭum tu . . . . . vit Tirunelveli . . . . . tāṇ veṇṭi vaḷatta Ciṅkaḷaṇ vā . . . . . co . . . . . tirukī . . taṇ . . . na . . ti ponta . . . . . maitta . ṅkaṇṇār vaḷai[yiḷni . . yuñcatti . . . . varuñ . . . . . muta[lāna] neṭun . . . viyuṅka . . ṇu . . yar tirumukak karuṇaiyu . . . . . so . mukaḷena vaḷaṅkum vaṇmaiyu . . ṇu ḷakila mai[na]laṛce . . taṅkurutiyoḷukum . . . . . maṉṟupoleṉṟumnaṉṟu . . . . . .
11 ḷi nāḷena . . . . nta [Pa]llavaṇ taṇṭum va . . yaṇ pāvalar vira muttappoṇ . . . vāṭaiyum potiyiṛ teṉṟalum . . . la vantu vicuva toppaṭu ru paṅkum ventarel vaṇai purava[var]tiruvaḷar kiḷai ciṛappa vicuvam poṇ neṭuvarai maṇa[ṅka] l[i] . . . viruntāraippola cemponeṭu vīraciṅṅātaṇattumīteṛi pa[ri]pūra maṇṇar . . . . yam piriyākkārkamalan tuṇaikka . . Vīra[ṇu]lta . . tariva . . . ttum Ulakamuḷutum uṭaiyāḷoṭum viṛṛiruntaruḷiya śrī-Ko-Māṛupaṇmarāṇa Tiripuvaṇaccakkaravatti Koneriṇmai-koṇṭāṇ Aṇṇānāṭṭut Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār koyil tāṇa-
12 ttārkku it-Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya . yaṇārkku nam perāl kaṇṭa Kulacekaraṇ cantikkum (long space where about 40-45 letters seem to have been erased) yamutupaṭi uḷḷiṭṭu veṇṭuvaṇavaṛṛukkum Makarai-maṇṭalattu (about 8 or 9 letters seem to have been erased here) nāṭṭu Pākkamum (about 14 or 16 letters seem to have been erased here) nāṅṅkellaikku uḷpaṭṭa nilamum puṇcaiyum nattamum toṭṭamum kuḷamum kuḷapparappum uḷpaṭṭa nilattil paḷaṇṭevatāṇam tiruviṭai-yāṭṭam paḷḷiccantam nikki nikki uḷḷa nilam paḷam per tavi[r]ttu nam peral Kulacekara nalurum . . . . . .
13 (space for about 20 letters is available here) ceyyappeṛa veṇum eṉṟu ivvūrk kaṭamaiyum antarāyamum viṇiyokamum taruvatāṇa accum[ā] kāriyavārācciyum veṭṭippāṭṭamum . . . yum cantivikkiramapperum vācalpperum ilāñciṇaipperum taṛiyirai cekkiṛaiyum taṭṭolippāṭṭamum iṭaiyar variyum iṇavariyum kuṛa . . . mum Kāttikaippaccaiyum aḷakerutum pacuvum . . . . . yamum [maṇai]yiṛaiyum puṇcaik kaṭamai toṭṭak kaṭamai puncai . . . . . māvaṭaiyum pāṭikāvalum [paṭamatiṇelum?] kuṛṛaṭṭeṇṭamum komuṛṛamāperum toloṭṭum poṇvariyum
14 [āya]vaṛkkamum uḷḷiṭṭa varikaḷum maṛṛum epperpaṭṭaṇavum uṭpaṭa paṭiṇālāvatu mutal tevatāṇa iṛaiyiliyāka iṭampera veṇum eṉṟu Kāḷiṅkarāyar namakku coṇṇamaiyil it-Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyārkku nam perāl kaṇṭa Kulacekaraṇ cantikkum (a long space here has no letters which seem to have been erased) amutupaṭi cāttuppaṭi uḷḷiṭṭu veṇṭuvaṇavukkum Makara-maṇṭalattu (about 8 letters are erased here) nāṭṭu Pākkamum (about 12 letters are erased here)

nāṅṅkel(le)laik kuḷpaṭṭa nilamum puncaiyum nattamum toṭṭamum kuḷamum kuḷapparappum uḷppaṭṭa niḷattil palaṉte-

15 vatāṉam tiruviṭaiyāṭṭam paḷḷiccantamum nikki nikki uḷḷa nilam paḷam per tavirttu nam perāl Kulacekaranallūrum (about 20-25 letters are erased here) var ceyvatākavum colli ivvūr kaṭamaiyum antarāyamum viṉiyokamum taruvatāna accum kāriyavārāccīyum veṭṭippāṭṭamum pañcupiliyum cantuvivikkiramapperum vācalperum ilāñciṉaipperum tariyirai cekkiraiyum taṭṭolipāṭṭamum iṭaiyar variyum iṉavariyum kācāyamum Kāttikaippaccaiyum aḷakerutum pacuvum [mātirucāntiyum] maṉaiyiraiyum puṉcaik kaṭamai toṭṭak kaṭamaiyum pācippāṭṭamum māvaṭaiyum

16 pāṭikāvalum paṭṭiteṉṭamum kurrattaṉṭamum komurramāperun toloṭṭum poṉvariyum āyavarkkamum uḷḷiṭṭa varikaḷum marrum epperppaṭṭaṉavum uḷpaṭa ivāṉṭu mutal ce[l]vatāṉa iraiyiliyākat tantom ippaṭi kaikkoṉṭu Cantirātittavarai celvatākak kallilum cempilum veṭṭuvittuk ko] (about 6 or 7 letters are erased here) ivai Muttūrruk kūrrattu Paṭṭamaṅkalattu Kuḷattāḷvāṉ Colaimalaic Cokkaṉ Vaṇṭuva[rai]pperumāṉ eḷuttu ivai Muttūrrukkūrrattu Paṭṭamaṅkalattu [Ci]rukampūruṭaiyāṉ Ātittanārāyaṇaṭevaṉ eḷuttu ivai

17 Muttūrrukkūrrattu Muttūrāṉa Uyyakkoṇṭacoḷanallūr Tevaṉ Paḷampatikku-nāyakaṉāṉa
Muṉaiyatarayaṉ eḷuttu [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-11 Hail ! Prosperity ! (from line 1 upto 3/4 of line 11, the writing is very badly damaged. But evidently this portion contains the *praśasti* of the king Māravarman Kulacekara).[195]

11-12 When I, the illustrious king Mārupaṉmar alias Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravatti Kōnērinmaikoṇṭāṉ was seated along with (*my queen*) Ulakamuḻutumuṭaiyāḷ, and in order to provide for offerings of food and other items during a service instituted in my name *viz.*, Kulacēkaraṉ-canti, to the god of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār, I gave, to the *tāṉattār* of the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār of Aṇṇā-nāṭu, the village of Pākkam in .... nāṭu in Makarai-maṇṭalam. (*The gift*) includes the (*wet*) land within the four boundaries, dry-land, habitation site, garden, tank, and the tank-land, but excluding from it the previously (*gifted*) *tēvatāṉa, tiruviṭaiyāṭṭam,* and *paḷḷiccantam.* The remainder of the land (*was gifted*) after removing the old name and giving the name of Kulacēkaranallūr (*to the village*), after me.

13-14 We were told by Kāliṅkarāyar that from the 14th year (*of my reign*) the *kaṭamai, antarāyam, viṉiyōkam* (tax on expenses), the usually paid cash, *kāriyavārācci* (tax for paying supervisors of accounts etc), *veṭṭippāṭṭam* (tax for paying village free labourer), . . , *cantivikkiramappēr* (tax for work relating to war and peace), *vācalppēr* (tax paid to palace), *ilāñciṉaippēr* (tax for royal stamp), *tariyirai, cekkirai, taṭṭoli* (tax on smith's work-shop), the tax on shepherd, the tax on individual, *Kāttikaippaccai,* beautiful (show ?) ox, cow, tax on house, *kaṭamai* on dry-land, *kaṭamai* on garden, ... , *māvaṭai, pāṭikāval,* fines on criminals, *kōmurramāpēr* (tax paid to king), *tōḻoṭṭu* (a

195 May be about A.D. 1281.

tax, probably levied on leather goods), *poṉvari*, *āyavarkam* (group of incomes) and other taxes and all other incomes (from the village) should get registered as tax-free *tēvatānam*.

14-17 (*Accordingly*) in order to provide for the offering and adornment to this god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiyār during the service (*to him*) instituted in my name as Kulacēkaraṉ-canti, I ordered as tax-free gift to commence from this year of the land within the four boundaries of the village of Pākkam in Makara-maṇṭalam together with the area consisting of dry-land, habitation site, garden, tank and tank-site, and excluding from it the lands previously gifted as *tēvatānam*, *tiruviṭaiyāṭṭam*, and *paḷḷiccantam*, and removing the old name (of the village) and giving the name of Kulacēkaranallūr after me (*to the village*). (*The gift included*) *kaṭamai*, *antarāyam*, *viṉiyōkam*, the usually paid cash, *kāriyavārācci*, *veṭṭippāṭṭam*, *pañcupīli*, *caṇṭivikkiramappēṟ*, *vācalpēṟ*, *ilāñciṉaippēṟ*, *taṟiyiṟai*, *cekkiṟai*, *taṭṭolipāṭṭam*, tax on shepherd, tax on individual, *kācāyam*, *Kāttikaippaccai*, beautiful (show) ox, cow, ... , tax on house, *kaṭamai* on dry-land, tax on garden, *pācippāṭṭam*, *māvaṭai*, *pāṭikāval*, *paṭṭiteṇṭam*, tax on criminals *kōmuṟramāpēṟ*, *tōloṭṭu*, *poṉvari*, taxes including *āyavarkam*, and all other incomes. Having received the gift which was to continue till the moon and the sun endure, (*the record*) could be got engraved on stone and copper. (*The witnesses who affixed their signatures to the document were*) Kuḷattāḷvāṉ Cōḷaimalaic Cokkaṉ Vaṇṭuvaraipperumāṉ of Paṭṭamaṅkalam in Muttūṟṟuk-kūṟṟam, Ātittanārāyaṇatēvaṉ of Cirukampūr in Paṭṭamaṅkalam in Muttūṟṟuk-kūṟṟam and Tēvaṉ Paḷampatikkunāyakaṉ *alias* Muṉiyataraiyaṉ of Muttūr *alias* Uyyakkoṇṭa-cōḷanallūr in Muttūṟṟuk-kūṟṟam.

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281 A.D. 1282-83

EO. 649-653 II *Prākāra*, west wall (outside), middle.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Ko-Māṟupanmar Tribhuvanaccakkaravattika] śrī-Kulacekaratēvaṟku yāṇṭu patiṉ aiñcāvatu Ciṅka-nāyaṟṟu pūrvapakṣattu pañcamiyum

2 Putaṉkiḻamaiyum pe[ṟ]ṟa Mūlattu nāḷ melaitteruvil kaiykkoḷaril Kalavaḻināṭu āḷvār makaṉ Kulacekaratevaṟku uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai u-

3 ṭaiya nāyaṉār koyil Cīmāhēśvarakaṅkāṇi ceyvārkaḷum tevakaṉmi koyil kaṇakkarom kāṇivilai piramāṇam paṇṇik kututta paricāvattu ivvāṇṭai

4 Āvaṇimātam irupattu oṉṟān tiyati Aṇṇānāṭṭil tevatāṉamāṉa Meyyūr piṟivu Vicaiyan ental Ceṭṭippaṭṭu vaḻikku merkuṅ Taṇṭa[ḷai] koyilu-

5 kku meṟku; Karumpoḻilūr vaḻikku meṟku Ciṟupākkattilak[kai] nāṭṭukku kiḻakku teva[māṉi]ya[ttu*]kku vaṭakku Vañci . . . mukku teṟku nāṉkellaikku uṭpaṭṭa

6 nilam tām Caṇṭecurapperuvilaiyāka

niccayittu koyil paṇṭārattil oṭukkiṉa poṉ 4 ip ponnālukkum [inta] nāṉku ellaikku uṭpaṭṭa nilam mel no-

7 kkiṉa maramum kiḻ nokkiṉa kiṇarum māvaṭai maravaṭaiyum iṟaiyili kāṇiyākavum iṉ[ṉillam virru orri parikkirayaṅkaḷukku urittāvatāka-

8 vum itukku kaṭamai poṉvari koḷḷum iṭattu pacānattukku veli oṉ[ṟukku*] patiṉkalamum viṉi . . . l. lam . . . patiṅkalamum poṉvarikku patiṅkalamum

9 celavākkavum ivvental vaṭikāl piṟavaṭaiyāna nilam puṟavaṭai oṭṭu mariyāti kār pacānam ve . . . rrup . . [tiḷṉ kala nellu celvatākavum ippaṭikku

10 Cantirātittavaraiyum kāṇiyāka anupavikkavum ippoṉ nālukkum nāṉkellaikku uṭpaṭṭa nilam virru vilaippiramāṇam paṇṇikkuṭuttom

11 Kalavaḻināṭāḻvār makaṉ Kulacekaratevaṟku uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār koyil tānattārom [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 15th year (*of the reign*) of the king Mārupaṉmar Tribhuvanac-cakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Kulacēkaratēvar, on Wednesday, on the 5th day of the bright fortnight in the month of Ciṅka when the asterism Mūla is current[196], we, *Cīmāhēśvarakkaṇkāṇiceyvārkaḷ, tēvakaṉmi* and *kōyilkaṇakkar* of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār gave the land sale deed to Kulacēkaratēvar, the son of Kalavaḻināṭu āḻvār, a *kaiykkōḷar* of the western street.

3-6 On the 21st day of the month of Āvaṇi of this year a sum of 4 *poṉ* was decided by us as the price for lands in Vicaiyan ēntal belonging to Meyyūr, a *tēvatāṉam* in Aṇṇā-nāṭu which is situated to the west of the road in Ceṭṭippaṭṭu, to the west of the temple of Taṇṭaḷai, to the west of the Karumpoḻilūr road, to the . . . and to the east of Ciṟupākkattilakkai-nāṭu and to the north of *tēvamāṉiyam* (tax free land gifted to god) and this amount was deposited in the temple treasury.

6-8 For this 4 *poṉ* this land demarcated by the four boundaries together with the upgrowing tree and dug-up well and the fauna and flora should become (his) tax-free property, with rights to sell and mortgage and for complete sale.

8-9 When the question of receiving of *kaṭamai* and *poṉvari* in respect of this land came, 10 *kalam* (*of paddy*) was to be spent per *vēli* per *pacānam* (agricultural season ending in April), 10 *kalam* for . . . . , 10 *kalam* for *poṉvari.*

9 For the land situated on the outskirts of this *ēntal* but taken as regular revenue yielding one, [10] *kalam* of paddy for kār and *pacānam* . . . . . should be spent.

9-10 Thus (*the land*) would be enjoyed (by him) as *kāṇi* till the moon and the sun endure.

10-11 Thus we, the *tānattār* of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār sold the land within the four boundaries for this 4 *poṉ* and the land sale deed was given to Kulacēkaratēvar, the son of Kalavaḻināṭāḻvār.

196 Irregular both for Māra. Kulacēkara I (accn. A.D. 1268) and for II (accn. A.D. 1314). May be A.D. 1282-83.

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A.D. 1284

S.I.I., VIII, 71

II *Prākāra*, west wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti [//*] Koṉerimelkoṇṭāṉ Tirupuvanaccakkara-
2 vattikaḷ śrī-Kulacekaratevaṟku yāṇṭu 16-ā[vatu] ūr
3 Vāraṇavāci Ciraṅkanātarāṉa Māḷuvaccakkaravattikaḷ
4 ivvāṭṭai Mācimātam paṉṉiraṇṭāṉ ti-(ti)-yati Canikki-
5 ḷamai nāḷ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanāṟkku[197] tirununtāviḷakku onṟukku viṭṭa
6 pacu muppattiraṇṭum iṣapam onṟum Cantirātitta-
7 varai celluvatākak kalveṭṭi kuṭutteṉ [/*] itu
8 paṉmāheśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! (*It is*) the 16th year of Kōnērimēlkoṇṭāṉ Tirupuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ (the lord over the three worlds) śrī-Kulacākaratēvar.

2-5 I, Cīraṅkanātar *alias* Māḷuvaccakkaravattikaḷ of the village of Vāraṇavāci, on Saturday, the 12th day of the month of Māci in this year[198], made the

5-7 (*donation*) of one *nuntā* lamp to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, and for this purpose gave 32 cows and one bull to last till the moon and the sun endure.

7-8 This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

283

A.D. 1287

EO. 764-768

II Prākāra, north wall (outside), west of Vaikuṇṭa vācal, middle part.
Much damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Śrī-Maṟa[tti]kiḻaṉṉāka Ko-Māṟapaṉmarāṉa Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vikkiramapāṇṭiya-tevaṟku yāṇṭu 4-vatu Ṛṣabhanāyaṟṟu pūrvvapakṣattu Viyāḻakkiḻaimaiyum titiyaiyu[m]
2 perṟa Migaśīṣattu nāḷ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanāṟku Perumāḷ Vikkiramapāṇṭiyatēvar [kammiyakaḷin] Irācākkaḷnāyaṉ cantikkum Irācākkaḷnāyaṉ turnā[ḷu]kkum
3 ceva . . . . . ttut tevar . . ḷ taṭaṉ erṟa tevaraṭiyār per nāṟpattunālukkum . ru nāṟpattu nālukkum Irācākkaḷnāyaṉ cantiyil aṭainta paṅku onṟukkuk . . . . yāka
4 . ṭaitta teṉṟu nikki . . . aiññūṟu kuḻiyāka vanta nilam patiṉoru veliyum . . ... Puliyūrnāṭṭuccatuppētimaṅkalattilum paḻa . . . teṉkarai vaṭakaraiyilum nālāva-
5 tukku etirāmāṇṭu mutal aṭaittuk kuṭuttuc Cantirātittavarai viṟṟoṟṟi cel-

197 The words *uṭaiyār* to *nāyanāṟkku* are written above the line.
198 Probably February 5, 1284, Saturday, *ba.* 3, Uttiram.

vatāka paṅku nā[l ?]pattu nālukkum kāṇiyākak kalveṭṭikkuṭuttom . uṭaiyār [paṅkukku] . . . . Aṇṇā nācciyār

6 . . . . . paṅku . . . . . tta . . . . . paṅku 1/2 Kaṇṭarātittam . . . . . paṅku . . . . . paṅku [4] Nalla . paṅku . . . . . paṅku [1] Aḷakiya nācciyār paṅku [1] Periyāḷ paṅku [1]

7 Perumā . . paṅku [1] Pirāṭṭi paṅku 1/2 . . . ṇṭai paṅku 1/2 Kaṇiyai paṅku [1] . . . Perum . . . . . paṅku . . . . Perumāḷ paṅku . . . . . paṅku [1] Maṅkalam

8 nakarattāḷ paṅku 1/2 . . . ti paṅku 1 Aḷakiya . . . paṅku 1 Tiruvaṇṇāma . . . . . cci paṅku 1 Pāla . . . . Āṭaipput . . . . .

9 paṅku 1 Nal . . . . . ṅku 1 Ceṇpakam paṅku [1/2 ?] Aruntavam paṅku 1/2 Āti Keṅkai nācci paṅku . . . . . ṇṇā[la] . . . . . pāṇku 1 . . . . . paṅku 1 . . ṉāṇṭai paṅku 1/2 . .

10 Aruṇakiri Māṇikkam paṅku 1/2 Mutacci paṅku 1/2 Maṅkātēvi paṅku 4 Umaiyāvi paṅku [4] . . . . . Uṇṇāmulai . . .

11 . . . . . itu paṉ-māhēśvara rakṣai ೭

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 4th year (*of the reign*) of the king Mārapaṉmar *alias* Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vikkiramapāṇṭiyatēvar described as *maṟatti kiḻannā* (?), on Thursday, the 3rd day of the bright fortnight when the asterism was Migaśīṣam in the month of Ṛṣabha[199], 40 *tēvaraṭiyār* and . . . . [.]4 . . . . . were arranged for doing service at the Irācākkaḷnāyaṉcanti and (on the days) of the festival called Irācākkaḷnāyaṉ tiruṇāḷ to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār by [the servants ?] of Perumāḷ Vikkiramapāṇṭiya tēvar.

3-11 The land (*that was given to them*) which comprised of 44 (?) *paṅku* of 500 *kuḻi* a *paṅku* for the Irācākkaḷnāyaṉ canti . . . . . (*came to*) 11 *veḷi* and it was situated in the village of Puliyūrnāṭṭuccatuppēti-maṅkalam and in . . . . . on both the southern and northern banks. It, the 44 *paṅku* was given to them from the year opposite to the 4th year with the right to sell and mortgage the same, till the moon and the sun endure. We gave this as *kāṇi* (to them) and recorded it on stone . . . . . to the god's share (?) . . . . . Aṇṇā nācciyār . . . . . *paṅku* . . . . . 1/2 *paṅku*, Kaṇṭarātittam . . . . *paṅku* . . . . . 4 *paṅku*, Nalla *paṅku* . . . . . one *paṅku*, one *paṅku* for Aḷakiyanācciyār, one *paṅku* for Periyāḷ, one *paṅku* for Perumā . . , 1/2 *paṅku* for Pirāṭṭi, 1/2 *paṅku* for . . . ṇṭai, 1 *paṅku* for Kaṇiyai, ... for Perum . . . . . *paṅku* . . . . . *paṅku* for Perumāḷ, one *paṅku* for . . . . . , 1/2 *paṅku* for Maṅkalam nakaraṭṭāḷ, one *paṅku* for . . . ti, one *paṅku* for Aḷakiya . . . , ... for Tiruvaṇṇāma . . . . . , one *paṅku* for . . . . . cci, ... Pāla . . . . . , one *paṅku* for Aṭaipput . . . . . , one *paṅku* for Nal . . . . . , [1/2 ?] *paṅku* for Ceṇpakam, 1/2 *paṅku* for Aruntavam, . . . *paṅku* for Āti Kaṅkai-nācci, ... ṇṇā[la] . . , one *paṅku* for . . . . . ,one *paṅku* for . . . . . , 1/2 *paṅku* for . . ṉāṇṭai, 1/2 *paṅku* for Aruṇakiri Māṇikkam, 1/2 *paṅku* for Mutacci, 4 *paṅku* for Maṅkātēvi, 4 *paṅku* for Umayāvi . . . . . Uṇṇāmulai . . . . . This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

199 Probably May 15, 1287. The *tithi* was *śu.* 2, not *śu.* 3.

284 A.D. 1301

EO. 33 (15) II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Ko-Mārapaṉmarāṉa Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya śrī-Kulacekaratevaṟkku yāṇṭu muppattu muṉṟāvatu Āṉimātam muppatām tiyati Nāyaṟṟukiḻamaiyum

2 Cataiyamum tritiyaiyum peṟṟa nāḷ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanāṟ koyil Nāṟpatteṇṇāyiravaṉ tirumakiḻkkūṭṭattu niṟaivaṟa niṟaintu kuṟaivaṟakkūṭi irunta śrī-

3 . . . Śrī-Māheśvararum koyil st[h]ānajaṉaṅkaḷum tiruvuṇṇāḻikaiyārum Aṇṇā-nāṭṭu nāṭṭavarum Āṭaiyūr-nāṭṭilum Paṅkaḷa-nāṭṭilum Vāṇakap-pāṭināṭṭilum Pākkap-

4 paṟṟilum Ciṅkamulaipparṟilum pukunta ūrkaḷil nāṭṭavarum tirumalai veḷaikkāṟarum tiruvakampaṭiyārum Pāṇṭi-maṇṭalattu Kiḻkaḷaikkūṟṟu Ampalattāṭinallūrāṉa Maṇappaṭai-

5 nāṭṭil Kāṇa iṉiyārāṉa Kulacekarakkaṇṭiyatevarum puḻuku neykku pukku [uṭalāka] muppattu muṉṟāvatu tevatāṉamāṉa ūrkaḷ yiṟaiyili jivitapparṟu uṭppaṭa tarappaṭiye veli

6 oṉṟukku aiñcāka vanta paṇam koyil paṇṭāratte mu[ta*]l iṭṭu puḻuku koṇṭu cāttiyaruḷaveṇum e[ṉ*]ṟu viṇṇappañceykaiyil muppattu muṉṟāvatu mutal Cantirātittavarai celvatāka

7 kallilum cempilum veṭṭikoḷka eṉṟu tiruvāy moḻintaruḷiṉapaṭikku i[200] . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! On Sunday, the third day of (a *pakṣa* not mentioned) when the asterism was Cataiyam, on the 30th day of the month of Āṉi in the year 33[201] (*of the reign*) of the king Mārapaṉmar *alias* Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ emmaṇṭalamum koṇṭaruḷiya śrī-Kulacēkaratēvar,

2-5 the Śrī-Māhēśvaras (of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār), the sthāṉa-jaṉa (*i.e.*, sthānikas) of the temple, the managers of the central shrine, the *nāṭṭavar* of Aṇṇānāṭu, those *nāṭṭavars* who belonged to the villages in Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu, Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu, Vāṇakappāṭi-nāṭu, Pākkapparṟu, and Ciṅkamūlaipparṟu, the troops of Tirumalai, Tiruvakampaṭiyār and Kāṇa iṉiyār *alias* Kulacēkarakkaṇṭiyatēvar of Ampalattāṭi nallūr *alias* Maṇappaṭai-nāṭu in Kīḻkaḷaikkūṟṟu in Pāṇṭi-maṇṭalam, had assembled in full complement and without any absentee under the Makiḻa tree called Nāṟppatteṇṇāyiravaṉ of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār,

5-6 and had requested (*the king*) that for the service of smearing (*the god*) with civet, he might permit a levi of 5 *paṇam* according to the quality of land, per *vēli* (*of land*), from all the tax-free *tēvatānam* villages including also the *jīvitapparṟu*, from the 33rd year (*of the reign of the king*) and from the amount thus collected and deposited in the temple treasury the civet should be purchased and used for smearing the god.

6-7 (*The king*) had orally granted (*their*)

200 The inscription stops here.
201 June 25, 1301.

request permitting (*the imposition of the levi*) from the 33rd year to last till the moon and the sun endure and to have (*this order*) engraved on stone and copper. . . . .

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285 A.D. 1304 (?)

EO. III *Prākāra*, Amman shrine, south wall.
1722-1725 Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Ko-Mārapaṉmarāṉa Tirupuvanaccak . . . . . tevarkku yāṇṭu 3[5] vatu . . . . . .
2 perra Aviṭṭattu nāl Takaṭūrnāṭṭu Eyil . . . . . yāl . . . . kku . . : . . .
3 Tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuṭaiya nācciyār Uṇ . . . . . vi . . . . . yu . . . . . .
4 . . . ttimā niṉra . ya . . vayiramaṅkalattu . . . . . .
5 māa . Veṅkai . kāvā Naraciṅkanall[ūr] . . . .
6 . . . vā kettilum uḷḷūrttevatāṉamum Tiru[viti] . . . .
7 ma[kka]ri paṅku [neṭa] kuḷi nāṉūrākap paṅku aimpatuk . . . . . .
8 nilaṅkaḷum tiruviti āṇṭārkaḷum [i]vakaḷum . . . . kā . . . . . .
9 . vitta veṉṉai uḷḷiṭṭa . . . . . .
10 kapperumāḷ nallūrum . . . . . .
11 ḷam . ri erccoṟu paṭamat . . . . . .
12 yākak kuṭutten śrī-Ko-Māṟava . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year 3[5] (*of the reign*) of Kō-Māṟapaṉmar *alias* Tirupuvanaccakka . . . . . tēvar on . . . . . when the asterism Aviṭṭam is current, ... in Eyil . . . in Takaṭūrnāṭu . . . . . .
3 Tirukkāmakkōṭṭamuṭaiyanācciyār Uṇ . . . . . .
4 . . . . . vayiramaṅkalam
5-12 . . . . Vēṅkai . . . Naraciṅkanallūr . . . . . . and local *tēvatāṉam* at the rate of 400 *kuḷi* per *paṅku* (?) lands . . . . . and *tiruvīti-āṇṭārs* . . . . . that which was given including butter (?) . . . . . pperumāḷnallūr . . . . . I, śrī-Kō-Māṟava . . . . gave . . . . . .

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286 A.D. 1312 (?)

EO. 913 Kiḷi-gōpura, north wall, east face of *adhiṣṭhāna*, top *paṭṭi*.
Right end built in.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Śrīmat . . . . kayyaperumāḷ Kulacekaratēvarkku yāṇṭu . . . . . .
2 melait teruvil tevar aṭiyārkku Tiruvampāvai[202] mutaliya pāṭṭukku mā . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year . . . . . of the illustrious . . . . kayya-perumāḷ Kulacēkaratēvar, ... to the *tēvar aṭiyār* residing in the western street for reciting Tiruvampāvai (a tamil sacred poem) and other hymns . . . .

202 The sign for *e* seems omitted.

287

A.R.E., 77/1945-46

A.D. 1319

IV *Prākāra*, south wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvanaccakkaṟavartti Koneriṉmaikoṇṭāṉ Kulacekaratevaṟku yāṇṭu aiñcāvatu Āṭi mātam irupatām tiyati mutal Vaiyirava nāyaṉār koyil tānattāṟku

2 Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyil teṟkil tiruvācalukkuḷḷu Cempiyaṉ-Mātevicuramuṭaiyār koyil Tirunilai Aḷakiya Vayirava nāyaṉāṟku Makatai-maṇṭalam vaṭakaraiyil Teviyār ental naṉcai

3 puṉcai māvaṭai maravaṭai kuḷavaṭai taṟiiṟai taṭṭārpāṭṭam cekkāyam kiṟṟu mukam pārvai vācal-viṇiyokam koṟṟilakkai maṟṟum pala upātikaḷum uṭpaṭa ivvūr nāṟ[pār*]-

4 kellai kollaiyum uṭpaṭa pūcaikkum tiruppaṇikkum mutalaṭanka iṟaiyiliyāka cantirātittavaraiyum cellak kalveṭṭik kuṭuttom [//*] itu Śrī-Māhēśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! From the 20th day of the month of Āṭi in the year 5[203] (*of our reign*) we, Tribhuvanaccakkaṟavatti Kōṉēriṉmaikoṇṭāṉ Kulacēkaratēvar, gave as tax-free gift Tēviyār ēntal on the northern bank of the Makatai-maṇṭalam, including its wet and dry lands, fauna and flora, incomes such as *kuḷavaṭai* (yield from tank), *taṟi iṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, cek-kāyam, kīṟṟu* (tax on tatched hut), *mukampārvai* (tax on mirror), *vācal-viṇiyokam* (tax for paying the officer called *vācal*), *koṟṟilakkai* (tax for food and shelter) and all other stipulated levies, besides (*the lands*) within its four boundaries as well as the garden area, for doing worship of the deity and repairs to (*the temple of*) Tirunilai Aḷakiya Vayirava nāyaṉār in the temple of Cempiyaṉ Mātēvīcura-muṭaiyār within the entrance on the southern side of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. The gift was entrusted to the *tānattār* of the temple of Vayirava nāyaṉār. It was made all-inclusive and tax-free gift and was to last till the moon and the sun endure, and was given by engraving (*the record*) on stone. This is protected by the *Śrī-Māhēśvaras*.

288

S.I.I., VIII, 73

A.D. 1334

II *Prākāra*, west wall.

TEXT

(The text in lines 5-6 is in Grantha script containing a Sanskrit verse in *Anushṭubh* metre).

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Ko-Māṟupaṉmar Tiru-

puvaṉaccakkaravarttika] śrī-Kulacekaratevaṟkku yāṇṭu 20 - vatu nāḷ

2 Vaikācimātam irupatte[ḷ]ān tiyati Pararājarāmaṉ Vayyantoḷaniṉṟaperumāḷ śrī-Parākrama-

3 pāṇṭiyatevar uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai

203 Probably July 17, 1319, Tuesday.

uṭaiya nāyanār pālāṭi aruḷa curavit tirumēṉi-
4 vacam naṭai uru pacu 73 ceṅkaṉṟu 26 āka uru 9[9] itu Cantirātittavarai celluvatāka kuṭuttom ꣓
5 itu panmāheśva[ra*] rakṣai ꣓ Śrī-Par[ā]krama-pāṇḍyasya [vi]śvavandyasya bhūpatēḥ [/*] paśyantyanimiṣairn = nētraird = durggē
6 svarggē ca vairiṇa[ḥ] [//*] ꣓

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the 27th day in the month of Vaikāci in the 20th[204] year (*of the reign*) of the king Māru-(ṟa)paṉmar Tirupuvaṉaccakkravarttikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Kulacēkaratēvar.

2-4 (*On this day*) śrī-Parākrama-pāṇṭiyatēvar (*with the titles of*) *pararājarāmaṉ* and *vayyantoḻaniṉṟaperumāḷ*, donated in the form of cows, 73 numbers of healthy cows and 26 tender calves, totalling to 99 numbers, to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanar's bathing with (*cow's*) milk. We (the king) gave (*them*) to last till the moon and the sun endure.

5 This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras*.

5-6 The enemies of the world-honoured king Parākramapāṇḍya, look on (*with wonder*) without winking of their eyes in the fort and in the heavens !

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289 A.D. 1328 or 1329

EO. 645-648 II *Prākāra*, west wall (outside), middle.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Civalla[pa*] tevaṟkku yāṇṭu 17 kku etir 4-vatu Māci mātam 30-tiyati nāḷ
2 [Ma]ruvūr Oppiccāṉ Kaccirāyaṉ uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanārkku ṭirununtā viḷakku iraṇṭum
3 nācciyār Uṇṇāmulai-nācciyārkku tirununtāviḷakku oṉṟu āka tiruviḷakku [mu]ṉṟukku viṭṭa pacu toṇṇūṟṟu
4 iraṇṭum iṣapam oṉṟum Cantirātittavarai celvitāka kalveṭṭi kuṭutteṉ paṉmākēśvara rakṣai : ꣓

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! On the 30th day of the month of Māci in the 21st year[205] (*of the reign*) of Tribhuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Cīvalla[pa*]tēvar, I, [Ma]ruvūr Oppiccāṉ Kaccirāyaṉ, gave two *nunta* lamps to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār and one *nuntā* lamp to the goddess Uṇṇāmulai-nācciyār for which 92 cows and one bull were endowed to last till the moon and the sun endure, and (this was given) by inscribing the matter on stone. (This is) protected by the *Paṉ-Mākēśvaras*.

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204 Probably May 22, 1334, Sunday.

205 Probably February 23, 1328, Tuesday, because the month Māci in A.D. 1329 had only 29 days. So, doubt arises as to the correctness of the accession year A.D. 1308 of the king.

290 A.D. 1330

S.I.I., VIII, 162 — Vallāḷa-gōpura, south wall, east side.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuva[ṉa*]ccak-
karavattikaḷ śrī-Śrī-Vallapatevaṟkku
yāṇṭu 22 - āvatu Kāttikaimātam 13 -
ntiyati nāḷ
2 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāya-
nār koyilt tāṉattāṟku ivvūril tevar
aṭiyār perukku
3 muṉpilāṇṭu Kaḷatturaiyāḷaṉukku
ivarkaḷ iṟukkum mutal koḷḷātapaṭi ka-
[li]ttu vari ilār kaṇa-
4 kkilum niṟuttumpaṭi colliviṭṭom [/*]
i[p*]paṭi aṟintu immutalkuṭātapaṭi
colliviṭuka [/*] ippaṭikku
5 Cantirātittavaraiyum cella kallilum
cempi(l)lum veṭṭivittu koḷka ꣸

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*It is*) the year 22 (*of the reign*) of (*the king*) Tribhuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ (emperor over the three worlds) śrī-Śrīvallapatēvar. We (*i.e.*, the king), on the 13th day of the month of Kāttikai[206], issued the order to the *tāṉattār* of the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyanār, stating that he wanted that the dues (owed) to Kaḷatturaiyāḷaṉ for the previous year by the *tēvaraṭiyār* of this village, need not be paid and that this should be removed from the account books and that knowing this (the *tāṉattār*) should tell them (the *tēvaraṭiyār*) not to pay the dues, and that in order to continue this till the moon and the sun endure, it could be engraved on stone and copper.

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291 A.D. 1334

A.R.E., 78/1945-46 — IV *Prākāra*, south wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvanacakravatti
Koṉeriṉmaikoṇṭāṉ Vikkira[ma*]pāṇṭi-
yatevaṟku yāṇṭu iraṇṭāvatu Vaikāci
mātam pat-
2 tām tiyati mutal Vayirava nāyiṉār
koyil tānattāṟku Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyil
teṟkil tiruvācalukku[ḷ]ḷu Cempiyaṉ-
mātevicu[ra*]muṭaiyār ko-
3 yil Tirunilaiy-Aḷakiya Vayirava nā-
yaṉāṟku Ciṅkamulaip-parṟil muṉpu
Poreṟṟa Perumāḷukkum maṭappuṟa
iṟaiyiliyāka kuṭutta Nelvāy oṉṟupāti-
4 yum ivar kuṭuttapaṭiye nāmum ivvūr
naṅcey puñcey māvaṭai maravaṭai
kuḷavaṭai taṟi-iṟai taṭṭārappāṭṭam
cekkāyam kīṟṟu mukam pārvai
vācal-viṉi-
5 yokam koṟṟi[la]kkai maṟṟum pala
upātikaḷum uṭpaṭa ivvūr nāṟpāṟkellai
kollaiyum uṭpaṭa pūcaikkum tiruppa-
ṇikkum mutalaṭaṅka iṟaiyiliyāka
Canti-
6 rātittavaraiyum cella kalveṭṭik ku-
ṭuttom [//*] itu Śrī-Māhēśvara rakṣai
[//*]

206 Probably November 10, 1330, Saturday.

TRANSLATION

1-6 Hail ! Prosperity ! From the 10th day of the month of Vaikāci in the 2nd year[207] (*of our reign*), we, Tribhuvanacakravatti Kōṉēriṉmaikoṇṭāṉ Vikkiramapāṇṭiya, gave to the *tānattār* of Vayirava nāyināṟ as tax-free gift one half of Nelvāy in Ciṅkamūlaip-paṟṟu, which was given formerly as tax-free *maṭappuṟam* to Porēṟṟa Perumāḷ, was given by us again as was given by our (*predecessor*), along with its wet and dry lands, fauna and flora and incomes like *kuḷavaṭai, taṟi-iṟai, taṭṭārpāṭṭam, cekkāyam, kīṟṟu, mukampārvai, vācal-viniyōkam, koṟṟilakkai* and many (*other*) *upāṭis* (taxes and levies), together with the lands within its four boundaries as well as garden land, for worship of (*the deity*) and repairs to (*the temple*) of Tirunilaiyaḷakiya Vayirava-nāyaṉār in the temple of Cempiyaṉ-mātēvīcuramuṭaiyār situated within the entrance on the southern side of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. This gift was all-inclusive and tax-free, and it should last till the moon and the sun endure ; thus we gave the record engraving it on stone. This is protected by the *Śrī-Māhēśvaras.*

292

14th c.

EO. 1695 **Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, stray stone slab set up on the *Giripradakṣiṇa* road between km. 1.6 and 1.8. Damaged.**

TEXT

(Below the text there is a bold relief carving showing an elephant-goad-like article in between a pair of fish, all standing on their tail-end).

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Vikki-
2 rama-pāṇṭiyan-
3 tiruvīti [ṉā]lām
4 vakuppu [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*This is*) the 4th division of the (*road called*) *Vikkirama-pāṇṭiyan-tiruvīti.*

293

14th c.

EO. 1696 **Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, stray stone slab set up on the *Giripradakṣiṇa* road between km. 1.6 and 1.8. Damaged.**

TEXT

(Below the text is a bold relief carving showing an elephant-goad-like article in between a pair of fish, all standing on their tail-end).

1 Svasti śrī [//*]

207 Probably May 10, 1334, Thursday.

2 Vikkirama-pā-
3 ṇṭiyan-tiru-
4 vīti nālām va-
5 kuppu [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-5 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*This is*) the 4th division of the (*road called*) *Vikkirama-pāṇṭiyan-tiruvīti.*

294

14th c.

EO. 1728 **Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, *Giripradakṣiṇa*, stone slab set up in.**

TEXT

(Below the text is a bold relief carving showing a pair of fish and a goad-like object in between all standing on their tail).

1 Svasti śrī [//*]
2 Vikkiramapāṇ-
3 ṭiyan tiruviti
4 ārām vakuppu [//*]

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity !
2-4 (*This is*) the sixth division of the *Vikkirama-pāṇṭiyan tiruvīti.*

(Noticed in *A.R.E.*, 1970-71, No. B 521).

295

14th c.

EO. 1729 **Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, *Giripradakṣiṇa*, stone slab set up in. Much damaged.**

TEXT

(Below the text is a bold relief carving showing a pair of fish and a goad-like object in between, all standing on their tail).

1 Svasti śrī [//] Vikkirama-
2 pāṇṭiyatevar
3 . . tiruviti ā[rā]m (?)
4 . vakuppu [//*]

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity !
1-4 (*This is*) the sixth (?) division of the *Vikkirama-pāṇṭiyatēvar tiruvīti.*

(Noticed in *A.R.E.*, 1970-71, No. B 522).

296

14th c.

EO. 1727 **Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, *Giripradakṣiṇa*, border stone set up in a field to the north of the mountain, to the east of the Eluttu-maṇṭapam.**

TEXT

(Below the writing is a bold relief showing a pair of fish with an elephant-goad-like object in between, all standing on their tail).

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Vi-
2 kkiramapāṇ-
3 ṭiyan tiruviti
4 elām vakuppu [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! Prosperity ! (*This is the*) seventh division of the Vikkirama-pāṇṭiyan *tiruvīti.*.

297

14th c.

EO. II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam,* north of its entrance.

1560-1562 Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

(First 4 lines are in Sanskrit and in Grantha characters. The last line is in Tamil of the same period).

1 . . . . . hanṛpate . . ma . nemaśvan=tena hav=aina . . . . . nile . . . śā . . . .

2. . . . . nta . . . . . pamata . . . . . mātara vidhā . . . . .

3 . . . . . ti narasiṁha . . ta pari . . nā . . re . . nti śila śrī no dhiśayi . ya . . . . . .

4 . . . . . nṛ[ṇi]tā . . . . . tya . bhujā maṇḍalā vā . . . ṇi śrī . . bra . . . ta . . . . .

5 Savasti śrī [//*] Tribhuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rā . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-4 Very much damaged.

5 Hail ! Prosperity ! Tribhuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Rā . . . .

298

A.D. 1336

EO. III *Prākāra,* south-east corner, *ukkirāṇam,* near the *maḍappaḷḷi*

1705-1708 in south-east corner of the 3rd *prākāra,* north wall.

Damaged.

TEXT

1 . . śrī [//*] Koṉeriṉmaikoṇṭāṉ Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vikkiramapāṇṭiya tevarka yāṇṭu 3-vatu Tulā-[nā]yaṟṟu pūrvapakṣattu caturddaśiyum Nāyaṟṟukkiḻamaiyum . . . . tiruvācal maṭattil Comanātatevaṉeṉ [ci]-ṟappāka

2 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku Aṟppaci Paraṇiyum Cittiraip-Paraṇiyum ima[ṭa]ttil tiruviruntu kuṟaivaṟuppāka muṉpe tiru . . . . amutu ceytu potukaiyil inta Aṟppaci Paraṇi mutal

3 tiruviruntukku muṉpu kuṟaivaṟukkum aṭikaḷile kuṟaivaṟukkavum inta tirup-Paraṇi mutal i[ra]ṇṭu cantiyum eḻuntaruḷip puṟappaṭṭaruḷa tiruvācal maṭam tirukkaṇ cātti tiruvitiyum eḻuntaruḷippukuntu tirumaṇṭapattil

4 eṟi aruḷi amutu cetaruḷum arici kalattukkum kaṟi amutu veñcaṉattukkum tiruviḷakkum ma[ṟṟu]m veṇṭum avaiṟṟukku uṭalāka viṭṭa Paṅkaḷa-[nā]ṭṭuk Kaikkaḷattūril immaṭaitukku maṭappuṟam iṟaiyiliyāṉa

5 kuḻi mūvāyiramum inta Aṟpaci Paraṇiyum Cittirai Paraṇiyum āṇṭutoṟum . . . kā . kāṉa iṟaiyiliyāka kuṭuttu tiruculattāpaṉa paṇ[ṇi]kkuṭutteṇ tiruvācal maṭattu mutaliyār piḷḷaikaḷil Somanāthanen [//*]

6 Śrī-Māheśvara rakṣai : ೭

TRANSLATION

1 . . . Prosperity ! In the third year (*of the reign*) of Kōṉēriṉmaikoṇṭāṉ, Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vikkiramapāṇṭiyatēvar, on Sunday the 14th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Tulā[208], I, Cōmanātatēvaṉ, of the Tiruvācal-maṭam . . . . . (have done this) as a special service to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār.

1-2 It was the practice that during the

208 October 20, 1336, Sunday. But on this date the *tithi* was only for .16. The *nakṣatra* was Aśvinī upto .44.

Arpaci-Paraṇi (festival ?) and the Cittirai-Paraṇi (of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār), a feast was held in this *maṭam* before the articles intended for the palace were sent (there). From the current Arpaci-Paraṇi, (some among) the devotees who did the *kuṟaivaruppu* work early should do the *kuṟaivaruppu* (i.e., conveying the articles to the palace).

2-5 From this Tirup-Paṟaṇi, when (*the god*) is taken out in procession during the two *cantis*, (*this*) Tiruvācal-maṭam would do the services of placing the eye (*to the god*), the taking (*the god*) out into the street and making (*the god*) seated in the *maṇṭapa*. To provide for food offering (*to the god during this time*), to (*the cost of*) one *kalam* of rice, the side dishes of vegetables, light and other similar requirements, the land of the extent of 3000 *kuḻi* which is owned by this *maṭam* as tax-free *maṭappuṟam* in the village of Kaikkaḷattūr in Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu has been given. (*It is given*) as tax-free gift to meet (*the expenses of*) this Arpaci-Paraṇi and Cittirai-Paraṇi, every year. I, Sōmanātha, a disciple of the Mutaliyār of the Tiruvācal-maṭam, thus, have given this (land) after demarcating it with stones bearing trident symbols.

6 (This is) protected by the *Śrī-Māhēśvaras*.

299

EO. 1709-1714

A.D. 1336-37

III *Prākāra*, south-east corner, *ukkirāṇam*, near the *maḍappaḷḷi*, in the south-east corner of the 3rd *prākāra*, north wall. Damaged.

TEXT

1 Savasti śrī [//*] Ko-Māṟapaṉmar Tiripuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vikkiramapāṇṭiyatevaṟkku yāṇṭu 4 . . Tirumuṉaippāṭi-nāṭṭu Pāturūravarom

2 uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār[kku] tirucceṅkāṉunirt tiruppaḷḷittāmamiṭa ivvāṭṭai [Kā]rttikaimāta mutal ūrkiḻ iṟaiyiliyāka viṭṭa

3 nilattukku ell[aiyāvatu] Va . . . . ku vaṭakku Viḷāṅkuṇṭilukkum Caumiyaṉāccikum vaṭa . . vatikku kiḻakku Āḻappiṟantāṉkālukku teṟku Kaṟce-

4 ykku meṟku . . . . ce . . . . . aiñūṟṟu irupattāṟukkum ivvāṇṭu mutal Cantrāditt[tava]raiyāka varum kaṭamai kuṭimai uḷḷiṭṭa cilvarip peruvari

5 maṟṟu . . . . . ṭuttom Pātūr ū . . . . . ip Pātū-

6 ruṭaiyān Tiru . . . . . ṭaiyāṉ ce . ytā eḻuttu ippaṭikku ivai Pātūruṭaiyā . . rāṇ . . . . . ciṅ . . eḻuttu

7 Pātūruṭaiyān Kuṉṟana . . . . kanna . . . . vāḻiyān Tiruvirāmīśvaramuṭaiyān [ip yā] nila . . . . . .

8 Śrī-Māhēśvara rakṣai : ೭

TRANSLATION

1-3 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year four[209] (*of the reign*) of Kō-Māṟupaṉmar

209 About A.D. 1336-37.

Tirupuvaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vikkiramapāṇṭiyatēvar, we, the *ūravar* (the people of the village) of Pātūr in Tirumuṉaippāṭi-nāṭu, from the month of Kārttikai of this year gave as tax-free land under the management of the *ūr*, to provide for supply of garland of red lilies to the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār, and its boundaries are :

3-4 it lay to the north of . . . . . ; to the east of Viḷāṅkuṇṭil, Caumiyanācci and . . . vīti ; to the south of the Āḷappiṟantāṉkāl and to the west of the Kāṟcey.

4-5 We, the *ūravar* of Pātūr, gave the land (of the extent) of 526 [. .] together with the incomes like *kaṭamai, kuṭimai, cilvari* (minor taxes), *peruvari* (major taxes) and other . . . . . thereof from this year till the moon and the sun endure.

5-7 Witnesses are : this is the signature of Pātūruṭaiyāṉ Tiru . . . . . , this is the signature of Pātūruṭaiyān . . . . . ; . . . . Pātūruṭaiyān Kuṉṟana . . . . ; kanna . . . . vāḻiyān Tiruvirāmiśvara-muṭaiyān . . . . . .

8 (This is) protected by the *Śrī-Māhēśvaras.*

300

A.D. 1338

EO. III *Prākāra,* south-east corner, *ukkirāṇam,* near *maḍappaḷḷi,*
1715-1716 north wall.
Badly damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Koṉeriṉmaikoṇṭāṉ Tirupuvaṉacakkaravattikaḷ śrī-Vikkiramapā[ṇṭi]yate . . . . . .

2 Makara nāyaṟṟu pūr[vva]pakṣattu Paurṇayum Nāyaṟṟukkiḻamaiyum perra Punaṟpucattu nāḷ . . . . . .

3 Vi . . rukkumāran Veḷccipaḷḷi . . . paṟṟil Nā[pa]nipaḷḷi nañcai puñcai nāṟpāleḷḷai . . m Tiru . . . . . .

4 . . . . tevatānamāka viṭṭen Ta[ki]yā . . . cantiamutu cey[taru]ḷa aṉaittāyamum yiḻi . . . . . .

5 [. tanṣa] [iṣa]ppi viṭṭen itu panmāhēśvara rakṣai [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year . . . (*of the reign of*) Kōṉēriṉmaikoṇṭāṉ Tirupuvaṉacakkaravattikaḷ, on Sunday the full-moon day of the month of Makara when the asterism Puṉarpūcam is current[210],

3-5 I, (the king), gave the wet and dry lands in Nā[pa]nipaḷḷi in Veḷiccipaḷḷi . . . . parru within its four boundaries (of) Vi . . rukkumāran, including all the incomes (from the lands) as *tēvatānam* to provide for food offerings at the Ta[ki]yā . . . canti, after removing (the lands from the register). This is protected by the *Pan-Māhēśvaras.*

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210 Exactly corresponds to December 27, 1338. The regnal year may, therefore, have been six.

HOYSAḶAS

301 A.D. 1317

EO. 33 (17) II *Prākāra*, east wall, south side, behind the Sambanda Vināyaka shrine.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī ೭ Nity-ōdbhāsa-mṛiṇāḷa-kōmaḷa-tisa(bha)-prōttuṁga-daṁṣṭh-rōtddhṛtam kṣhōṇīcakram = abhipra-sārita-payaḥ pūrābhirāmam mahat // S-ānandam vikasat sarōruha-dhiyā sadyas = sarōj-ālayām = ārādhyām = avalōkya jāta ha śiraḥ pōtrī hari[h*] = pātu vaḥ // Tan-nābhikamalād = āsīt Sraṣṭ-sraṣṭākhila-prajaḥ mānaso = tri ddhī ? dhējajagne sōmas = tan-nētrajas = tataḥ // tad-va . . . . śy = asya yatōrvyēśē jagyai Sōmēśvarō nṛpaḥ // Nārasiṁhō = bhavat = tas-māt dviṣad-dvipa-mṛgādhipaḥ //

2 Yat dānam suradrū-ruham tirayatē yat śrīs = sarāśīśvaram yat kīrttis = su . . a? gat suragurum yat . . . ra . ddhākala // yat śauryyam Vṛa-(Vṛ)-ṣavāhabhāḷa-nayana-prōdyat karāḷ-ānalam tasmāt sō = yam = abhūt Tikkyaddvibha yō Vallāḷadēvō nṛpaḥ // śrī-Vallāḷa-mahīpāla pālayan nikhiḷām mahī // Jayaty = asau ripustō kari-kaṇṭhi(ṭhī)ravākṛtiḥ // Sō = yam samasta-praśasti-sahita śrī-Vallāla-(ḷa) mahīpālaḥ svakīya Hōsaḷa-maṇḍalē nila(ja)-lakshmī-nivās-āśra-yām svajanaka-prēma-pratiṣṭhāpita-prājya-rājya-saṁpada-

3 Aruṇa[sa*]mudrākhyām nijarājadhā-nīm = adhivasat // Śaka-varṣa-s-ai-kōna-catvāri . . dhika-dviśatōttara-sahasram = asya Anaḷa-saṁvat-sarasya // Phālguna-śukla tṛtīyā Bhaumavārē // Kulaśēkharadēvar // Saddhyāna-labdhē lakṣaniṣka-pari-mitē rājyē Aṇṇāmalai-rāṣṭhrē Vāṇa-kappāḍi-viṣayē pañca-sahasrī Āḍa-dēśē dvisahasrī Paṅkaḷadēśē dvi-sahasrī Aṇṇāmalai-sattatō (pattanē ?) śulk-āpaṇa-kṛārābhyām sahasram evan = daśa-sahasra-parimita-viṣa-yam śrīmad-Aṇṇāmalainātha-dēva-sya Uṇṇāmulainācyai ca nitya-tri-sandhy-ōpahāra-aṁgabhōgaraṁga-bhōga

4 Pañca-parva-dīpōtsava-Jyēṣṭha-māsa-dvādaśarātrīya-mahōt[sava*] . . nyādi pari . . . ndyā . . . . ndrārkka-tāram dhārā-pūrvvakam dattavān [//*] ayam = ēv = ārthaḥ // draviḍa-bhāṣayā sa prapañca[m*] prakaṭīkri-yatē [//*] Svasti Samasta-bhuvan-āśrayam śrī-Pṛthvī-vallabha-mahā-rājādhirāja-paramēśvara Śrīmad-Dvāravatīpuravarādhīśvara Jā(Yā)-davāmbara-dvi(dyu)maṇi sarvajña-cūḍāmaṇi malarājarājamalaippergaḷu kaṇḍa kaṇḍabheruṇḍa kadana-pra-

caṇḍa ēkāṁgavīra asahāya-śūra śanivāra-siddhi // Giridurggamalla . . . . . Makararājya-nirmmūlana Pāṇḍya-kula-

5 samuddharaṇa Cōḷarājya-sthāpanācāryya Pāṇḍyarāya-pratiṣṭhācāryya . . . . . bhujabela-śrī-Vīra-Vallāḷadeva Rāśa[kra]-Saka-varṣaṁ āyirattirunūṟṟu-muppattoṉpatu Naḷa-saṁvatsarattu Māsi māsam irupattiraṇṭāntiyati Ce[v*]vāykkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa nāḷ Aruṇagiri Aṇṇāmalai nāyanārkum Uṇṇāmulai nācciyārkkum amutupaṭikkum cāttuppaṭikkum pañca-parva-dīpōtsavattukkum tirunāḷukkum pañca-parvattukkum palapaṭi nimantatukkum viṭṭa pon patināyiramum ippon patināyirattukku Aṇṇāmalai

6 Nāyanārkkum Uṇṇāmulai nācciyārkkum amutupaṭikku nāḷ 1-kku canti 3-kku āṭi aruḷa amu[tu*] ceyya[vu*]m Vīra-Vallāḷatēvan-cantikku amutupaṭi cāttuppaṭi veñcanattukku . . . . . irākkālattil cantikku . . . . . tiruviḷakku varttikku . . . k . . . . āṇṭu oṉṟukku nāḷ 366-kku . . . . . nāḷ poṉ . . . . . m ce . . . . tevan piṟanta nāḷ Rocaṇi il eḻuntaruḷavum . . . . kku poṉ . . . . . .

7 Māhēśvara per 50-m ākapper 100-kku āṇṭu 1-kkup poṉ 400-m pala paricārakaṟkum kaikkoṟṟukku poṉ 474-m maṇṭapakkottu tevaraṭiyārkup poṉ 6-m paṇṭārak kaṇkāṇi ceyvārkaḷukkum kaṇakku[kku*]m per 2-kku poṉ 56-m āka poṉ 9600-m pala tiruppaṇikku iṭum poṉ 400-m āka poṉ 10,000-mum āyirattu 240-melc cellā niṉṟa Piṅkaḷasaṁvarsarattu Āvaṇi mātam 8-n tiyati viṭṭa poṉ 20,000-mum āka poṉ 30,000-mum Ciṅkamūlaipparṟil viṭṭa poṉ 2,000-m ākapoṉ 32,000-kku Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipparṟil

8 Vā[ṇa*]koppāṭi-nāṭṭile viṭṭa poṉ 13,600-m itil munnāḷ Mācimātam viṭṭa poṉ 5,000 nīkki poṉ 8,600-m Āṭai-nāṭu Kīḻparṟil viṭṭa poṉ 7,400 itil muṉpu viṭṭa poṉ 2,000 nikki poṉ 5,400 Paṅkaḷanāṭṭut teṉkaraiyil viṭṭa poṉ 8,400 itil muṉpu viṭṭa poṉ 2,000 nikki poṉ 6,400-m Tiruvaṇṇāmalai [ūrāriṭam?] Tiruvaṇṇāmalai parṟup [perāyacam] poṉ 4,200-kku muṉpu viṭṭa poṉ 4,000 nīkki poṉ 200 Ciṅkamūlaipparṟil Āvaṇi mātam viṭṭa poṉ 2,000 āka poṉ

9 32,000-kku munnāḷ kuṭutta cātaṉappaṭi poṉ 10,000 nīkki Āvaṇi mātam viṭṭa poṉ 22,000-ttukku Aṇṇāmalai nāyanārkkum Uṇṇāmulai nācciyārkkum amutupaṭi tirumelpūccu kattūrikalpūram tiruppariva ṭṭam uḷḷiṭṭa cāttuppaṭikku nāḷ oṉṟukku cirukālai cantikku poṉ 11 *paṇam* 1-m ucci cantikku poṉ 11 *paṇam* 4-m irākkālattukku poṉ 11 *paṇam* 4-m irā iṭum tiruviḷakku [30]5-kku poṉ 2-m *paṇam* 8-m āka poṉ 45 1/2 āka āṇṭu 1-kku nāḷ 366-kku

10 poṉ 16,941-m tevar perāle eḻuntaruḷum Puraṭṭāti mātam tirunāḷukkum Macimātam tirunāḷ[u*]kkum āka tirunāḷ 2-kkup poṉ 2,500-m Cattira(ttirattira)ttil uṇṇum Pirāmaṇar per 100-m Māheśvara per 100-m āka per 200-kku āṇṭu 1-kku poṉ 800-m ko[vi]l parikalam palapaṭi nimantakkāṟku [ila]kaikku poṉ 647-m nārācattukku yilakkaikku poṉ 200-m Vīra-Vallāḷatevar kaṅkāṇi ceṉai poka yilakkaikku poṉ 320-m . . . .

11 tevālayattukku pūcaikkum koyilil tirumatiḷ uḷḷiṭṭa tiruppaṇikku poṉ 800 āka poṉ 22,000 ippoṉ 22,000-kkum viṭṭa nāṭuka] Cantirātittavarai naṭattittaruvatāka kuṭuttom Vīra-Vallāḷatevar perāle eḻuntaruḷiṉa Vīra-Vallāḷicuramuṭaiyārkkum ivar nācciyārkkum amutupaṭi cāttuppaṭi uḷḷiṭṭa mutalukku Āvaṇi mātam viṭṭa poṉ 1,000-kkup Pākkapparṟil Comācipāṭi

uḷḷiṭṭa ūrkaḷil poṉ 600-m Kuntāṇi
12 nāṭṭil viṭṭa poṉ 400-m ākappoṉ 1000-ttukku canti 3-kku amutupaṭikku nāḷ 1-kku 2-āka nāḷ 366-kku poṉ 732-m cāttuppaṭikkum tirupparivaṭṭattukkum tiruviḷakkukkum poṉ 88-m nampiyārkkum paricārarkkum ilakkaikkum poṉ 90-m nāgapāca(?)ttukkum nimantakkārarkkum tevaraṭiyārkkum poṉ [40]-m . . . . . ttukku viṭṭa nāṭum Cantirātittavarai naṭattik kuṭukkak kaṭavom ippaṭikku viṭṭa nāṭukaḷ iṟai iliyāka
13 kaikkoṇṭu Cantirātittavarai pūcaiyum tiruppaṇiyum tāḻvara naṭattuvate inta dharmmam aḻittavaṉ keṭuttavaṉ Keṅkātīrttattil pirāmaṇaṉ vicik koṉṟa pāvattile pukuvar tantāykkun tāṉe miṇāḻa[n*] itu paṉmāheśvara rakṣai ⸗ [here is a vacant space which might be sufficient to accommodate five letters. But the inscription continues] ippoṉ . . tta-tukku Vāṇakoppāṭi-nāṭṭil viṭṭa poṉ . . . . . kku . . . . . paḷḷi ental Kulatīpamaṅkalam . . . . . Viru [tu*]vaḻaṅkināṉ nallūr Kūriyūr
14 Kāṭṭāmpūṇṭi Karuṇākaraṉ aṇai Maruntāṇai Pākalpaṭṭu Nayanapaṭṭu Putteri Antimalaiyamānpaṭṭu Attientalkaḷ Kaṅkaventatiruttu Perumpūṉam Kāṭampaṭaiyānpaṭṭu Paṉaiyūr Ciruputtūr Ne[ṭuṅ]kaṉpaṭṭu A[p]pe[ya]npaṭṭu Tev[i]nallūr N[a]riyālental [Muñci]kkuṭaiyāṉ [paṭṭu] Paḻayanūr . . . kkōkoṉ[paṭṭu] Melaik[ko] . . [ṭṭu] Attipākkam Kuḷappākkam [Caṭaikaṭṭi] . . . . Cittavāṭam . . . . . Kuṉṟattuṭaiyānpaṭṭu . . . [ru]nta . . . . . Malaiyamānpaṭṭu āka ūr [43]m . . . . m Cetirāyanallūr Koṟṟālaipaṭṭu
15 Melkkoval nāṭāḻvānpaṭṭu Pāṇṭiyanpaṭṭu Vaṇṇakkaṉpāṭi Kūṭalūr Vāṇapuram Koṭṭaiyūr Teppākkamuṭaiyānpaṭṭu Vākūr Kāmaṉpaṭṭu Cāttanūr Karuppūr Taṟai[yu]ṭaiyānpaṭṭu Koḻuntakkonpaṭṭu Kaṇṇakkoṉpaṭṭu Kaliṅkaṉtuṟaipaṭṭu Viraṇa[m] Neṭuṅkanpaṭṭu Viṇṇavatiranallūr . . . . . ṉṉāttūr Nallūr [Kū]ḻaippāṭi [Ti]ruvāṇṭān . . . Kuvaḷai[ppāṭi] Paṟaiyaṉpaṭṭu [Vil]paṭṭu Melaippuñcai Vāsutevan[paṭṭu] Kaṅkanpaṭṭu Aṟavāḷi [nāṭṭu] Paḻayanuṭaiyāṉ paṭṭu . . . . . maṅkalam . . . . . poṉ . . . . . mayil Pullūr
16 Tāmaraippākkam Aritāramaṅkalam Melāṟṟūr Kāṭṭupeṟṟukku kālūr . . . nallūr . . . . . ṅkalam Perumpa[ṭṭa]rai Nentalamallapāṭi Puḻuti . . . . . ḻappu Kaṅkai kiḻāṟṟūr . . . . . Uḻu[ta]ṟaipūṇṭi Teva . . . paṭṭu Muttarayan pūṇṭi Kaṭṭuppatturai āka ūr 23 m[211]

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! From the vast and pleasant-looking waters the circle of worlds was lifted on the lofty tusk which looks smooth like the ever shining *mṛṇāḷa* (*of lotus*). Let Hari in whose head is seen instantly and with happiness the worshipful Sarōjālayā (*i.e.*, Lakṣmī) emerging like a blooming lotus, protect you.

From the lotus of his navel arose Brahmā, the creator of all men. From his mind was born Atri. Then Sōma was born in his eye. In (his family) was born the king Sōmēśvara. To him was born Nārasiṁha who was like a lion to (*his*) elephant-like opponents.

211 The inscription stops here.

2-3 From him whose gifts eclipse those of the heavenly tree (*i.e.*, Kalpa-vṛkṣa), whose wealth eclipses that of Kubēra?, whose .... eclipses that of Bṛhaspati, ..., and whose prowess eclipses that of the terrible blaze emanating from the forehead eye of the god having bull as his vehicle (*i.e.*, Śiva), was born this king Vallāḷa-dēva. The illustrious king Vallāḷa-dēva ruling over the whole earth and possessing a physique like that of the killer of elephants, is victorious. This Vallāḷadēva possessing all auspicious things was staying at his capital which was distinguished by the name Aruṇa-samudra belonging to his Hōsaḷa kingdom which was established with love by his father, which possessed the wealth of a kingdom, and which was the abode of real riches.

3-5 It is in the Śaka year 1239, on Tuesday the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of (*the month of*) Phālguna of the year Anaḷa[212]. Kulaśēkha-radēvar. The *viṣaya* yielding 10,000 (*niṣka*) composed of 5,000 of Āḍa-dēśa, 2,000 of Paṅkala-dēśa, 2,000 of Aṇṇāmalai-paṭṭaṇa and its environs and 1,000 received from the tolls and taxes, of the Vāṇakappāḍi-viṣaya in Aṇṇāmalai-rāṣṭra of which the yield (*annually*) was 1,00,000 *niṣka* and which was obtained due to fruitful meditation, was given (*by him*) by pouring water in favour of the god Aṇṇāmalaināthadēva and Uṇṇāmulai-nācci to provide for their personal decorations and for use in their shrines, thrice everyday, for the lamp festival on five full-moon days, and for the great twelve-day festival held in the month of Jyēshṭha. This gift was to last till the moon, the sun and the stars endure. This very same matter is elaborately proclaimed in Tamil. This is as follows:

Hail ! Samasta-bhuvanāśraya, Śrī-Pṛthavī-vallabha, Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, śrīmad-Dvāravatīpura-varādhīśvara, Yādavāambaradyumaṇi, Sarvajñacūḍāmaṇi, Malarāja-rāja, Malaippergaḷu-kaṇḍa, Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa, Kadanapracaṇḍa, Ēkāṁga-vīra, Asahāyaśūra, Śanivāra-siddhi, Giridurggamalla, Calatuṅgarāma, Vairībha-kaṇṭhīrava, Makararājya-nirmūllana, Pāṇḍyakulasamuddharaṇa, Cōḷarājya-sthāpanācāryya, Pāṇḍyarāya-pratiṣṭhācāryya, ... bhujabala-śrī-Vīra-Vallāḷadeva,

5 in the [Rāśakra]-Śaka year 1239, in the year Naḷa on Tuesday the 22nd day of the month of Māśi (*he*) donated 10,000 *poṉ* to (*the god*) Aṇṇā-malai-nāyanār of Aruṇagiri and Uṇ-ṇāmulai-nācciyār to provide for their food offering, for their personal adornment, for the lamp festival on five full-moon days, for festival, ... and for various other services (*to them*).

5-6 Of this 10,000 *poṉ*, to provide for the food offering and adornment, three times daily, to (*the god*) Aṇṇāmalai-nāyanār and Uṇṇāmulai-nācciyār, to provide daily for the food offering and adornment (*to them*) during the service instituted in the name of Vīra-Vallāḷadēva ..... and to provide for lamp wicks for ..... in the nights ....., the amount totalling

212 February 15, 1317, Tuesday. The *tithi* was *śu.* 3 and the *nakṣatra* was Rēvati.

to . . . . . at . . . . . for 366 days in a year.

6-7 On the birth-day when the asterism Rohiṇi was current, of . . . . . dēvan, when the . . . . . was taken out in procession, ... and *Māhēśvaras* 50, both together totalling to 100 persons an amount of *poṉ* 400 (*was set apart*) for a year ; a sum of 474 *poṉ* to provide for *kaikkoṟṟu* (food) for various servants ; 6 *poṉ* for the *tēvaraṭiyār* who did service at the *maṇṭapa* ; 56 *poṉ* for the two persons *viz.*, the supervisor of the treasury and the accountant ; all this totalling to *poṉ* 9,600. Besides, *poṉ* 400 was (*set apart*) for a variety of construction work. Thus the grand total was *poṉ* 10,000.

7 (*In addition to the above grant*), in the expired (*Śaka*) year 1240, in the year Piṅkaḷa, on the 8th day in the month of Āvaṇi, a sum of *poṉ* 20,000 was donated. The total became *poṉ* 30,000. An amount of *poṉ* 2,000 was donated in the Ciṅkamūlaipparṟu. The total became 32,000.

7-9 For this, in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipparṟu in Vāṇakōppāṭi-nāṭu, a sum of *poṉ* 13,000 was donated of which the balance of *poṉ* 8,600 remained after deducting *poṉ* 5,000 gifted previously in the month of Māci ; a sum of *poṉ* 7,400 was gifted in (out of the revenue of ?) the Kīḻparṟu of Āṭaināṭu, of which the balance of *poṉ* 5,400 remained after deducting the amount of 2,000 previously granted ; a sum of *poṉ* 8,400 was gifted in (out of the revenue from) the area on the southern bank of Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu, of which the balance of *poṉ* 6,400 remained after deducting *poṉ* 2,000 previously granted ; a sum of *poṉ* 4,200 was donated out of the income received from the *ūrār* of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipparṟu (pērāyacam?) of which the balance of poṉ 200 remained after deducting the amount of *poṉ* 4,000 previoulsy gifted ; and a sum of *poṉ* 2,000 was gifted in the month of Āvaṇi in the Ciṅkamūlaipparṟu. Thus the total came to *poṉ* 32,000.

9-11 (*Of this poṉ 32,000*), the gift made in the month of Āvaṇi related to *poṉ* 22,000, after deducting *poṉ* 10,000 gifted on former days as per (our) order. This amount was to be used (*as detailed below*): for food offering to and for smearing their bodies with *kastūri* and camphor of the god Aṇṇāmalai-nāyanār and Uṇṇāmulainācciyār, daily at the rate of *poṉ* 12 and *paṇam* 1 for the early morning *canti*, *poṉ* 11 and *paṇam* 4 for noon service at noon, *poṉ* 11and *paṇam* 4 for the service at night, and *poṉ* 2 and *paṇam* 8 for the [305] lamps burning at night, the amounts (*together*) totalling to *poṉ* 45 1/2 (*daily*) ; which for 366 days of a year working upto *poṉ* 16,941 ; *poṉ* 2,500 was to be used for the procession taken out during the two festivals conducted one in the month of Puraṭṭāti and the other in Māci in the name of the king ; *poṉ* 800 per annum for the feeding of 100 *Brāhmaṇas* and 100 *Māhēśvaras* totalling to 200 persons in the alms-house (*cattira*) ; *poṉ* 647 for the (temple ?) utensils and various temple servants ; *poṉ* 200 for *nārāca* (wages to nārāca ?) and *ilakkai* ; *poṉ* 320 for the wages (*ilakkai*) of Vīra-Vallāḷadēvar's army supervisor and *poṉ* 800 for worship in the temple and for construction works including the wall, all put together totalling to 22,000. We gave (the donation so that) the *nāṭus* from which the (*various amounts of*

poṉ) totalling to poṉ 22,000, were required (*to be got*) should continue the conduct (*of the above endowments*) till the moon and sun endure.

11-12 To provide for the food offering and personal adornment of the deities Vīra-Vallāḷīcuram-uṭaiyār and his consort, set up in the name of Vīra-Vallāḷadēva, a sum of poṉ 1,000 was gifted in the month of Āvaṇi. (*This consisted of*) poṉ 600 given by the villages including Cōmācipāṭi in the Pākkapparru, and poṉ 400 gifted in (out of the revenue from) Kuntāṇi-nāṭu, the two amounts totalling to poṉ 1,000. Of this amount, poṉ 732, at the rate of poṉ 2 a day for 366 days for providing food offering and personal adornment, poṉ 88 for the dress and lamps, poṉ 90 for the wages of priests, and servants, and poṉ [40] for [*nāka-pāca* ?], *nimantakkārar* (temple servants) and *tēvaraṭiyār* we enjoin that the *nāṭu* from which these gift amounts were got would conduct the services till the moon and the sun endure.

12-13 Having received the above-mentioned *nāṭus* as tax-free, the worship and the construction work should continue to be performed without diminution till the moon and sun endure. One who destroyed this gift or disturbed it would incur the sin of one who had killed a Brāhmaṇa on the banks of the Gaṅgā and (*also he*) would be considered to be the husband of his own mother. This is protected by the *Paṉ-Māhēśvaras*.

13-16 For the poṉ, gifted, (*the following places*) in the Vāṇakōppāṭi-nāṭu (*were responsible* ?) . . . . paḷḷi ēntal, Kulatīpamaṅkalam . . . . . Viṟutuvaḷaṅkināṉ nallūr, Kūriyūr, Kāṭṭāmpūṇṭi, Karuṇākaraṉ aṇai, Maruntāṇai, Pākalpaṭṭu, Nayana-paṭṭu, Putteri, Antimalayamānpaṭṭu, Attiēntalkaḷ, Kaṅkavēntatiruttu, Perumpuṇam, Kaṭampaṭaiyānpaṭṭu, Paṇaiyūr, Ciruputtūr, Neṭuṅkaṉ-paṭṭu, A[p]pe[ya]npaṭṭu, Tēv[i] nallūr, Nariyālental, [Muñci]kkuṭaiyāṉ [paṭṭu], Palayanūr, . . . kkokōṉpaṭṭu, Melaik-[kō] . . [ṭṭu], Attipākkam, Kuḷappākkam, [Caṭaikaṭṭi]. . . . Cittavaṭam . . . . . Kuṉṟattuṭaiyāṉpaṭṭu, . . . [ru]nta . . . . . Malaiyamānpaṭṭu and the total number of villages is 43 . . . . . Cetirāyanallūr, Koṟṟālaipaṭṭu, Mēlkōval-nāṭāḷvānpaṭṭu, Pāṇṭiyanpaṭṭu, Vaṇṇakkaṉpāṭi, Kūṭalūr, Vāṇapuram, Koṭṭaiyūr, Teppākkamuṭaiyānpaṭṭu, Vākūr, Kāmaṉpaṭṭu Cāttaṉūr, Karuppūr, Taṟai[yu]ṭaiyānpaṭṭu, Koḷuntakkōnpaṭṭu, Kaṇṇakkoṉpaṭṭu, Kaliṅkaṉtuṟaipaṭṭu, Viraṇa[m], Neṭunkanpaṭṭu, Viṇṇavatīra-nallūr, ... nnāttūr, Nallūr, [Kū]ḷaippāṭi, [Ti]ruvāṇṭāṉ . . . , Kuvaḷai[ppāṭi], Paṟaiyaṉpaṭṭu, [Vil]paṭṭu, Melaippuñcai, Vāsutēvan[paṭṭu], Kaṅkanpaṭṭu, Aṟavāḷi[nāṭṭu] Palayanuṭaiyāṉpaṭṭu, ... maṅkalam, ... mayil, Pullūr, Tāmaraippākkam, Aritāra-maṅkalam, Mēlāṟṟūr, Kāṭṭuperṟuk-kukālūr, . . nallūr, ... ṅkalam, Perumpa[ṭṭa]rai, Nēntalamallapāṭi, Puḻuti . . . . . ḻappu, Kaṅkai kiḻārrūr . . . . . Uḻu[ta]ṟaipūṇṭi, Teva . . . paṭṭu Muttarayanpūṇṭi, and Kāṭṭuppattuṟai, and the total (number of) villages is 23 [213].

213 The inscription stops here.

302 14th c.
EO. III *Prākāra*, south wall (inside), on the platform, second cell from
1679-1682 the east. Interrupted at intervals by a pillar.
1697-1704 Much damaged and fragmentary.
1599-1610
1667-1675
1615-1624

TEXT

1 . sti [//*] Śrīmat-Pratāpacakravartti bhoju . śrī-Vira-Vallāḷatevar ..... tu Caṇpaiyil eḷuntaruḷiyirukka uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇ ..... mu[n]nāḷ mutal can ..... lvatāka ūraṭaṅka yiṟaiyiliyāka kuṭuttu ^kalveṭṭi kuṭuttapaṭi Tiruvaṇ ..... vatāna[m viṭṭa] poṉ 31,434 *paṇam* 1 1/8-m Ciṅkamūlaip ..... poṉ 2000-m āka poṉ 33,434 *paṇam* 1 1/8-kku . la pa[ṇi]ltimi ..... iṟaiyiliyāka viṭṭa . mukkut ..... 6 kku poṉ 65 *paṇam* .2 kku Vāṇakoppāṭi-nāṭ ..... [ṭai]yāṉpaṭṭu ni 3-kku poṉ 62 *paṇam* 3 attiyinapaṭṭarkaḷ p ..... nakku ೭ . .... 22 kku poṉ 4 kku . . in ..... yam ṭo . . kku poṉ 7 *paṇam* 2 po . . paṇṭāri Ñāṉattiraḷukku ..... kai . vaḷi paṇṭāra Ku[ḷi]ccāṉakku poṉ 12 *paṇam* 8 āka poṉ ..... poṉ . . ni 2 kku ..... [pirāmaḷ]nace ..... 24 *paṇam* 6 Vaṭakkāpaṭṭu ni 1 kku poṉ 20 ..... na ..... ku po ... āka poṉ . . ku ..... kku ..... ṭu ni 6 kku poṉ . . .. kkom ... 4 [.]m ku .... ttu . . po . 2 ..... kku . . ntal ni . . kku poṉ [16] ..... aṭaikkāyamutu cevippār per 2 kku poṉ . . . 2 taṉṉīramutu cevippār . . . poṉ 8 *paṇam* 8 tiru [aṇi]ppaṭṭam cevippār per 2 kku poṉ 17 *paṇam* 2 āka poṉ . . . . . 6 kku Oḷiyental ni 2 kku poṉ 41 *paṇam* 5 . . . ttukkuṭaiyāṉpaṭṭu ..... poṉ 3[6] *paṇam* 3 [Koḷai ?] ni 2 kku . . takku poṉ [77] *paṇam* 8 1/2 Tiruviḷa . . . . . 6-kku poṉ ..... *paṇam* 6 . ku Karuṇākaraṉ [ayaṉ] ni 2 kku poṉ ....

2 ..... ttirumelpūccukkuṇṭāṉa [ko] ..... perum citāri cevippārum . 4 kku poṉ 34 *paṇam* 4 kuṭai kaṭṭikaḷ per [2] kku poṉ 25 *paṇam* ..... ṉ 85 *paṇam* 6 kku Ciṟupattāṉ ni 4 kku poṉ 83 *paṇam* 3/4 tiruvamu ..... liyāka ..... kku poṉ 440 kku Kīḻaikkoṭukkaṉipaṭṭu ni 5 [kku] poṉ 103 ..... [Ko]ṭukkaṉpaṭṭu ni 8 kku poṉ 166 *paṇam* 4 Nemaṉpaṭṭu ni 8 kku po ..... āka poṉ 436 *paṇam* [5] [i]vai 4 catiyapokkukku poṉ 10 1/4 *paṇam* 8 Tāṉa ..... tāṉpōkkukku poṉ 12 *paṇam* ..... tiruvāykkeḻvi per 2 kku poṉ 2[3] ... 30 ..... 419 *paṇam* 2 kku Kuḻappākkam ni 8 kku poṉ 373 *paṇam* 8 ..... [44] . . ni . . . ū . nāṉ ni 20 kku poṉ 4 [.] . . . [3] Muṭikoṇṭa Malaiyamānpaṭṭu ni . kku poṉ 31 *paṇam* ..... māṉa . . ṭu ni 4 kku poṉ 83 *paṇam* . āka poṉ [3] 76 *paṇam* [5 ?] 2 . kku ..... kku poṉ varkkam [12] *paṇam* . . maṇṭapak kottukku . . . u ..... ṇṭārikaḷ per 5 kku poṉ . . 3 kku Kaṭai ..... ni . . kku po ..... 2 . . . kku poṉ . . . muṉākkuṭaiyāṉpaṭṭu ..... ṉ [6] 3 *paṇam* 8 [Peḻaiyaṉuṭai[ya]ṉūr ni 5 kku poṉ [.] 3 *paṇam* 8 ..... ni 4 kku poṉ . . . . āka ūrkaḷ 3 ṉāḷ ni 14 kku po .... kku poṉ . . . 2 kku [Kallo]paṭṭu ni . . .. lukku poṉ 6206 kku Āṭaiyūr-[nāṭṭu]kīḻparṟu Kuvaḷaippāṭi ni 9 ..... 6 *paṇam* 9 1/4 3/20 Velpaṭṭu [.] ṟṟayaṉpaṭṭu ni [.]kku poṉ .... *paṇam* 7 1/2 Pāṅ ..... raiyil uḻuta . . . pūṇṭi ni 14 kkupoṉ 260 *paṇam* 7 1/2 1/8 Vi . ṭi ..... 241 *paṇam* 2 1/4 1/8 Ka . ḷā . .

. . ni 22 kku poṉ 456 *paṇam* 9 . . . . . [.] 204 *paṇam* 6 3/4 Tevar [u]yar pe . . kku poṉ 4 *paṇam* [. .] . ṉiyār peṇtu . . . . . poṉ 100 āka poṉ 5 [. .] . poṉ 5 [. .] kkum . . . pūr ni 24 kku po . . . . . 1/2 Perumpeṭṭaraiyaṉ

3 . . ni 1 kku poṉ 20 *paṇam* 7 3/4 āka poṉ 51 [.] *paṇam* 2 1/4 Cīmā . . . . . kku Ulakutoḷaṉiṉṟārku poṉ 36 m tirumantra olai eḷuttu . . . . . n . . . . . vimu . . . . . poṉ 36 āka poṉ 90 kku Aiyyaṉkāraṉpaṭṭu ni 4 kku poṉ 8 . . . . . tūril aṭaitta poṉ 6 *paṇam* [7/8] Tevāṉ[ṭai] mutalukku per 4 kku poṉ . . . . . taṉ . ku Tiruveṇṇainallūruṭaiyāṉ tiruppam Vallavataraiyar At . . . . . ni 4 kku poṉ 36 m Tirumāl . . . . . ku . uṭaitta poṉ [9]6 . . . . . māḷukkuya . . . . . kku Melārṟū[ri*]l aṭaitta poṉ 92 m Viṭaip[pe] . . . . . ku poṉ . . . kku Melārṟūr ni 11 3/4 kku po . . . . . āka ūrkaḷ [30] kku poṉ 207 *paṇam* 7 Tiru Aṇṇāmalai . . . per 1 kku . . . . . [.] 7 *paṇam* 6 vaṇṇār per 2 kku poṉ 8 [*paṇam* 8] nāpitar per . . . . . mī . to . . kaḷ per 3 kku poṉ 8 m āka per 14 kku poṉ 66 *paṇam* 4 . . . . . ṭaittapo . . ni 2 kku . . . Āṭaiyūr . . mu . . l . . . . . ṉ 19 *paṇam* 7 . . . tirumañcaṉam eṭuppār per 15 kku poṉ . . . . . poṉ 17 *paṇam* 1 . . . . ṭaiyār . . kku . . . . . 2 kāl . . . [.] 4 kku . . . . . pā . . . kku poṉ 214 *paṇam* [.] . . nallūr ni 12 kku poṉ [2]97 . . . . . vā . . paṉa . . . . . kku poṉ [.] 66 *paṇam* [.] . . . ṉaturaipaṭṭu ni 2 . . . . . ten poṉ 42 *paṇam* 5 1/2 . . lam . . . . . 7 . āka 2 . . ṉāl ni 3 . . . . .] [ta] [tiru]tter pa . cakku per 40 kku poṉ 340 . . [ni . 12] [1] . . . . [ṉattiru]viti . . . . . toppukku po[ṉ*] 4 [3/4] . . . . 3 . . 2 āka per 44 kku poṉ 39 [.] . . . koṭṭai . . . . . [.] 90 *paṇam* 7 1/2 1/8 . . ma . . . . . kku poṉ 85 *paṇam* 4 [1/2] . . . . ni 17 kku poṉ . . . . . nti āṉ . . . . . [.]4 taṇṇīrpantal . . poṉ 35 . lam i . . . . . 10 kku poṉ 99 *paṇam* .

. . ni 4 kku poṉ 8 [.] . . . Nācciyār tirua[ṟa]ccālai . . . . . ṉ karaiyil Tattappāṭi ni . [12]kku poṉ 249 *paṇam* 2 1/4 āka pala nimantattukku poṉ 6[. .]

4 paṭikku nāḷ onrukku Vira-Vallāḷatevar cantikku arici 20 nā . . . . . tapperuṇiyaṉ cantikku arici 15 nā . . vācakakaṇṭaṉ ca . . . . . [ti]ru Māci brahmō . . . . . rici 450 *kalam* m tiru Āṉittirunāḷukku arici 150 *kalam* m Puraṭṭācittirunāḷuk . . . . . āka tirunāḷ 3 kku arici . . . . māka kiramap pirāmaṇāḷ per 5 Ci . . . . . m ākap per . . kku nāḷ 1 kku . . . . . āka arici 1500 *kalam* āka va . . . . . kku arici 4 *kalam* kku *paṇam* 3 . . . . . 5 m cāṅkiyam . . . . . per 4 kku . . . . .] [Ka]ṭalūr Kumāranallūr ni 50[kku] poṉ 10[28] *paṇam* 4[.] . . . . kku . . . . . poṉ . . . *paṇam* 9 . . . . ṭaiyūr ni 20 kku poṉ . . . . . [25] . . pū . . . . . kku poṉ [.] *paṇam* [.] . ttū . eṭai 1 *paṇam* . . . . . ṉ . . . . 12 *paṇam* kku *paṇam* 6 tiruccāntu eṭai 4 *paṇam* kku *paṇam* 8[1/4] m ma . . . . . ni 2 kku poṉ 44 *paṇam* 5 āka [ūrkaḷ] . ṉāl . . . . . 1/8 Maka . . ni [12] kku poṉ[.] 56 *paṇam* 4 Arikaḷi . . . . . 2 kku poṉ . . . 44 *paṇam* . . . . . ni 44 kku poṉ . . . . . āka ūrkaḷ . ṉāl ni 293 1/2 kku poṉ 6905 *paṇam* . . . . . veñcaṉattukku . . . . . kku . . . . . 1 84 *paṇam* kku . .] [poṉ] 2 . . . . . nāḷikku . . . . . m . . . . . ttukku . . . . . kku . . . . . [eṭai ?] 500 palam . . . . . m [10] . . . . . ma . . . . . a . . . . . ṉ . . . . ṉṉai . . . . kku . . . . . kku . . ka . . .

5 . amutuparrṉ 9 kku . . . *paṇam* 1/2 pālukku ṉaṟpacu viṭṭatu āka cāttupatik . . . . . ṉattukkum poṉ 29 *paṇam* 8[1/2] āka āṇṭu 1 kku poṉ . . . . . ku . . ttuppaṭa . . . . . ñcaṉattukkum poṉ 400 m irāca . . . . . ṇtaṉ tirunāḷ Caṣṭikku po . . . . . *paṇam*

3 3/4 tirunāḷ ciṟappukku poṉ [1000] ākat tirunāḷ 3 kku poṉ 1600 Āṉ . . . .[Ro]caṇitiṟirunāḷ 12 kkup poṉ 120 m Āṭimāta Tiru Āṭi[vīḷti tiru . . . . . poṉ 100 Āvaṇimātam . . . . . Pūcattukku poṉ Māci mātam . . . . tuppaṭṭikku poṉ 50 Cittiraimātam ku . . . . . ṉeṉ . . . . . .

6 nallūr ni 6 kku poṉ 124 *paṇam* 6 1/4 Kāṅkayanallūr . . . . . ku poṉ 623 *paṇam* 5/8 Kāṭavakumārantiruttu ni . 18 . . . . . 1200 *paṇam* 5 . . . . . tta poṉ 5[4] *paṇam* 1 1/4 ari . . . . . 1 ni 200 . 1800 kku . . . . . *uḻakku* ituvum Paṅkala-nāṭu teṉkaraiyil Mallapāṭi . . . . . [.] 66 *paṇam* 4 1/2 Kāṭṭu[ppa]tturai ni 8 kku poṉ [.] 66 *paṇam* . . . . . pā . . . 8 kku poṉ . . . . . nāṭukīḻ . . . . . ni 1 kku poṉ . . . . . .

7 ḷa 40 . ṉāl ni 654 kku poṉ 13,709 *paṇam* 5 3/4 Tiruppaḷ . . . . . ṇṭa tirukkopurattukkum tirumaṭiḷḷukkum uḷ iṭṭa tiruppa . . . . . [m] ni . . . . 80 kku . . . . . kkum . . . . . [.] 200 m Māṭattiruviti ā . . . . . [.] 100 m āka poṉ [7]795 *paṇam* 2 3/8 kku aṭaittu Tiruvaṇ . . . . . ppoṉ .. [yāṉ] . . . . m . . . . . ṭṭi . . . . . poṉ [500] paṇam 5 . .

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! When the illustrious Pratāpa-cakṟavartti śrī-Vīra-Vallāḷatēvar is camping at Caṇpai, (*for*) the god Tiruvaṇ . . . . . from the previous times, to last till (the moon and the sun endure) it was given as *ūraṭankayiṟaiyili* (entire village being tax-free). The details, as per (the record) given after engraving on stone, are : (*A sum of*) poṉ 31,434 *paṇam* 1 1/8 was given in (out of the income from) Tiruvaṇ . . . . . and *poṉ* 2000 in (out of the income from) Ciṅkamūlaip . . . . (*both*) totalling to *poṉ* 33,434 *paṇam* 1 1/8 was given as tax-free . . . . . 65 *poṉ paṇam* .2 for land (*of the extent of*) 6 (*vēli* ?) ; in . . . ṭaiyāṉ paṭṭu 62 *poṉ* and 5 *paṇam* for land (*of the extent of*) 3 (*vēli*) in Vāṇakōppāṭi-nāṭu ; for . . . *attiyina-paṭṭarkaḷ* (reciters of the Vēdas) ; for 2 . . . . . ; 4 *poṉ* for 22 . . . . , 7 *poṉ* and 2 *paṇam* for . . . . . ; for Ñāṉattiraḷ, the storekeeper . . . . . ; 12 *poṉ* and 8 *paṇam* for the storekeeper named Kuḻiccān ; the total *poṉ* . . . . . ; for the land (*of the extent of*) 2 (*veli*) . . . . . ; . . . . 24 *paṇam* 6 ; . . . . for 1 (*vēli*) of land in Vaṭakāpaṭṭu 20 *poṉ* ; . . . . totalling to . . . . . for 6 (*vēli*) of land . . . . . 4 [.] . . . . *poṉ* 2 . . . . . ni (*nilam*) . . . *poṉ* 16 . . . . . *poṉ* and . . . . 2 for two persons serving areca-nut ; 8 *poṉ* and 8 *paṇam* for . . . . suppliers of water ; 17 *poṉ* and 2 *paṇam* for 2 persons engaged in providing *tiruaṇippaṭṭam* (ornamental diadem) ; the total *poṉ* . . . . . ; for six and 41 *poṉ* and 5 *paṇam* for land (*of the extent of*) 2 (*vēli*) in Oḷiyēntal ; *poṉ* 36 and 3 *paṇam* for . . . . . ttukkuṭaiyāṉpaṭṭu ; *poṉ* 77 and 8 1/2 *paṇam* for land (*of the extent of*) 2 in [Koḷai ?] ; *poṉ* . . . . . 6 *paṇam* for land (*of the extent of*) 6 (*vēli*) in Tiruviḷa . . . . . ; *poṉ* . . . . . for land (*of the extent of*) 2 in Karu-ṇākaraṉ [ayaṉ] ; persons employed for the service of *tirumēlpūccu* (paste for the body) and *citāri* (in-cense-burner)

2 . . . *poṉ* 34 *paṇam* 4 for 4 . . . . ; *poṉ* 25 *paṇam* . . . for 2 umbrella-makers ; for *poṉ* 85 *paṇam* 6, for *poṉ* 83 *paṇam* 3/4 Ciṟupattān *nilam* (*of the extent of*) 4 ; for food offering . . . . . (as tax-free) ; for *poṉ* 440 and *nilam* 5 in Kīḻaikkoṭukkaṉpaṭṭu *poṉ* 103 . . . . . ; for *nilam* 8 in Koṭukkaṉpaṭṭu *poṉ* 166 *paṇam* 4 ; for

nilam 8 in Nēmaṉpaṭṭu *poṉ* . . . . . all totalling to *poṉ* 436 *paṇam* [5] . [These ?] 4. For Ćatiyappōkku (an official) *poṉ* 10 1/4 *paṇam* 8 ; for tāṉ . . . . . Tāṉapōkku (an official) *poṉ* 12 *paṇam* . . . . . 2[3] *poṉ* . . . . for 2 *tiruvāykkēḻvi* (chief executive) ; 30 . . . . . for [*poṉ*] 419 and 2 *paṇam*, the land (*of the extent of*) 8 (*vēli*) of Kuḻappākam for which 373 *poṉ* and 8 *paṇam* . . . . . [44] . . . . . 4 [.] *poṉ* and . . [3] for land (*of the extent of*) 20 (*vēli*) ; 31 *poṉ* and [. .] *paṇam* for land (*of the extent of*) [. .] of Muṭikoṇṭa Malaiyamānpaṭṭu ; 83 *poṉ* and [. .] *paṇam* for land (*of the extent of*) 4 (*vēli*), the *poṉ* totalling to 376 *poṉ* and [5](?) *paṇam* ; (the amount) in respect of incomes in *poṉ* was [12] [*poṉ**] and [. .] *paṇam*. The amount required for work on the *maṇṭapa*, for 5 *paṇṭāri* (store or treasury keeper) (*money required*) was *poṉ* . . . 3, for which *poṉ* . . . . . from *ni* (*nilam*) . . . in Kaṭai . . . . . ; for . . . . *poṉ* . . ., for which *poṉ* [6]3 *paṇam* 8 was (got) from . . . muṉākkuṭaiyāṉpaṭṭu ; for *ni* (*nilam*) 5 (*vēli*) in [Pā]laiyaṉuṭaiyaṉūr poṉ [.]3 *paṇam* 8. . . . . , for *ni* (*nilam*) 4 (*vēli*) *poṉ* . . . . . ; thus for 3 villages and *ni* (*nilam*) 14 (*vēli*) in them *poṉ* . . . . . *poṉ* . . . 2 ; for *ni* (*nilam*) . . . . . in Kallōpaṭṭu . . . . . 6206 *poṉ* . . . . . (*To meet this expense*) for land (*of the extent of*) 9 (*vēli*) in Kuvaḷaippāṭi in Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu kīḻparṟu, (*an amount of*) [. 6] [*poṉ*] and 9 1/4 3/20 *paṇam* (was set apart) ; for land (*of the extent of*) [. .] in Vēlpaṭṭu [.] ṟṟayaṉpaṭṭu (an amount of) [. .] *poṉ* and 7 1/2 *paṇam* (was set apart) ; for land (*of the extent of*) 14 in Pāṅ . . . . . raiyil uḻuta . . . pūṇṭi, (an amount of) 260 *poṉ* and 7 5/8 *paṇam* (*was set apart*) ; for land . . . . . in Vi . ṭi . . . . 241 [*poṉ*] and 2 3/8 *paṇam* ; for land (*of the extent of*) 22 (*vēli*) in Ka . ḻā . . . . . (*an amount of*)456 *poṉ* and 9 *paṇam* (was set apart) ; . . . . . (*an amount of*) [.] 204 and 6 3/4 *paṇam* (was set apart) ; (*an amount of*) 4 [. .] *poṉ* . . . . . 100 *poṉ*, the total was 5 [. .] *poṉ*. For this amount of 5 [. .] *poṉ*, (*the allotment made is as follows*) : For the land (*of the extent of*) 24 (*vēli*) . . . . . 1/2 Perumpeṭṭaraiyaṉ ;

2-3 *poṉ* 20 *paṇam* 7 3/4 for *nilam* 1 ; and the total comes to *poṉ* 51 [.] *paṇam* 2 1/4 . Cīmā . . . . . *poṉ* 36 for Ulakutoḻaniṉṟār, *poṉ* . . . for *tirumantira ōlai* (Secretary to government) ; . . . . . *poṉ* 36 ; totalling to *poṉ* 90 and for this, *nilam* 4 in Aiyyaṉkāraṉpaṭṭu *poṉ* 8 . . . . . (In this) *poṉ* 6 *paṇam* [7/8] was settled in . . . . tūr ; for 4 persons in respect of the deposit of Tēvāṇṭai *poṉ* . . . . . ; for *nilam* 4 in Tiruveṇṇainallūruṭaiyāṉ-tiruppam and in Vallavataraiyar At . . . . . *poṉ* 36 ; Tirumāl . . . . . 1/2 [*paṇam*] for land (*of the extent of*) 24 (*vēli*) in . . . . . pūr ; for land (*of the extent of*) . . . . . [9]6 *poṉ* . . . . . : 92 *poṉ* was set apart in Mēlārṟūr ; . . . . . for land (*of the extent of*) 11 3/4 in Melārṟur . . . . *poṉ* ; 207 *poṉ* and 7 *paṇam* for *ūrkkāl* (?) For one person . . . (of) Tiru Aṇṇāmalai, (*an amount of*) [.] 7 [*poṉ*] and 6 *paṇam* (was allotted) ; 8 *poṉ* and [8] *paṇam* (was allotted) to 2 washermen ; . . . . . for . . barbers ; 8 *poṉ* (*was allotted*) for 3 pesons of . . . . . ; the total for 14 persons was 66 *poṉ* and 4 *paṇam* ; . . . . . for *ni* (*nilam*) 2 (*vēli*) in . . . ṭaittapo . . . . . Āṭaiyūr . . . . *poṉ* 19 *paṇam* 7 for 15 persons engaged in bringing water for bathing . . . . . 17 *paṇam* 1 ; . . . . . for . . . ṭaiyār . . . . . 2 *kāl* . . . [.] 4 . . . . . *poṉ* 214 *paṇam* [.] . . ; for 12 *ni* (*nilam*) in . . nallūr *poṉ* [2]97 . . . . . *poṉ* [.] 66 [.] ; for *ni*

(*nilam*) 2 (*vēli*) in . . . naturaipaṭṭu . . . . 42 *poṉ* and 5 1/2 *paṇam* . . . . . . ; the total for 2 . . . . ; for land (*of the extent of*) 3 (*vēli*) ; 340 *poṉ* . . for 40 persons engaged . . . of the car ; . . . . (*of the extent of*) 12 (*vēli*) . . . . . ; street . . . . . ; 4[3/4] *poṉ* for the garden ; . . . . 3 . . . . 2 ; the total for 44 persons comes to 39 [.] *poṉ* ; . . . . . . kōṭṭai . . . [.] 90 *poṉ* 7 5/8 *paṇam* ; . . . . . . 85 *poṉ* and 4 1/2 *paṇam* ; for land (*of the extent of*) 17 (*vēli*) . . . . *poṉ* . . . . . ; for watershed, (*the amount set apart was*) 35 *poṉ* ; . . . . for land (*of the extent of*) 10, the amount was 99 *poṉ* and [. .] *paṇam* ; to provide for Nācciyār tiruaṟaccālai (alms-house), land (*of the extent of*) 12 in Tattapāṭi in . . . . karai with the value of 249 *poṉ* and 2 1/4 *paṇam* was alloted ; thus, for the various services the amount allotted was 6[. .] *poṉ*.

4 20 *nāḻi* of rice per day (*for offering at the service called*) Vīra-Vallāḷa-tēvarcanti ; 15 *nāḻi* of rice for (*the service called*) . . . . [Ti]ḷtapperuṇiyaṉ-canti ; . . . . . vācakaṇṭaṉca(nti) ; . . . . . for the *brahmōtsava* (big festival) in the holy Māci month . . . . . 450 *kalam* of rice ; 150 *kalam* of rice for the holy Āṉittirunāḷ ; . . . . . . for the holy Puraṭṭācittirunāḷ ; thus . . . *kaḷam* of rice for the 3 festivals ; . . . . for 5 kiramappirāmaṇāḷ (Vedic Brāhmaṇas) . . . . . thus, for . . persons rice (required) is 1500 at . . . . per day . . . . . *paṇam* 3 for 4 *kalam* of rice . . . . 5 and *cānkiyam* (rituals) . . . . . for 4 persons . . . . . . ; for land (*of the extent of*) 50 (*vēli*) in Kaṭalūr Kumāranallūr, the amount was 10[28] *poṉ* and 4[.] *paṇam* ; . . . . 9 *paṇam* ; for land (*of the extent of*) 20 (*vēli*) in . . . . ṭaiyūr, the amount was, . . . *poṉ* . . . . [25] ; . . . . [.] *poṉ* and [.] *paṇam* ; the weight was 1 *paṇam* : for (the weight of) 12 *paṇam*, the amount was 6 *paṇam* for the *cāntu* (sandal paste) of the weight of 4 *paṇam* 8 1/4 *paṇam*, ... for *ni* (*nilam*) 2 (*vēli*) in . . . . *poṉ* 44 *paṇam* 5. Thus, for [.] villages . . . . . . 1/8. For Maka . . *ni* (*nilam*) [12] (*vēli*) *poṉ* [.] 56 *paṇam* 4 ; Arikaḷi . . . . *nilam* 2 *poṉ* . . 44 *paṇam* . . . . for *ni* (*nilam*) 44, *poṉ* . . . . Thus, for . . villages and 293 1/2 (*vēli*) of land in them the amount was 6905 . . . . for side dishes . . . . . ; for paste of the weight of 84 *paṇam*, the amount was *poṉ* 2 ; for 80 . . . . [.] *paṇam* ; . . . .

. . . .

. . . weight of 500 *palam* . . . .

5 *poṉ* . . *paṇam* 1/2 for 9 *amutupaṟṟu* (?); to provide milk, one good cow was gifted. Thus, for the work of adorning and . . . . the total comes to *poṉ* 29 *paṇam* 8 [1/2]. Thus, *poṉ* . . . . . for one year . . . . ; *poṉ* 400 (for . . . .) and side dishes ; *poṉ* . . *paṇam* 3 3/4 for the Ṣaṣṭi festival in the name of Irāca . . . . . ṇṭaṉ ; and *poṉ* [1000] for special worship during the festival. Thus, *poṉ* 1600 for the three festivals. Āṇ . . . . *poṉ* 120 for 12 Rōcaṇi festivals ; *poṉ* 100 for the procession during the Āṭivīti[tirunāḷ] in the month of Āṭi ; . . . . . in the month of Āvaṇi ; . . . . *poṉ* for Pūcam . . . and for . . . . . in the month of Māci . . . . 50 *poṉ* for. . . . ; in the month of Cittirai . . . .

6 *poṉ* 124 *paṇam* 6 1/4 for . . . . nallūr *nilam* 6 ; *poṉ* 623 *paṇam* 5/8 . . . . . of Kāṅkaya-nallūr ; . . . . for *nilam* . 18 of Kāṭavakumāran-tiruttu . . . . [*poṉ*] 1200 *paṇam* 5 . . . . *poṉ* 5[4] *paṇam* 1 1/4 . . . . . *poṉ* 18000 for *nilam* 200. Besides, ... *poṉ* [.]66 *paṇam* 4 1/2 for Mallapāṭi on the southern side of Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu ; *poṉ* [.]66 . . . . for *nilam* 8 in Kāṭṭu[ppa]ṭ-

turai ..... *poṉ* .... for *nilam* 8 in ... .. *nāṭukīl* ..... *poṉ* ... for *nilam* 1

7 *poṉ* 13,709 *paṇam* 5 3/4 for *nilam* 654 .... 40 [.] ... ; for the temple works including the building of the *kōpuram* (tower) and *tirumatil* (enclosure wall) built by Tiruppal .... *nilam* ..... (*nilam*) 80 ..... [*poṉ*] [ ]200 ; [*poṉ*] [.]100 for the Māṭattiruvīti ..... Thus, for the total of *poṉ* [7]795 *paṇam* 2 3/8 the settlement was made in Tiruvaṇ ..... with *poṉ* ..... *poṉ* [500] *paṇam* 5 .. ..

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303 A.D. 1341

S.I.I., VIII, 99 — **II *Prākāra*, north wall.**

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] Samasta-bhuvanāśraya śrī-pṛthivīvallabha mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka Dvār[a*]vatīpuravarādhīśvara Yādavanā[rā]yaṇa Yādavakulāmbaradyumaṇi Sarvvajñacūḍāmaṇi Mallairāja[rāja*] Malaipōru[u][gaṇḍa] kaṇḍabhēruṇḍa kadanapracaṇḍa Ekāṁgavīra Asahā[ya]śūra Śanivārasiddhi giridurggamalla [ca]la]daṁkarāma Vairībhakaṇṭhīrava Apūrvvarūpakandarpa. .

2 ṇara Koṁkaṇacakrava[r*]tti saptamahā [pūrvva] Cōḷa-Māḷava Gauḍha-[Ghū(Gū)rjara . .]ka Kāṭavarāja Kadakuddalarāya Hulirāyagaṇḍabhēruṇḍa Magadharājya-nirmmūlaka Pāṇḍyakula[sa*][mu][d]dharaṇa Cō-[ḷa]rājya-pratiṣṭhācārya Nissaṁgapratāpa-cakravartti Ho[y*]sa[ḷa*] śrī-Vīra-Vallā[ḷa]dēvaravar pṛthvirājyam paṇṇi-aruḷāniṟka Śakābdam 1262-mēl ce-

3 llāniṉ[ṟa] Makaranā[ya]rru a[pa]rapakṣattu [Pratha]maiyum Viyāḷa-[k*]kiḻamaiyum perra Pūcattu nā[ḷ] śrīmat-mahāpradhānaṉ Tāti Ciṁketaṇṇā[ya*]kkar tampiyār Vallappateṇṇāyakkar Ceyaṁkoṇṭacōḷa-maṇṭalattu Palkunra-koṭṭattu Paṅkaḷanāṭṭu Ceyyārru t[e]ṉ karaiyil nampērāl vaytta Aka[ra]m Rūpanārāya-ṇa-caturvvedimaṅkalatti(l*) caturveda-bhaṭṭa[r]ka[ḷ]

4 [aim]pattiruvaṟku kuṭimai . . . tamāka [kuṭutta] Pattiyapāṭi nāṟ[p]pākkellaikku[ḷ]u]paṭṭa naṉcai puṉcaiy nattaṅkaḷum Ma[kimā]layaṉ-pūṇṭi Kaṭamparāyaṉental Amaṇkupāṭi Murukkental u]paṭṭa pala entalkaḷum puṟavaṭaikaḷum eri erivāy puṟavaṭaikaḷum u]paṭṭa ivūrilakappaṭum poṉva[ri] kāṇikkai tevar Vallāḷatevar kāṇikkai nattavari vācalppaṇam ūcivāci can-

5 tuvikkirakam mukampārvai nallerutu nalpacu taṟiyiṟai taṭṭārppāṭṭam pācippāṭṭam nāṭṭuviṉiyōkam potumakkaḷperkkaṭamai cekkiṟai maṟṟum epperppaṭṭa samasta prāptikaḷum u[bha]yamāka caturvedibhaṭṭa[r]ka[ḷ] aimpattiruvarkku sarvvamānyamāka utakapūrvvadharmmadānamāka kuṭuttom Candrādityavaraiyum cella [tā]ṅkaḷum taṅkaḷ varkkattārum anubhavikkavum [/*]

6 ippaṭi kallilum cempilum veṭṭikkoḷḷavum pārkka [//*] śubham-astu ☡

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! Prosperity ! *Samastabhuvanāśraya* (the asylum for all the worlds), *Śrī-Pṛthivī-vallabha* (the lord of the earth and weatlh), *Mahārājādhirāja* (the great king of kings), *Rājaparamēśvara* (the supreme lord

of kings), *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* (the unequalled lord), *Dvāravatīpuravarādhīśvara* (the ruler of the matchless town of Dvāravatīpura), *Yādavanārāyana* (the god Nārāyaṇa-like of the Yādavas), *Yādavakul-āmbaradyumaṇi* (the sun in the sky of the family of the Yādavas), *Sarvvajñacūḍāmaṇi* (the crest-jewel of the omniscient), *Malairājarāja* (the king of the kings of mountainous country), *Malaiporuḷu-gaṇḍa* (the vanquisher of the opponents), *Kaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* (the *bhēruṇḍa* bird to the hostile), *kadana-pracaṇḍa* (expert in destroying (*the enemies*)), *Ēkāṁgavīra* (a hero who shrines single-handed), *Asahāya-śūra* (a warrior not requiring any support), *Śanivārasiddhi* (accomplisher of deeds on Saturdays), *Giridurgamalla* (the attacker of the hill-forts), *Caladaṁkarāma* (like Rama incarnate), *Vairībhakaṇṭhīrava* (the lion to the elephant-like opponents), *Apūrvva-rūpa-kandarppa* (cupid possessing unusually beautiful form), *Komkaṇa-cakravartti* (the emperor of Koṁkaṇa), *Saptamahāpūrva-Cōḷa-Māḷava-Gauḍa-Ghūrjara . . ka-Kāṭavarāja-Kadakuddallarāya-Huli-rāya-gaṇḍa-bhēruṇḍa* (the *gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* bird to the seven great royal families of Cōḷa, Māḷava, Ghūrjara, . . ka, Kāṭavarāja, Kadakuddalarāya, and Hulirāya), *Magadharājya-nirmūlaka* (the destroyer of the Magadha kingdom), *Pāṇḍya-kulasamuddharaṇa* (the uplifter of the Pāṇḍya family), *Cōḷarājyapratiṣṭhācārya* (the preceptor at the installation of the Cōḷa kingdom), *Nissaṁkapratāpa-cakravartti* (the emperor possessing undoubted prowess), Hoysaḷa śrī-Vīra-Vallāḷadēvar is pleased to rule over the earth.

2-6 On thursday, the first day of the dark fortnight of the month of Makara in the expired Śaka year 1262, when the asterism Pūcam was current[214], we (i.e., the king) gave to the 52 Caturvvēdi-bhaṭṭar as *sarvamānya* and as charitable gift with pouring of water, the wet and dry lands and habitation sites within the four boundaries of Pattiyapāṭi, which was an *akaram* called Rūpanārāyaṇa caturvvēdimaṅkalam, on the southern bank of the Ceyyāṟu in Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu in Palkuṉṟakōṭṭam in Ceyaṅkoṇṭacōḻa-maṇṭalam, established after our name by Vallappateṇṇāyakkar, the younger brother of the illustrious chief minister Tāti Ciṅketeṇṇāyakkar, for 52 Caturvvēdabhaṭṭar (i.e., Brāhmaṇas knowing the four *Vēdas*), as well as several *ēntals* including Makimālayaṉpūṇṭi, Kaṭamparāyan ēntal, Amaṇkupāṭi, Murukkēntal,- lands on their outskirts, tank, the areas at the mouth of the tank, together with the incomes, derived form these *ūrs*, like *poṉvari, kāṇikkai, kāṇikkai* presented to king Vallāḷatēvar, tax on the habitation site, *vācalppaṇam, ūcivāci, cantuvikkirakam, mukampārvai, nallerutu, nalpacu, taṟiyiṟai, taṭṭārppaṭṭam, pācippaṭṭam* (tax on fishing), *nāṭṭuviṉiyokam* (share of tax paid by individuals to make up the shortage), the *kaṭamai* on every one of the common people, *cekkiṟai*, and all other receipts (*from these villages*). This will last till the moon and the sun endure and your progenies will

214 January 4, 1341.

enjoy this. Thus you could get this (*charter*) engraved on stone and copper. To be seen by (all). Let there be auspiciousness !

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304 A.D. 1341

S.I.I., VIII, 89 — II *Prākāra*, north wall.

TEXT

1 Svasti [//*] Śrīmat-pratāpacakravatti Ho[y*]sa[ḷa śrī-Vīra-Vallā[ḷa*]deva-[ra*]car pṛthivi-rājyam paṇṇi aruḷā-niṟka Śakābdam 1262 ṉmel cellā-ṉiṉṟa Vikrama-Saṁvatsarattu Ma-[ka]ra[nā]yaṟṟu pūrvvapakṣattu ca-turthiyum Nāyaṟṟuk kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Uttiraṭṭāti n[ā]] [śri*]matu Mahāpradhānaṉ Tāta Ciṅkayateṇṇā-

2 yakkar tampiyār Vallappa-teṇṇāyak-kar Jayaṅkoṇṭacōḻa-maṇṭalattu Pal-kuṉṟa-koṭṭattu Paṅkaḷa-nāṭṭu Cey-yāṟṟut teṉkaraiyil vaitta Akaram Pattippāṭiyāṉa Rūpanārāyaṇa-ca-turvvedimaṅkalattu paṭṭakaḷukku uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇ[ṇā]malai uṭaiya nāyaṉār koyil keṭkku-

3 m Poṉṉuḻāṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperu-māṉ Campantāṇṭāreṉ udakapur[v-va*]-dharmmadānapramāṇam paṇ-ṇikkuṭutta paricāvatu [/*] iṉta Patti-yapāṭiyāṉa Rūpanārāyaṇaccaturv-vedimaṅkalattu -nāṟpārkellaik kuḷ-paṭṭa eṉtalkaḷil eṉ maṭappuṟamāna Matiyālaiyanpūṇṭiyil nance[y] nilat-tile āyirattu

4 irunūṟu kuḻiyum puṉcey[y*] nilattile aiññūṟu kuḻiyum nattattile oru ma-ṉaiyum eṉakku maṭappuṟa iṟaiyili-yāka nāṉ kaikkoṇṭu nikki uḷḷa naṉ-ce[y*] nattam e[ri]vāyppuṟavaṭai uṭp-paṭa nāṟpār[k]kellaiyum udaka-pūrv-vadharmadānamāka inta Rūpanārā-

5 yaṇacaturvvediman-kalattu baṭṭarkaḷukku kuṭutteṉ Poṉ-ṉuḻāṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ Cam-pantāṇṭāreṉ [/*] ippaṭikku ivai Cam-[pan]taṉ eḻuttu [/*] Ittham Sōmanā-thadēvasya Sabhāpati-śivasya [/*] ivai Rājagambhīranampi eḻuttu [/*] ippaṭi aṟiven Tiru[c*]ciṟṟambala-nam[pi*] Viravallāḷanampieṉ [/*] ippaṭi aṟiveṉ

6 [215]pi eḻuttu [/*] Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-paṭṭaṉ [e]ḻuttu [/*] [ip]paṭikku ivai Araikūruṭaiyāṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipper-umāḷ Kaṇṇāramutapperum[a]] eḻuttu [/*] ippaṭi aṟiven taṉimākecurariḷ Aḻi-yāmal kāttāre [/*] ippaṭikku Italaik-kopati

7 Periyanāyan Aruṇakiriciyar eḻuttu [/*] Iruṅ[ko*]]an eḻuttu [/*] ivai Kā]iṅ-karāyaṉ eḻuttu [/*] iccātaṉam muta-liyār aruḷicceyya eḻutiṉeṉ ivai Ceña-lūruṭaiyār Tiruñānacampanta veḷāṉ eḻuttu ☡

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! The illustrious *Pratāpacakra-varti* (emperor through (his) prowess) Hoysaḷa śrī-Vīra-Vallāḷa-dēvar is pleased to rule over the earth. It is Śaka year 1262 expired and Sunday the 4th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Makara of Vikrama when the asterism Uttiraṭṭāti is current[216].

1-3 This is the document of gift-deed

215 There is a blank space for about 25 letters before this.
216 January 21, 1341.

given by pouring water by Ponnulān Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumān Campantāṇṭār, the *koyil-kēṭkku* (temple manager) of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyaṉār, to the *Paṭṭars* (Brāhmaṇas) of *Akaram* Pattiyapāṭi *alias* Rū-panārāyaṇa-caturvvēdimaṅkalam, (*situated*) on the southern bank of the Ceyyāru in Paṅkaḷa-nāṭu in Palkunrak-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅkoṇṭacōḷa-maṇṭalam, established by Vallappa-teṇṇāyakkar, the younger brother of the illustrious chief minister Tāta Ciṅkaya-teṇṇāyakkar.

3-5 I, Ponnulān Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ Campantāṇṭār, gave as a charitable gift by pouring water to the *Paṭṭars* (i.e., Brāhmaṇas) of this Rūpanārāyaṇa-catruvvēdimaṅkalam, the wet and dry land, the habitation site, the area at the mouth of the tank, and (*others within*) the four boundaries of Matiyālaiyanpūṇṭi which is my *maṭappuram* and which is one of the *ēntals* situated within the four boundaries of this Pattiyapāṭi *alias* Rūpanārayaṇaccaturvēdimaṅkalam, after excluding from it 1200 *kuḻi* of wet land, 500 *kuḻi* of dry land and one *maṉai* in the habitation site, which I have taken as my tax-free *maṭappuram*.

5-7 For this, I, Campantaṉ, affix my signature. I, Sōmanāthadēva Sabhāpatidēva (affix my signature). This is the signature of Rājagambhīranampi. I, Tiruccirrampala-nampi Vīra-Vaḷḷaḷanampi, know this. I, ... pi, and (*it is my*) signature. This is the signature of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-paṭṭaṉ. For this, it is the signature of Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ Kaṇṇāramutapperumāṉ of Araikūr. I, Aḻiyāmal kāttār, one of the *taṉimākecurar*, know this. This is the signature of Italaikkōpati Periyanāyan Aruṇagiricīyar. This is Iruṅkōḷan's signature. This is Kāliṅkarāyaṉ's signature. This is the signature of Ceñalūruṭaiyāṉ Tiruñānacampantavēḷāṉ who wrote this deed which *Mutaliyār* (i.e., Ponnulān Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ Campantāṇṭār), was pleased to dictate.

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305 A.D. 1341

EO. 785-792 II *Prākāra*, north wall (outside), west of the Vaikuṇṭha-dvāra, middle part.
Much damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti [//*] Śrīmat-pratāpa-cakravartti Hoysaḷa śrī-Vīra-Vallāḷadevar[acar ?] pṛthvi-rājjiyam paṇṇi aruḷā niṟka Śakābdam 1262-ṉ mel cellāniṉṟa Vikrama-saṁvatsarattu Kumbha-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakṣattu caturtthiyum Cevvāykiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Aśvati nāḷ śrīman-mahāprathānaṉ [Tāta] Ciṅkaya teṇṇāyakkar tampi. . . .

2 [Va]llappa-teṇṇāyakar . . . . . ttu . . . nāṭṭu Ceyyāṟṟut teṉkaraiyil Akaram Pattiyappāṭiyāṉa Rūpanārāyaṇacaturvveti-maṅkalattu bhaṭṭarkaḷukku uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nayiṉār koyilil tiruppāṭṭu [o]tum . . . māṇikaḷil Ā[. . .]ṭaiyāṉ . . . . . .

3 . . ṇā . . . . m . . . . . kuṭaiyāṉ Ñāṉaprakāśaruṭaiya bhāryai[. .] Śrī- . . . . ivviruvarom udaka-pūr[vva]-[dharm]madāna-pramāṇam paṇṇik kuṭutta paricāvatu inta Pattiya-

pāṭiyāṉa Rūpanārāyaṇacaturvvēti-
maṅkalattu nāṟpārkellaikkuḷpaṭṭa
eṅkaḷ .....

4 maṭappuṟamāṉa ..... yāṉa tāṅ-
kaḷ ivaika[ḷ] .... le āya .. kuḷiyum ..
ttile eḷu nūṟu kuḷiyum nattattile iraṇ-
ṭu maṉaiyum mippaṭi iṟaiyiliyāka tāṅ-
kaḷ kaikkoṇṭu ..... nel .....
..

5 uṭppaṭṭa samasta prāptikaḷum iṉta
Rūpanārāyaṇacaturvvetimaṅkalattu
[bhaṭṭarka]u]kku udaka-pūrvva
dharmmadāṉamākak kuṭuttom Ārak-
kūruṭaiyāṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaip-peru-
māḷum Marutattūruṭaiyāṉ bhāryai Ā .
..... kkuivai .....Kaṇṇā....
perumāḷ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ
eḷuttu ....

6 Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ eḷuttu ...
śrayam mutiyāṉ ..... [kalai] .....
nāyaṉ Aruṇakiri[ttiyar] eḷuttu ivai
Sampaṇṇaṉ eluttu inta pramāṇam
eḷutineṉ Ārakkuruṭaiyāṉ Tiruvaṇṇā-
malaipperumāḷ Kaṇṇāramutapperu-
māḷeṉ ೭ ivai Campantan eḷuttu .....
.....

7 ..... ivai ..... eḷuttu ivai Tiru-
vaṇṇāmalai ..... nampiyeṉ ippaṭi
aṟiveṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalai nampiyeṉ ivai
Tillai Mūvāyira-nampi eḷuttu ivai Vī-
ravetiya nampi eḷuttu ivai Tiruvaṇ-
ṇāmalaipirāṉ eḷuttu ippaṭikku ivai
Ārakkuruṭiyāṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaippe-
rumāḷ Kaṇṇāramutapperumāḷ eḷuttu

8 ippati aṟiveṉ Śrī-Makēśvararil Aṟu-
[patti]mūvar [Mūlakkir]annāneṉ ippa-
ṭikku ivai .... kopan Kopata Poya
ṉāyaṉ Āraikāciyar eḷuttu Irutu koṉ
eḷuttu ivai Kālakarāyaṉ eḷuttu
ic[cātana]m mutaliya[r*] aruḷicceya
eḷutineṉ ivai Ceñilūruṭaiyāṉ Tirunā ..
.. ṉta veḷāṉ eḷuttu [//*]

TRANSLATION

1-2 Hail ! When the illustrious *pratāpa-cakravartti* Hoysaḷa śrī-Vīra-Vallā-ḷadēvaracar was pleased to rule over the earth in the expired Śaka year 1262, on Tuesday the 4th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kumbha in the year Vikrama when the asterism was Āśvati[217], Vallap-pa-teṇṇāyakar, the brother of the illustrious *mahāpradhānaṉ* [Tāta] Ciṅkaya-teṇṇāyakkar .....

2-3 We, the two persons, viz., Āra[kkū-ruḷṭaiyān ..... a *māṇi* reciting the *tiruppatiyam* in the temple of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalai uṭaiya nāyiṉār and Śrī ..... the wife of ..... kuṭai-yān Ñānaprakāśar gave (*the land detailed below*) as a religious gift by pouring water to the *bhaṭṭars* of Akaram Pattiyappāṭi *alias* Rūpa-nārāyaṇacaturvvētimaṅkalam, situa-ted ..... on the southern bank of the Ceyyāṟu in .... nāṭu in .....

3-5 We ask you to take possession of the gift-land which was our *maṭappuṟam,* situated within the four boundaries of the village of Pattiyappāṭi *alias* Rū-panārayaṇacaturvvētimaṅkalam, as tax-free land .... paddy. Thus we, Ārakkūruṭaiyāṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaippe-rumāḷ and Ā ....., the wife of Marutattūr-uṭaiyāṉ gave as a reli-gious gift by pouring water, all the incomes including ..... to the *bhaṭ-ṭars* of the village of Rūpa-nārāya-ṇacaturvvēdimaṅkalam.

5-8 This is the signature of ..... Kaṇṇā . ... perumāḷ ; .... Tiruvaṇṇāmalaip perumāḷ ; this is the signature of Tiruvaṇṇāmalaip perumāḷ ; .... śrayam mutiyāṉ ..... this is the

217 February 20, 1341.

signature of . . . . nāyaṉ Aruṇakiri-[ttiyar] ; and this is the signature of Sampaṉaṉ. I, Ārakkūruṭaiyāṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaipperumāḷ Kaṇṇāramutapperumāḷ wrote the document. This is the signature of Campantan ; . . . . . ; this is the signature of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai . . . . . ; . . . . nampi ; I, Tiruvaṇṇāmalainampi know this ; this is the signature of Tillai Mūvāyira-nampi ; this is the signature of Vīravētiyanampi ; this is the signature of Tiruvaṇṇāmalaippirāṉ ; this is the signature of Ārakkūruṭaiyāṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalaip-perumāḷ Kaṇṇāramutapperumāḷ ; I, Arupattumūvar [Mulakkir]annān, a member of the Śrī-Māhēśvarar know this ; and this is the signature of . . . . kōpan Kōpata Pōyaṉāyaṉ Āraikāciyar ; this is the signature of Irutukōn ; this is the signature of Kālakarāyaṉ. *Mutaliyār* was pleased to announce this record and I, Cēñilūruṭaiyāṉ Tiruṉā . . . . ṉta vēḷāṉ wrote it down.

306

14th c.

EO. 1552
1540, 1554

II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam*, north and south of its entrance.
Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [//*] . . . . . stabha[va] . . . . . stribhuvanā śrī . . . . . gam . . . . .

2 kulāma[la*]pra . maṉa sa . . . . . vairībhakaṇṭhīrava . . . . . ti rājya nirmmūla[na*] Cōḷa-rājya-pratiṣṭhā-cāriya . . .

3 ēkāmkavīra śanivā . . . . . Āṭaiyūr-nāṭ . . . . . ivūrparṟil Mecāṟum itukkuppalāṉa . .

4 kkuṭuttapati iṉṉāya . . . . . maravaṭai . . . . . taṉi ma erimin nallerutu naṟpacu . . . . .

5 p[e]ṟpaṭṭa pallāyaṅka . . . . . itu māṟuv[ā] . . . . . Kaṅkaiyiṭai Kumariyiṭai kurāṟ-pacu koṉ . . . .

TRANSLATION

1 Hail ! Prosperity ! . . . . . of the three worlds . . . . . .

2-3 of the blemishless family of . . . . . , lion to the elephants (*who are the enemies*), the destroyer of the kingdom of . . . . . , the preceptor for the establishment of the kingdom of the Cōḷas, the only unparallaled hero, *Śanivāṟasiddhi*], ...

3-5 Mēcāru of the *paṟṟu* of this village in Āṭaiyūr-nāṭu and the many things attached to it . . . . . was given to this god . . . . . (Accordingly) the flora, the tank-fish, good ox, good cows, ... and all other incomes . . . . . One who changed this would incur the sin of one who had killed . . . . . on the Gaṅgā and at Kumari.

307

14th c.

EO. 1557

II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam*, north of its entrance.
Fragmentary and damaged.

TEXT

1. . . . . varātīśvara yā . . ḷuta Vairākarāyaṉum cantirā . . . .

2 ākama[ti]prapa . na sahāya Āra -

3 . . . nāvā . rājya pratiṣṭhācāriyan niśśaṅkapratāpacakravartti . . .

4 . . periya vāṇa . . . . kala . paṭṭi viṭṭa . . . . . .

5 tirup . . . kuṭalāka Cantirātittavarai celvatākap paccalil irun . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-2 Damaged.

3 Preceptor for establishing the kingdom of . . . . . , emperor of undoubted heroism,

4 Damaged.

5 for the purpose of . . . . . to continue till the moon and the sun endure . . . . . .

308

14th c.

EO. 1657 II *Prākāra, pokkiṣam* (inside), west wall. Fragment.

TEXT

1 . . . . . Pallava Mahārājādhīrāja . . . .

2 . . . . . ṇi mala Rājarāja Malaparuḷakaṇṭa Gaṇḍaperu . . . . . .

3 . . . . . siddhi . . durggamalla Caladaṅkarāma Vairībhakaṇṭhīrava Magadharājya . . . . .

4 . . . . . ṉār tēvatāṉam Aṇṇā-nāṭu puṟapparṟu tēvatāṉavūrkaḷi . . . .

5 . . . . . ḷum uṭpaṭa uṭaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuṭaiya [nāya*]nārkku pūcaikku . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1-3 Parts of the *birudas* of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III are preserved.

4-5 In the *tēvatāṉam* villages of Aṇṇānāṭu and in the *tēvatāṉam* . . . . . of *paṟṟus* outside of (this *nāṭu*) . . . . . including . . . . . for the worship of the god Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiy uṭaiya [nāya*]nār . . . . .

309

14th c.

EO. 548-550 II *Prākāra*, south wall (outside), eastern part. Damaged very much.

TEXT

1 Svasti [//*] Śrīmat-pratāpa-cakravatti Hōsaḷa-bhujabala śrī-Vīra-vallāḷa-[tevar) śāśa . . . . tu? śa . . . . . .

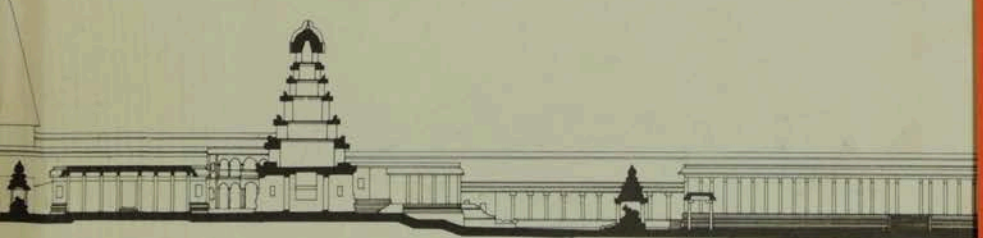
2 cantikkum cattirattukkum niccayi[t*] ta [uṭakkoḷappaṭikku . yal[e]na . . . . . .

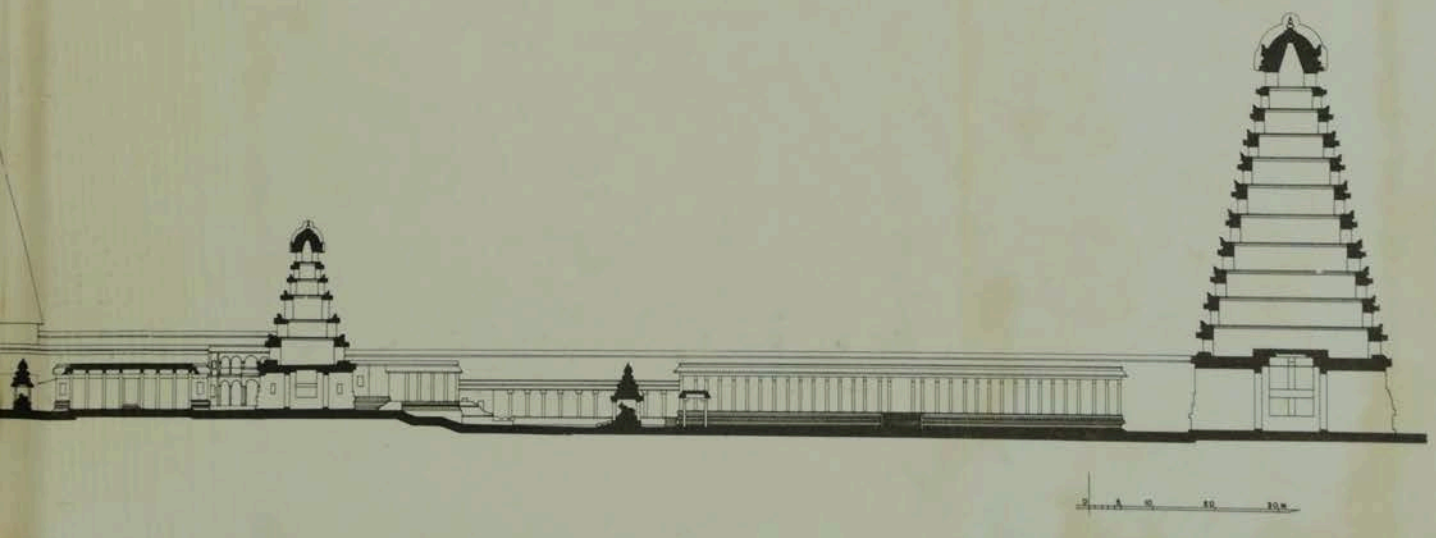
3 cekku maṟṟum eppe(r)ṟpaṭṭa tā(ā)ya varkaṅkaḷum Cantirātittavarai celvatāka [kalveṭṭi kuṭu ? . . . . . .

4 hēśvara rakṣai : ೭

TRANSLATION

1-4 Hail ! The illustrious and brave *cakravatti* Hōsaḷa-bhujabala śrī-Vīra-Vallāḷatēvar (*issued this order*) that (*to meet the expenses connected with*) the maintenance of a service (*canti*) in (*the temple*) and of a *cattiram* (alms-house), ... as per the decision, oilpress and incomes from all other sources (*should be given* ?). This should last till the moon and the sun endure. Thus the order (*was given*) engraved on stone. (This is to be) protected by the *Mahēśvaras*.





Tiruvannamalai, un lieu saint śivaïte du Sud de l'Inde

Le projet d'étude de Tiruvannamalai est né d'un intérêt historique: l'ancienneté du lieu saint attestée par un corpus épigraphique qui devait se révéler beaucoup plus important que prévu. Entreprendre une recherche d'ensemble sur le temple et son environnement fut en somme la conséquence logique de ce premier constat. Comme il s'agissait d'un lieu saint et d'une ville en pleine activité, d'un temple qui avait été constamment renové au cours des siècles, l'étude ne pouvait se limiter à n'être qu'archéologique, au sens habituel du terme. Il fallait y inclure d'autres perspectives qui prennent en compte le passé aussi bien qu'une dimension plus sociologique ainsi que la développement actuel.

Au-delà de l'intérêt monographique, les analyses soulignent que le lieu saint, en dépit d'une localisation dans une région peu riche et relativement marginale, n'a jamais formé d'aucun point de vue un système clos. A période historique, le temple a été le foyer des relations socio-politiques aussi bien que cultuelles entre les royaumes et les personnalités locales et a acquis en retour (par les dons de terre et les droits sur les villages), un contrôle, plus ou moins étendu selon les périodes, sur les régions environnantes. La localisation de Tiruvannamalai au croisement des routes commerciales (et militaires) n'est pas indifférente à sa permanence et à sa vitalité actuelle, même si les voies principales de communication ont été déplacées à l'époque moderne. En effet, si l'on compare la position passée et présente de Tiruvannamalai, une corrélation relative peut être tracée entre la région qui historiquement a plus ou moins été rattachée au temple (comme le montre la topographie des inscriptions) et l'aire actuelle d'influence religieuse du lieu saint et d'attraction économique et démographique de la ville. Aujourd'hui, le temple a à peu près perdu toute importance séculière et le développement économique et politique dépend de la ville elle-même et, au-delà, de l'Etat moderne. Néanmoins, une complémentarité – qui ne correspond pas à une stricte séparation des fins religieuses et séculières – demeure entre le temple et la ville, permettant aux divers réseaux de relations de se recouper à différents niveaux. Si bien que Tiruvannamalai reste d'abord reconnu comme l'un des principaux lieux saints du Tamilnad: car, dans l'actualité du mythe et l'intemporalité annuellement renouvelée des rites et des fêtes, le passé du site est toujours un devenir.

1. *The inscriptions, edition and translation*
(Publication Institut Français, Pondichéry, 1990)

2. *L'archéologie du site*
(Publication Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Pondichéry, 1988)

3. *Rites et fêtes*
(Publication Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Pondichéry)

4. *La configuration sociologique du temple hindou*
(Publication Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Pondichéry, 1989)

5. *La ville*
(Publication Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Pondichéry, 1990)